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The Social and Economic Ideas of Benoy Sarkar

EDITED BY

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with the co-operation of

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with a Foreword by

Dr. NARENDRA NATH LAW

Managing Director, Bangeswari Cotton Mills Ltd., Director, Re[illegible] Bank of India, Eastern Circle, and President, Beng[illegible] National Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta.

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PUBLISHERS' NOTICE

BY

RAMES CHANDRA CHAKRABARTY, M.Sc.

Chuckervertty Chatterjee & Co. Ltd., Calcutta.

A long-felt want is being met by the present publication. We offer our thanks to Professor Banesvar Dass for his labours as well as to Dr. Narendra Nath Law for his friendly co-operation.

On this occasion we recall with pleasure that during the *Swadeshi* period while we were establishing our firm in December 1910 Professor Sarkar was one of our friends and supporters. It is to be recalled also that the first edition of his *Shiksha-Sopan* or *Steps to a University:* A Course of Modern Intellectual Culture (adapted to the requirements of Bengal) was published by us in 1912. We are glad to see that the book is reprinted as Appendix VI in the present work (pp. 215-256) by Mr. Birendra Nath Das-Gupta in his contribution.

FOREWORD

BY

DR. NARENDRA NATH LAW, M.A., B.L., PH.D.,
Managing Director, Bangeswari Cotton Mills Ltd, Director, Reserve Bank of India, Eastern Circle, President, Bengal National Chamber of Commerce, and *Bangiya Dhana-Vijnan Parishat* (Bengali Institute of Economics).

Prof. Baneswar Dass and his collaborators have produced a useful work. They have given an objective summary of the ideas of Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar and a descriptive statement about his literary output and the institutions founded by him. A publication like this has long been in demand. Messrs. Chuckervertty Chatterjee & Co., Ltd. are to be congratulated on the execution of their plan.

The contributions by Mr. Shib Chandra Dutt, Advocate Pankaj Kumar Mukherjee, Dr. Monindra Mohan Moulik, Prof. Sachindra Nath Dutt and Prof. Subodh Krishna Ghoshal are the results of a serious study and painstaking research. The reproduction of Prof. Sarkar's writings in the papers by Mr. Satindra Nath Das-Gupta, Mr. Rabindra Nath Ghose, and Mr. Hemendra Bijoy Sen are to be appreciated as introducing the readers direct to the original.

In order to understand Prof. Sarkar as a man and get his ideas in the most concise form, one would naturally begin the book with "The Seven Creeds of Benoy Sarkar" by Mrs. Ida Sarkar.

Prof. Dass ought to have found somebody to contribute a paper on Sarkar's writings in Bengali, covering as they do over ten thousand pages. A paper likewise on Sarkar's contributions to Indian culture-history would have been much appreciated.

My association with Prof. Sarkar goes back to 1910-11 when he was writing the *Siksha-Vijnan* (*Science of Education*) Series and *Aids to General Culture Series*. He was then also engaged in translating *Sukraniti* into English for the Sacred Books of the Hindus Series, Allahabad. The index to that translation was prepared by

me. In 1925 when I started the *Indian Historical Quarterly* he was in Italy but became one of my first contributors. On his return to India after nearly twelve years, he issued in 1926 his plan for the establishment of an economic journal in Bengali under the title *Arthik Unnati* (Economic Progress.) As his plan proved attractive to me, I became the very first supporter of his scheme, and undertook the responsibility of directing the same. He continues to be the editor. I suggested in 1926 to my colleagues and friends of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce the desirability of publishing a *Quarterly Journal* under Prof. Sarkar's editorship. He was the editor as long as the *Journal* ran its course (1926-1932).

The Research Institutes established by Prof. Sarkar with the object of heightening the standard of scholarship and enriching the Bengali language with publications have had my sympathy. I have tried to extend to them as much of my active co-operation as is possible for me in the midst of other demands on my time.

There is an aspect of this publication which deserves mention. Through Prof. Sarkar's books and articles published in Europe and America as well as his lectures in the various Universities and Academies of foreign countries, India has won many friends among the savants and educationists of the world. I believe that this publication will serve to add to their number and help the academic and scientific world to know India more intensively.

EDITOR'S PREFACE

BY

PROF. BANESVAR DASS, B.S.CH.E. (ILLINOIS)

Chemical Engineer, College of Engineering and Technology, Jadabpur, Calcutta.

For several years the publishers and book-sellers of Calcutta have been feeling the need for a complete list and account of the books and articles by Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar. In order to meet this demand, two monographs were published, one by Mr. Shib Chandra Dutt in 1932 and another by Advocate Pankaj Kumar Mukherjee in 1934, and a brochure by myself in 1938. Several articles entitled "Sarkarism" were likewise published by Prof. Subodh Krishna Ghoshal in *Forward* in 1938.

The present work has grown out of the desire of Messrs. Chuckervertty Chatterjee & Co., Ltd. to place all those publications within one cover. The occasion has been availed of to bring together a number of other contributions from persons interested in the subject.

My home is in Malda, the district in which Professor Sarkar was born. I have been in contact with him since 1906. It has, besides, been possible for me to see him at work in the U.S.A. and Europe as well as to meet some of his American and Continental colleagues. It is therefore a matter of personal satisfaction that I am in a position to edit this work about his ideas and ideals.

The contributors are responsible for their own views. They have however in most cases reproduced extracts from Sarkar's writings rather than pass judgments. My part has been purely bibliographical, and in this I have been greatly helped by the lists, catalogues and cuttings supplied by the publishers. I have tried to make the facts and dates as accurate as possible.

I wish to offer my sincere thanks to all the contributors as well as to Dr. Narendra Nath Law, who has written the Foreword.

"ANANDA-NILAYA,"
22, SOUTH END PARK,
Ballygunje, Calcutta,
October 16, 1939.

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FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS AND LEADING IDEAS IN THE WORKS OF PROFESSOR BENOY KUMAR SARKAR*

By Shib Chandra Dutt, M.A., B.L., Bengal Civil Service (Judicial), Author of *Conflicting Tendencies in Indian Economic Thought*

The works of Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar are varied and numerous. The first publications are pedagogic. Some of them are ethical and nationalistic. A considerable portion is given over to researches in Indian culture in its manifold aspects, such as the exact sciences, fine arts, literature, folk institutions, religion, economy, law and polity. Large volumes on travel dealing with the industry, education, literature, art, social service etc. of the diverse countries visited by him may be regarded as to a certain extent belonging to social geography and institutional sociology. Economics with special reference to industrialization, foreign trade, land legislation, currency, banking, labour and social insurance has demanded a great deal of his attention. Sociology, both ancient and modern, as well as theoretical and applied has likewise claimed his homage. He has bestowed his investigations on demographic questions also. The problems of nationality, international relations, democracy and socialism have not failed to attract him for studies and investigations. He is finally the author of several translations from Sanskrit and Italian into English and from English, French and German into Bengali.

While each essay or book is interesting in its own way as regards the subject matter, method of analysis or conclusion, it is possible to trace through this multiplicity of publications a continuity of thought and systematic approach to truth. There is a fundamental unity underlying these diverse contributions on all subjects from art and education to economic planning and demo-despotocracy. The growth and development of that unity has been called the evolution of Sarkarism in the following study.

Instead of classifying the contributions according to the names of the sciences we propose to follow the chronological order and

* First published in the *Bengal Nagpur Railway Employees' Journal*, Calcutta, September 1932 and also as a brochure (1932).

single out the more important themes which may be placed within certain periods. The publications bearing on each theme are being indicated as documents.[1]

CHAPTER I.

1906—1914. Period of the Swadeshi Movement and the National Council of Education

1906-1907. EAST and WEST (1)

Traditional ideas prevailing in Asia as well as in Europe and America regarding the alleged distinction in spirit, view of life, methods and ideals, etc. of the East and the West are accepted by Sarkar in the main without question. But the conception of secular, materialistic, constructive and activistic elements in Hindu civilization is introduced to modify the prevalent notion. The Beginnings of Sarkarism. See 1911-14.

Documents: (1) Sarkar's first writing, *Banglar Jatiya Siksha Parishat O Banga Samaj* (National Council of Education and the Bengali People), was published in the *Maldaha Samachar* Malda (June 1906) and later in English in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, Calcutta (July-August 1906)[2] (2) Lecture in Bengali, *Bange Nawayuger Nutan Siksha* (The New Learning in Bengal), published as a pamphlet (1907), later available as the first chapter in the author's *Sadhana* (1st edition, Calcutta, 1912, 200 pages) The lecture was delivered in connection with the inauguration of the District Council of National Education, Malda (June 1907), in regard to which the *Dawn and the Dawn Society's Magazine* (Calcutta, August 1907) may be referred to

1907-12. EAST and WEST (2)

The alleged distinction is developed at length (1) in the last chapter of the Bengali work, *Prachin Griser Jatiya Siksha* (National Education in Ancient Greece), which is published at first in the journals and later (1910) in bookform (175 pages) under the auspices of the *Bangiya Sahitya Parishat* (Academy of Bengali Literature), Calcutta, and (2) in the Bengali lecture on *Vidyalaye Dharma-siksha*

1 For a systematic study of Prof. Sarkar's economic ideas, see S. C. Dutt: *Conflicting Tendencies in Indian Economic Thought* (Calcutta 1934).

2 See Appendix V. "National Education and the Bengali Nation" by Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar as well as *Samaj-Vijnan* (Sociology), Vol. I. (1938), pp. 536-556 (Swadeshi Yuger Banga-Samaj O Siksha-Viplav).

at the Bengali Literary Conference held at Chinsurah (1912), which is published as a pamphlet as well as in the journals and later as a chapter in the author's *Sikṣha-Samalochana* (Educational Observations, 150 pages, 1912). This lecture is available in English also as *The Pedagogy of the Hindus* published as an article in *The Collegian* (Calcutta, 1912) and also as an independent pamphlet (1912).

1907-12 Educational Creed

Encyclopaedic world-culture, scientific and technical as well as humanistic, is urged as the basis of man-making, and the inductive method advocated for intellectual discipline in connection with the national schools established by him for the District Council of National Education, Malda.*

Documents: (1) *Sikṣha-Vijnaner Bhumika* (Calcutta 1910) available in English translation as *Introduction to the Science of Education* (London, 1913, pages 173), (2) *Sikṣha-Samalochana* (Educational Observations, Calcutta, 1912—150 pages), (3) *Steps to a University* (Calcutta, 1912, 64 pages), (4) *The Study of Language* (in Bengali, 1910, 120 pages), (5) *Lessons on Sanskrit* (1911, 320 pages), (6) *Lessons on English* (1911, 220 pages), (7) *Sikshanushasana* (Educational Creed) published in journals and leaflets and available in Bengali (in 2 above) and in English (in 1. above).

This thorough-going modernist, world-embracing pedagogic philosophy is likewise responsible for the author's "Aids to General Culture Series" in English, comprising, as it does, the following volumes: (1) *Economics* (193 pages), (2) *Political Science* (84 pages), (3) *Constitutions of Modern States* (131 pages), (4) *Ancient Europe* (100 pages), (5) *Medieval Europe* (165 pages), (6) *History of English Literature* (232 pages), all published for the first time in Calcutta (1911-12).

The financial and organizational aspects of the District Council of National Education, Malda, may be studied in the author's paper in the *Dawn and the Dawn Society's Magazine* (Calcutta, August 1907) referred to above.

The educational activities of the author and the system of pedagogic principles propounded by him in all these works are, with the exception of the last chapter of the book on Greece and

* See the contribution on the "National Schools of Benoy Sarkar" by Mr. B. N. Das-Gupta.

the essay on the pedagogy of the Hindus noted above, fundamentally opposed to the ideas of the alleged distinction between the East and the West. Thus two diametrically opposite philosophical currents,—one traditional and imbibed perhaps from the atmosphere and the other original surging out of the author's own experiences and investigations,—run parallel for some time (1907-12), it seems, unconsciously and without detection.

1911. Doctrine of World-Forces

Utilization of world-forces (*vishwa-shakti*) is established by Sarkar as the universal way to national advancement on all fronts: The Philosophy of foreign policy and internationalism.

Documents: Lecture in Bengali at the Literary Conference held at Mymensingh (1911), published in journals, available as a chapter in the author's *Aitihasik Prabandha* (Historical Essays, Calcutta 1912, 125 pages). It is known in English as *The Science of History and the Hope of Mankind* (London, 1912, 84 pages) The idea is developed in and through the editorials and articles of the Bengali monthly *Grihastha* (The Householder), Calcutta (1911-14): it is embodied in the very title of the book *Vishwa-shakti* (World-Forces, 325 pages, 1914). Later, it runs through the twelve volumes entitled *Varttaman Jagat* (Modern World, 1914-36) and furnishes the theoretical setting also of the *Politics of Boundaries*, Vol I. (Calcutta 1926. 1938, 333 pages) and *Duniyar Abhawa* (Atmosphere of the World, 1926, 280 pages)

1911-April 1914. East And West (3)

The traditional ideas regarding the alleged distinction are consciously and definitely rejected by the author; and rationalistic, scientific, political and materialistic elements in Hindu philosophy and social life exhibited in detail. A new thesis is propounded to the effect that the East is identical with or similar to the West in secular as well as metaphysical aspects of thought and attainments down to the Renaissance (and the Industrial Revolution): Sarkarism Second Step. See 1906-07 and 1914-16.

Documents: (1) English translation with notes of the Sanskrit *Sukraniti* (Allahabad, 1912-14, 306 pages), (2) *The Positive Background of Hindu Sociology* Vol I (Allahabad, 1913-14, 300 pages).

The traditional idea persists, however, to a certain extent, although as usual modified by the conception of the worldly and positive tendencies in Hindu culture, in the author's (1) *Rabindra-Sahitye Bharater Vani*, India's Message in Tagore's Works (Calcutta

1913-14, 120 pages), and (2) Volume on Great Britain and Ireland (Calcutta, 1914-16, 600 pages), in the *Varttaman Jagat Series*, which is the result of travels and investigations abroad. One or two sections of this latter book, composed as they were during the spring (May-July) of 1914, previous to the outbreak of the Great War (1914-18), constitute the final specimens of Sarkar's dying but subconscious faith in the traditional idea, which, be it observed, does not re-appear in any form in his subsequent writings.

1911. The Mother-tongue as the medium of instruction in the Highest University Classes

In papers read at the Malda session of the North Bengal Literary Conference as well as at the Mymensingh session of the Bengali Literary Conference Sarkar raises the cry for making Bengali the medium of instruction for all the highest classes in the University and starts the movement for fostering the mother-tongues in India. He establishes also a fund for this purpose with the *Bangiya Sahitya Parishat* (Academy of Bengali Literature), Calcutta.

Documents: (1) *Sadhana* (Strivings), 1912, (2) Proceedings of the Literary Conferences at Malda and Mymensingh (1911), (3) "The Man of Letters" (*Modern Review*, Calcutta, 1911), available in Bengali, Hindi and Marathi also

1912-14. The Swadeshi Movement to be Fostered by Protection and Technical Education

The *swadeshi* (national industry) movement, inaugurated in Bengal in 1905, furnishes the *milieu* of the general economic ideas formulated by Professor Sarkar to combat poverty in all his lectures and writings in Bengali and English since 1906. As editor of the *Grihastha* (Householder) monthly, he stresses the self-assertion of the *mofussil* (village) arts and crafts under modernized conditions and the elevation of the masses. His sympathy with the protectionist ideology is manifest in his translation of Frederick List's *National System of Political Economy* for the *Grihastha* and other Bengali journals. The importance of vocational education is propagated in and through his Bengali translation of Booker Washington's *Up from Slavery*. He attaches great value to the supply of capital from the landowning (*Zamindar*) classes in regard to the industrialization as well as technical and cultural modernization of the people.

Documents: (1) *Sadhana* (Strivings), 200 pages, 1912, (2) *Vishwa-shakti* (World-Forces), 325 pages, 1914.

1912-April 1914. Hindu Materialism and Energism

Studies based (1) on the *Sukraniti* and other Sanskrit texts as well as (2) on folk-lore and folk-institutions embodied in Bengali tradition enable him to exhibit the materialistic, secular and worldly aptitudes and achievements of the Indian masses and classes through the ages. He becomes convinced of the fallacies propagated by the scholars of the nineteenth and early years of the twentieth century regarding the alleged pessimism and passivism of Indian character.

Documents: (1) English translation with notes of the Sanskrit *Sukraniti* (Allahabad, 1912-14, 306 pages), (2) *The Positive Background of Hindu Sociology*, Vol. I (Allahabad, 1913-14, 300 pages), (3) *Creative India* (Lahore 1937, 725 pages), (4) *Introduction to Hindu Positivism* (Allahabad, 1937, 770 pages), being Vol I. of the second edition of *The Positive Background* etc.

For Sarkar's literary career down to the translation of *Sukraniti* see the preface to his *Introduction to the Science of Education* (London, 1913), by Major B. D. Basu, editor of the Sacred Books of the Hindu Series, in which *Sukraniti* forms Vol. XIII.

1913. Sarkarism as Viewed in India During the Swadeshi Period

Down to April 1914 when Professor Sarkar left India on an extensive world-tour his researches and publications were studied and reviewed by the prominent scholars and journals of the day not only in Bengal but in all the provinces of India. Among the appreciations offered in those days about Sarkar's educational, cultural and sociological ideas may be mentioned those by the *Bengalee*, Professor Adityaram Bhattacharya of Muir College, Allahabad, Mr. Sarat Chandra Das, the Tibetan explorer and Orientalist, Pandit Mahavir Prasad Dwivedi (Editor, *Saraswati*, Allahabad), Mr. Pramatha Nath Bose of the Geological Survey of India, Advocate Dr. Sarat Chandra Benerji of Allahabad, Mr. Justice Sarada Charan Mitra, the *Leader* (Allahabad), the *Empire*, the *Modern Review*, the *Hindusthan Review* (Allahabad), Rai Bahadur Sris Chandra Basu, translator of the *Astadhyayi* of Panini, Mr. Bijay Chandra Majumdar (Sambalpur C. P.), anthropologist, Hon. Principal R. P. Paranjpye, Fergusson College, Poona (Bombay), Hon. Dr. Sundarlal, Vice-Chancellor, Allahabad University, Dr. Rashbehari Ghosh, the *Punjabee* (Lahore), the *Statesman*, the *Telegraph*, Mr.

Barada Charan Mitra, District and Sessions Judge, the *World's Messenger*, Sj. Sarat Chandra Roy, anthropologist (Ranchi), the *Ceylon Patriot* (Colombo), the *Vedic Magazine* (Gurukul, Hardwar, U.P.), the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, the Hindu Religious Union (Trichinopoly, Madras), Dr. Brajendra Nath Seal, King George V. Professor of Philosophy, the *Collegian*, the *Modern World* (Madras), the *World and the New Dispensation*, Professor Benoyendra Nath Sen, Sj. Hirendra Nath Datta, author of works on the *Gita* and the *Upanishads*, Sir Chandra Madhab Ghosh, Sj. Rabindra Nath Tagore, the *Prabasi*, *Pratibha* (Dacca), Sir Gooroodas Banerji, Sj. Panchkari Banerji (Editor, *Nayak*), Sj. Hemendra Prassad Ghosh (Editor, *Aryavarta*), Sj. Radhes Seth (Editor, *Gaudadula*, Malda), the *Hitabadi*, the *Basumati*, *Bharati*, *Udbodhan*, *Samay*, the *Bangabasi*, *Manasi*, *Ananda Bazar*, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, Sir Tarak Nath Palit, Sj. Akshay Kumar Maitra, the historian, Principal Ramendra Sundar Trivedi, Sj. Akshay Kumar Sarkar (Chinsurah), author of *Kavi Hemachandra* and other literary works, Sj. Suresh Chandra Samajpati (Editor, *Sahitya*), Sj. Jaladhar Sen (Editor, *Bharatvarsha*) and Sir Asutosh Chaudhuri.

What kind of reactions were produced in the minds of contemporaries by Sarkar's works may be seen to a certain extent from a detailed review of his *Siksha-Samalochana* (Educational Observations, published in 1912) in the *Modern Review* for April 1913 by Professor Radha Kamal Mukherjee of Krishnanath College, Berhampore (Bengal).

The review is reproduced below:

There has been a most remarkable development in educational ideas in our country during the course of the last few years. A dissatisfaction with the present educational institutions has given rise to more than one practical scheme and structure which are attracting the attention of our people. The Hindu and the Moslem Universities are on the fair way to progress, the Dacca University Committee have submitted their Report, while the old Universities as well are taking stock, and adapting their equipment to modern needs in the newly aroused educational enthusiasm of our people. Societies for imparting free education have been also started in different parts of the country. Night schools for day-labourers have been opened and the devotion of enthusiastic young men and students in the cause of mass-education has been unique in the history of education in our country. In the midst of these educa-

tional advances it is no wonder that new educational theories have also been springing up. Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar, M.A., has been writing for several years on the subject of education, and his educational works are to-day a healthy and stimulating force in Bengal. Himself a devoted worker in the cause of education, he is guiding several institutions in Bengal in which he has found scope for illustrating his educational theories. These theories have been summarised in a neat little volume of the author, entitled *Sikṣha-Samalochana* which has been published of late.

According to the author, the object of all education is to develop originality of mind, a love of bold and independent thinking,—a trait so seldom to be met with in the minds of average educated Indians. He seeks to cultivate this trait in the mind of the student through his inductive method of teaching in the modern languages, in the sciences and other branches of general learning to some extent. The system has been given a fair trial and has established itself in the West. But Professor Sarkar has for the first time applied this method comprehensively to the various branches of study and also to the teaching of an inflexional language like Sanskrit. His scheme of teaching Sanskrit without grammar is very suggestive and deserves careful consideration at the hands of every educationist. The student in his system begins with the *sentence* as the unit of thought and expression, not with words and roots. He has not to commit to memory the definitions of grammar, or the declensions and conjugations of the roots; and is thus free to learn the language much sooner than his peer in the indigenous *tols* or in the public schools. To all students of Sanskrit, the method will, indeed, prove very instructive. It is hoped that the author will find other schools than his own which will try his methods and principles of teaching.*

As an exponent of the inductive method, again, the author does not believe in the text-book system and rightly insists that what one should learn are not books but subjects. Boys should show the results of study not periodically after the lapse of a year or of several months, but every day in the session. Examinations must be daily, and terms of academic life as well as the system of re-

* See the contributions on "Educational Reform in Benoy Sarkar's Steps to a University" (M. N. Sarkar) and on "The National Schools of Benoy Sarkar" (B. N. Das-Gupta).

wards, he says, should be not by years or months, but according to subjects or portions of subjects studied. The author's scheme is thus a corrective of the wrongs of education such as is given in our public schools to-day. A student who has to prepare for an examination perforce overloads his memory with vague general notions so as to have only a superficial knowledge of the subjects.

The system of cramming is further promoted by the fact that in matriculation schools the boys begin to learn their subjects in a language of which they have not at the time acquired a practical knowledge. Professor Sarkar, therefore, rightly insists that the mother-tongue should be the medium of instruction. Where the vernacular is poor and inadequate to the standard, he hopes that the educationists of our country will devote their full energies to develop and enrich the vernacular within a short time by the system of patronage and endowments on the 'protective principle.' In Bengal the *Sahitya Parishad* has recognised the importance of his scheme of fostering and 'protecting' vernacular literature. We can only hope that its efforts in this line will be attended with speedy success.

In Professor Sarkar's programme, the elementary courses are more comprehensive than those followed in our Secondary Schools. No student is left without the knowledge of the elements of all the natural sciences as well as the national history and literature. His inductive method enables the students to follow these different subjects with no difficulty. As to technology and applied sciences, he has pointed out that the courses should be so planned as to utilise the economic resources and meet the local needs of the people for whom the institution is meant.

This conception of a separate educational institution to meet the requirements of a particular locality is bold enough in India. But in the more advanced countries in Europe and America, an educational organization is meant to satisfy local needs, representing a distinct and characteristic type of technical and University education. A self-sufficient educational equipment for each district, with its typical forms of rural education, handicrafts and industries, is a desideratum in India, and will restore the importance of the part played by our ancient teachers in building up the civic life of the people. A District Committee of Education, with its own professors, teachers and inspectors thus working unaided and unfettered by an extraneous organisation, will command more res-

pect and confidence than our present-day educational staff, who seem to have absolutely no concern with the particular social and educational interests of the locality. The adoption of what might be called an Educational Decentralisation Scheme can alone give an important status and independence to our teachers, which will be far more effective in infusing life and vigour into educational work than any amount of official control, supervision and inspection, or raising of the standard of education.

The most important characteristic of Professor Sarkar's programme, however, is the system of moral education. In this direction more than in anything, it represents a reaction against the insufficient moral education of our schools to day. According to him, moral education is to be imparted not through moral lessons, but through special arrangements by which the student is made to develop the habits of self-sacrifice by undertaking various works of philanthropy and social service. Among these, the author has noted the work of teaching in the free evening schools for the diffusion of mass-education, of organising circulating libraries for the middle classes, or of collecting money to defray part of the expenses of the school. In all these undertakings the teacher is to be their guide and responsible head, the mutual confidence between pupils and teachers being thus the keynote of moral education.

The author has suggested in this connection the system which he calls 'conscription in the field of education' according to which it is obligatory on each student to devote at least a portion of his life to the work of spreading education among the people. No system can be more fruitful than this when a people has not passed even through the pioneering stages in the work of education. It is interesting to note that the Negro leader in America, Mr. Booker Washington built up his organisation for the education of the Negroes through the help of his first band of students in Tuskegee all of whom pledged themselve bound to work for the cause of Negro-education.

If Mr. Gokhale's scheme of compulsory education is to succeed in India, we must have in every district a band of enthusiastic students of our colleges and public schools who would voluntarily devote themselves for one or two years to the work of spreading education in our villages.

In the last chapter of the book Prof. Sarkar deals with a very important question, the place of religious education in a scheme

of studies. One great defect of the school system is that it stamps out individuality, whereas real education should give to society the free activities of every individual. Hence the pleas from time to time for education by nature. This educational theory is a reaction against the commonly recognised type of schools,—a protest against the introduction of the military principle which checks the spontaneous development of the student, and turns an educational institution more or less into a soldier's barrack.

In a sound system of education, the teacher must have before his mind not the school-discipline and the school books, but the child itself as it is by nature. Discipline and schools are for children not children for them. Rousseau was one of the first to say this. He based education entirely on a study of the child to be educated. Froebel and Pestalozzi developed Rousseau's theory and succeeded in establishing the theory of child-development in pedagogics. To develop the child-mind, we must exercise the child's own mind. This exercise, Froebel says, arises from, and is sustained by its own activity; the more the activity of the mind—"selfproduced, self-maintained, and self-directed," the better is the result. Thus "each man must develop from within, self-active and free in accordance with the eternal law. This is the problem and the aim of all education in instruction and training; there can be and should be no other." When the natural powers of the child instead of being aided are fettered by the routine work of the school system, the effects are very harmful. Modern pedagogic literature in Europe is characterised by this keynote running through it all, viz. the desire to let the child live his own life and settle his own system of values. In a recent book it has been remarked:—"In the best of schools, the machinery of formal lessons cannot but be artificial—the standing reproach against teachers is that they teach not for life, but for school....Character is a make-up of many qualities, but some of these at least are due to the spirit of independence. After all is said, character can only be my character; if it has not been formed by me, if I am not allowed choice, at least in details, if I cannot say Yes or No, then the virtues are merely borrowed; *and the out-come is not character but an under-study.*"

A greater violation of this important psychological truth can hardly be found than in the attempt to include religious education within the scope of the school-system. Religion more than anything does

not admit of standardization. If mechanical ideas are introduced into this field, we have only the mockery of religious education. Thus, as Prof. Sarkar rightly points out, what passes for religious education in the European and American schools is mere learning of ethics, psychology and theology, an intellectual study of the theory and origins of religion. The true religious education which develops the mystic sense for the perception of the Infinite is the outcome of a strenuous life of *sadhana* in the course of which truths are revealed as the student rises from a lower to a higher spiritual plane. Such development of the soul and the due subordination of the body to the mind can only be regulated by the great spiritual masters who know the inner workings of a particular mind. Such teachers work for nothing. The mutual love between masters and pupils is thus the basis of spiritual progress. Where this relation of confidence is wanting the spiritual instincts cannot grow and develop.

We are thankful to Prof. Sarkar for emphasising the significance of this Hindu pedagogic ideal In this utilitarian age, when the art of living is forgotten, when machinery is killing souls and mechanism is destroying spirituality there clearly rings out of the message of India to humanity that the human spirit can only come to its own under a pedagogic ideal and system of training that are still living among the Indian people. The mysteries of human psychology and the infinite possibilities of development of which the human mind is capable can be learnt not through psychological treatises or theological discourses but are realised as the soul soars along the limitless vistas unfolded by the impulse from a divine Master.

And after all, the highest symptom of education is not that which brings outward efficiency or success. That aim can be well realised by the mechanical school system. Like machinery producing an infinite number of commodities of the same grade and pattern, the system of day-schools and boarding schools fashions characters according to a uniform mould. It is indeed most suitable for the training of the average mind, but does not develop to the full the inner self of every individual. Thus though it is highly efficient it is not conducive to the highest art of living. But if the end is not mere efficient living, if the purpose of teaching is to bring more out of man rather than to put more into him, the highest ideal will be realised not by mechanical practice but by the Hindu pedagogic system in which the relation between

masters and pupils is one of personal love, devotion and confidence. "Responsibility of one single individual for the development of a man's soul" is thus the basis of the highest form of training, and as long as the school does not imply this direct responsibility, it will not be found true to the highest ideals.

CHAPTER II

April 1914—September 1925. First Period of Travels and Investigations Abroad

1914-16. East And West (4)

Identity, similarity, parallelism or equality between the East and the West down to the industrial revolution is the message of all his writings, in Bengali and English, from the U. S. A., Japan and China published in journals and later as books. He condemns the one-side approach to and estimate of cultures as prevailing in the scientific and lay world, and forcefully directs the attention of the readers as much to the generally overlooked idealistic, spiritual, passivistic and mystical elements in Western civilization from the earliest times as to the almost universally ignored practical, energistic, worldly and rationalistic achievements of Asian thought and work through the ages.

Documents: (1) *Yankeestan* (U S.A, 1923, 824 pages), (2) *The Parent of Young Asia* (Japan, 1927, 500 pages), (3) *The Chinese Empire Today* (1928, 445 pages), (4) *Chinese Religion through Hindu Eyes* (Shanghai, 1916, 363 pages), which begins with the statement "Neither historically nor philosophically does Asiatic mentality differ from the Eur-American." (5) *The Postulates of Young India* (Shanghai, 1916), a sociological creed of ten articles in a leaflet form with the message: "Humanity is fundamentally one in psychology and logic as well as ethics and metaphysics,—in spite of physical and geographical diversities and notwithstanding age-long and historic race-prejudices." (6) *Love in Hindu Literature* (Tokyo, 1916, 85 pages), (7) *Folk-Element in Hindu Culture* (London, 1917, 332 pages). (8) *Hindu Achievements in Exact Science* (New York, 1918, 95 pages), (9) *Hindu Art, Its Humanism and Modernism* (New York, 1920).

1914-16. Young Asia *vis-à-vis* the "Modern World"

He finds no distinction in spirit and ideals between Young Asia and the "modern world,"—except only a difference implied in chronological distance. And even in point of time neither in

technology and economic transformation (capitalistic as well as socialistic) nor in political (democratic) self-assertion and cultural developments is the "modern world" (*Varttaman Jagat*) in general or the most advanced section of Eur-America in particular considered by the author to be very far ahead of the East. India, for instance, is regarded as being behind the "first class-powers" of the West by not more than a generation and a half or two. Asia's backwardness on the score of "modern" civilization is admitted by him categorically. It is to be observed that by "modern civilization" the author invariably means the "industrial revolution" and everything in life and thought subsequent to it. But it is always pointed out by him that Asia has been advancing along the same, "modern" lines. The problem before Young Asia is envisaged by him as consisting in bidding final adieu to the medievalism that is still lingering and in trying to "catch up" to the go-aheads of the "modern world." The antithesis, East-West, is in his investigations of this period replaced by the antithesis, Medieval-Modern. This thought in regard to the actual problems of to-day runs parallel and is indeed a corollary or complement to the doctrine of sociological and historical parity between the East and the West. Sarkarism Third Step. See 1911-1914 and 1925-28.

Documents: The Bengali book on Japan, written during the summer of 1915 (chapter on Port Arthur in August) published in journals (1915-17) is a chief embodiment of this thought. This indeed is the burden of all the twelve volumes entitled *Varttaman Jagat* (nearly 4500 pages), which is a survey, extending over 11½ years (1914-1925), of industry, education, literature, art, science and social service in Egypt, England, Scotland, Ireland, the U S A, Hawaii Islands, Japan, Korea, Manchuria, China, France, Germany, Austria, Switzerland and Italy. This thought furnishes the leading motive, later, of *The Futurism of Young Asia* (Berlin, 1922, 410 pages) known in a subsequent edition as *The Sociology of Races, Cultures and Human Progress* (Calcutta, 1939), *Economic Development* Vol. I. (Madras 1926, 518 pages), *Greetings to Young India* Vol. I. (Calcutta, 1927, 1938, 182 pages), and *Political Philosophies Since* 1905 Vol. I. (Madras. 1928, 404 pages).

It is in this thought that is to be sought the ground-work of the "equations of comparative industrialism and applied economics"* that are found in germs in the papers incorporated in *Economic*

* See the Appendix No. I. "The Equations of Comparative Industrialism and Culture-History" by Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar.

Development Vol. I. (Madras 1926, 464 pages) but begin to develop somewhat precise forms between 1926 and 1929 in connection with the researches for the *Arthik Unnati* monthly and the *Bangiya Dhana Vijnan Parishat* (Bengali Institute of Economics).

1915-17. The Folk-Mind of India, China and Japan

The study of the folk-arts, folk-*mores* and folk-religions of India as well as of China and Japan leads him to the conclusion that the creative activities of the masses have rendered religion and religious institutions tremendously secular and social as instruments of human life and happiness on earth. Another important conclusion has bearings on the unity of religious beliefs and practices among the Chinese, Japanese and Hindus of to-day in spite of external diversities in the names of gods and forms or rituals or ceremonies.

Documents. (1) *The Folk-Element in Hindu Culture* (London, 1917, 332 pages) which is based to a considerable extent on Haridas Palit's Bengali work *Adyer Gambhira* (Calcutta 1911) and partly came out as papers in the *Dacca Review* (Dacca), the *Modern Review* (Calcutta), the *Vedic Magazine* (Hardwar), the *Modern World* (Madras), the *Hindustan Review* (Allahabad) and the *Collegian* (Calcutta) during 1912-1916. (2) *Chinese Religion Through Hindu Eyes* (Shanghai, 1916, 363 pages). (3) The books in Bengali on Japan (485 pages), and China (450 pages) in the *Varttaman Jagat* Series (12 volumes, 1914-1935, 4500 pages) published as articles in journals during 1915-18. (4) The Bengali book, *The A B C. of Chinese Civilization*, (Calcutta, 1923, 250 pages) which was also published serially in journals during 1916-1918.

1916-20. Humanism in Hindu Literature and Art

On the strength of studies in Vidyapati and Kalidasa and other Indian poets of the past as well as in sculptures and paintings of ancient and medieval India he realizes that literary and art work of the Indian peoples was profoundly humanistic and pervaded by the joy of life. Among other things the sex-element is discovered to be as prominent as the folk-element in all Hindu creations.

Documents: (1) *Love in Hindu Literature* (Tokyo, 1916, 95 pages), (2) *Hindu Art Its Humanism and Modernism* (New York, 1920), *The Aesthetics of Young India* (Calcutta, 1923, 120 pages).

1916-22. East and West (5)

The energism (*shakti-yoga*) as well as the rationalistic, secular and practical contributions of Indian (and other Oriental) philosophy and culture are the main themes; and equality, parallelism, identity or similarity between the East and the West down to the industrial revolution the fundamental conclusion—of all his lectures before American (1916-20), French (1921) and German (1922) Universities and learned societies, as well as of some 34 contributions to the scientific journals of the U. S. A., Italy, France, and Germany (1917-25).[1]

Documents: (1) *The Political Institutions and Theories of the Hindus* (Leipzig, 1922, Calcutta, 1939, 256 pages), (2) *The Futurism of Young Asia* Berlin, 1922, 410 pages) known later as the *Sociology of Races, Cultures and Human Progress* (Calcutta 1939), (3) La Démocratie hindoue (*Séances et Travaux de l'Académie des Sciences morales et politiques*, Paris, 1921), (5) *The Aesthetics of Young India* (Calcutta, 1923, 124 pages) (6) *The Positive Background of Hindu Sociology* Vol. II, Part I. (Economic), (Allahabad, 1921, 126 pages), Part II (1927, 150 pages), (7) *Hindu Politics in Italian* (Calcutta 1926, 64 pages), (8) *Hindu Rastrer Gadan*, The Morphology of the Hindu State (1926, 380 pages), (9) *Creative India* (Lahore, 1937, 725 pages), (10) *Introduction to Hindu Positivism* (Allahabad, 1937, 770 pages).

1916-23. Class-Consciousness (Socialism) *vs.* Solidarism

Class-consciousness as a force in societal evolution and as militating against national unity or solidarism becomes a part of Sarkar's experiences and writings in Great Britain (May-November 1914), but acquires prominence in the writings of the American period (1914-15, 1916-20, especially after 1918).

Documents: (1) *Vanttaman Jagat* volumes on England, U.S.A., France, Germany, Austria, Italy and Switzerland, all published in journals between 1914 and 1926, (2) Americanization from the viewpoint of Young Asia (*Journal of Race Development*, Clark University, U.S.A., 1919) (3) Economic Foundations of the State in Sukra's Political Philosophy (*Modern Review*, Calcutta, 1921), (4) Die soziale Philosophie Jung-Indiens (*Deutsche Rundschau*, Berlin, 1922)

Later Works: (1) Bengali translation of Engels's *Entstehung der Familie* as *Parivar, Gosthi O Rastra* with introduction (Calcutta, 1924-26, 344

1 See the contribution on "The Works of Benoy Sarkar" (B. Dass). The titles of Sarkar's American, French, German and Italian papers are given by Dr. L. M. Basu in his preface to B. K. Sarkar's *Introduction to Hindu Positivism* (Allahabad, 1937), pp. 21-24, 40-42.

pages) (2) Bengali translation of Lafargue's *L'Evolution de la Propriété* as *Dhana-daulater Rupantara* with introduction (Calcutta 1924-28. 316 pages). (3) *The Politics of Boundaries* Vol. I. (Calcutta, 1926, 1938, 333 pages), (4) *Duniyar Abhawa,* The Atmosphere of the World (Calcutta, 1926, 280 pages), (5) *The Pressure of Labour upon Constitution and Law 1775-1928* (Benares, 1928, 55 pages).

1918-21. The Exports and Imports of Labour and Finance

Two important elements in contemporary world-economy are examined, namely, (1) migrations of labour and (2) international investments. The world-economic situation today is according to Sarkar governed by chauvinistic immigration legislation as in the U. S. A., Canada etc. as well as by the overthrow of economic and political autonomy. From both angles economic internationalism has grown into a phase of imperialism, racial and political, he believes, and is well calculated to be the disturber of world-peace.

Documents: (1) "Americanization from the View-point of Young Asia" (*Journal of Race Development,* Clark University, Worcester, Mass, July, 1919) and (2) "The International Fetters of Young China" (*Journal of International Relations,* January 1921).

1921-25. Industrialization and World-Economy

As editor of *Commercial News,* a manthly organ of India's opportunities in foreign trade, issued from Berlin by the *Indo-europaeische Handelsgesellschaft* (an Indian business house*) he emphasizes the need of the Indian people for industrialization as well as direct export and import intercourse with the leading nations of the world. By his numerous contributions to the *Mysore Economic Journal, Bombay Chronicle, Modern Review* (Calcutta), *Forward* (Calcutta daily) and other journals he brings Indian economists, businessmen and publicists into contact with the world-movements in commerce, economic legislation, industrialism and technical education.

Documents: *Economic Development,* Vol. I, (Madras, 1926 1938, 518 pages).

* Established by the electrical engineer, Mr. Birendra Nath Das Gupta, who contributes a paper to the present volume.

1924-25. The Role of Foreign Capital in Undeveloped Countries

Foreign capital is recognized by Sarkar as one of the greatest instruments in the industrialization as well as cultural and political advancement of undeveloped countries. He considers it to be a paradox of societal evolution. The view is substantially different from his standpoint in the "International Fetters of Young China" published in the *Journal of International Relations* (U.S.A. 1921).

Documents: The doctrine is enunciated in "A Scheme of Economic Development for Young India (*Modern Review*, July 1925), which appears later in *Economic Development* Vol I. (*Madras* 1926, 518 pages) as well as in Bengali as *Sampad Buddhir Karma Kaushal* (1929) It is carried forward in *Empire Development and World Economy* and other lectures published in *Greetings to Young India* (Calcutta, 1927, 1938, 182 pages), and illustrated by examples in the *Arthik Unnati* monthly (1926-29) some of which are reproduced in *Ekaler Dhanadaulat O Arthashastra* (The Wealth and Economics of Our Own Times) Vol I. (1930, 374 pages).

CHAPTER III

September 1925—October 1931. Period of Arthik Unnati (Economic Progress), the Journal of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce and the Bangiya Dhana-Vijnan Parishat (Bengali Institute of Economics)

1925-28. Equations of Comparative Industrialism*

At any point of time, in the author's estimation, the different countries of the world stand in definite relations of superiority, inferiority or equality in technological and economic values. These qualitative relations can be mathematically measured *per capita* and per square mile of the region inhabited. The measurements of coefficients can be carried out likewise, first, in regard to a single country but at two or more different points of time, and secondly, in regard to two or more countries at two different points of time. It is on the sterngth of such measurements of parity that the classification of economic powers from the standpoint of com-

* See Appendix I. *The Equations of Comparative Industrialism and Culture-History* by Professor Benoy Sarkar.

parative industrialism can be effected. And it is these equations that enable applied economics to ascertain the "next stage" of economic evolution, the nearest goal, the highest possible ambition, the distance to be covered, the highest to be caught up to, the economic planning, etc., in regard to the diverse peoples.

This conception of statistically measurable parities or equations constitutes the farthest logical conclusion of Sarkar's doctrine of identity, parallelism, similarity or equality between the East and the West (established 1914-16). It furnishes the theoretical foundations of his *Economic Development* (2 vols.), and pervades from the standpoint of statesmanship his methodology and programme for the economic development of India. Sarkarism Fourth Step.

Documents (1) *The Political Philosophies since 1905, Vol I.* (Madras, 1928, 404 pages), (2) Articles in the *Journal of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce* and *Arthik Unnati* (Economic Progress) monthly, (3) *Comparative Pedagogics in Relation to Public Finance and National Wealth* (Calcutta, 1929, 133 pages), (4) *Economic Development*, Vol I (Madras 1926, 518 pages), (5) *Ekaler Dhana-Daulat O Arthashastra* (The Wealth and Economics of Our Own Times), Vol. I. (1930, 440 pages), (6) *Economic Development*, Vol. II, (Calcutta, 1932, 1938, 320 pages)

1926-1927. Exchange and Foreign Trade Policies

Economically speaking, it ought to be India's interest, he believes, to have her currency linked up with the British as well as to organize her tariff relations in such a manner as to enjoy the special privileges offered by the United Kingdom to the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Documents: (1) Empire Development and Economic India, Lecture at the Rotary Club, Calcutta, 1926, published in the *Englishman* (Calcutta, 21st July 1926) (2) Views on the Hilton Young Currency Report (*Forward*, Calcutta, 4th August, 1926). (3) "Some Current Questions in Indian Industry, Commerce and Economics" (*Journal of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce*, 1927), (4) *Greetings to Young India*, Vol. I, (Calcutta 1927, 1938, 182 pages).

May 1929-October 1931. World Economy and Economic India

During the second period of travels and investigations in Europe, comparative industrialism with special reference to the equations between economic India and world economy becomes the subject of Sarkar's lectures at the Universities of Switzer-

land (Geneva) and Italy (Milan, Padua and Rome) in 1929-31, and as Guest-Professor at the *Technische Hochschule* (Technological University) of Munich and at other German Universities (Kiel, Berlin, Stuttgart, Jena, Leipzig, Innsbruck, Karlsruhe, Dresden, Wuerzburg, Nuernberg) in 1930-31.

It is in the same key, likewise, that he prepares his paper in Italian on comparative vital statistics for the International Congress on Population held at Rome in September 1931 at which he is a president of the Economic Section.

Documents: Twenty-two contributions in French, Italian and German to the continental journals of economics, statistics and sociology, such as *Revue de Synthèse Historique* (Paris), *Annali di Economia* (Milan,), *Deutsche Rundschau* (Berlin), *Bankwissenschaft* (Berlin), *Allgemeines Statistisches Archiv* (Jena), *Commercio* (Rome) *etc* The Italian paper for the International Congress on Population has been rendered into English by the author for the Eighth All-India Medical Conference held at Calcutta in March 1932 The English text is to be found in the *Journal of the Indian Medical Association* (Calcutta, May 1932) and also as a monograph (1932).

1930-31. The Balkan Complex and Young India

In connection with the equations of applied economics he has sought to establish (1) that India is behind the "industrial adults" of Eur-America, for example, Great Britain, Germany, U S. A., France, etc., the regions of the "second industrial revolution," by a generation, or a generation and a half, or two generations, but (2) that Eur-America itself is not uniform in technico-economic or socio-cultural developments, possessing as it does many extensive areas, inhabited by several hundred millions, which are more or less in the same conditions as India today. It is in the situations like those of the "Balkan Complex," Eastern Europe, Russia, Latin America, etc., that contemporary India's approximate parity or equality is to be sought in the interest of economic statesmanship and societal reconstruction. India as well as those countries constitute the regions of the "first industrial revolution" whose modernization will depend to a great extent on the import of capital and "instruments of production" from the regions of the "second industrial revolution." Sarkarism Fifth Step. See 1925-28.

Documents. (1) *Naya Banglar Goda-Pattan* (The Foundations of a New Bengal), Vol. I. (Calcutta 1932, 532 pages), (2) *Die Entwicklung und Weltwritschaftliche Bedeutung des modernen Indien* (Stuttgart, 1931), (3) *Economic*

Development Vol I, (Madras, 1926, 1938, 464 pages): Chapters on Italy and the different Balkan States), (4) *Politics of Boundaries* Vol. I. (Calcutta, 1926, 1938, 340 pages). Chapters on Italy, the Baltic and Balkan States etc. (5) *Economic Development* Vol. II, (Calcutta, 1932, 1938, 320 pages).

1931. Birth, Death and Growth Rates

Indian population is not growing at a much higher rate than the population of many of the countries in Eur-America. In any case the population problems of India are identical with those of the rest of the world. The policies also must be the same. India does not present a peculiarly tropical or Oriental case in demography.

Documents: (1)*I Quozienti di Natalità, di Mortalità e di Aumento naturale nell'India attuale nel Quadro della Demografia comparta* (International Congress for the Scientific Study of Population Problems, Rome, 1931), (2) *Comparative Birth, Death and Growth Rates* (Indian Medical Conference, Calcutta, 1932).

CHAPTER IV

October 1931—July 1939. Period of Arthik Unnati and the Eight Institutes

1931-32. The World-Economic Depression

The high unemployment figures as well as the phenomenal fall in prices are by themselves no indices to the fall in the absolute prosperity of the economic regions. The "second industrial revolution" is consummating itself in certain regions and the "first industrial revolution" in others. The two revolutions constitute one economic complex. The rise in the standard of living of the "industrial adults" is considerably dependent on and limited by the removal of poverty and growth of prosperity in backward regions through industrial developments, *swadeshi* movements, etc.

Documents: (1) *Economic Development,* Vol. II. (Calcutta, 1932, 1938, 320 pages), (2) India's Advances in Industrialism during the Period of the Depression (*Calcutta Commercial Gazette,* 2nd March 1936).

1932-1934. Currency, Central Banking and Tariff

The Rupee is not over-valued. The proposed constitution of the Reserve Bank is in the main acceptable. The Ottawa Agreement is likely to be beneficial to India's agriculture and industry.

Documents: (1) Chapter on the "Remaking of the Reichsbank and the Banque de France: A study in note-legislation in the perspective of the Bank of England" in *Applied Economics*, Vol. I (Calcutta, 1932), which is later entitled *Economic Development*, Vol II. (Calcutta, 1938, 380 pages), (2) *Indian Currency and Reserve Bank Problems* (Calcutta, 1933, 1934, 96 pages), (3) *Imperial Preference vis-à-vis World Economy* (Calcutta, 1934, 170 pages), (4) Chapter on "Athara Penser Rupaiya," The Eighteenpenny Rupee, in *Badlir Pathe Bangali* (Bengalis in Progress, Calcutta, 1934), (5) *Banglay Dhana-Vijnan* (Economics in Bengali), Vol. II. (Calcutta 1939) edited by Sarkar with papers from himself and others.

1932-1936. Social Insurance and Neo-Capitalism

The different branches of social insurance developed in Eur-America have served to raise the standard of living as well as the industrial and cultural manhood of the working classes. They represent aspects of neo-capitalism as contrasted with the two poles of hundred per cent capitalism and extreme socialism and ought to be promoted in India by labour leaders, the employers as well as the Government.

Documents (1) Chapter on "Sickness, Old Age and Accident Insurance," in *Naya Bangla Goda Pattan* (The Foundations of a New Bengal) Vol. I, (Calcutta, 1932 530 pages), (2) *Social Insurance Legislation and Statistics*, (Calcutta 1936, 470 pages)

1933. Economic Planning as State Socialism

"State socialism" (*Etatisme*) such as has become classical in Germany and is being practised with vengeance in Great Britain is an integral part of the Second Industrial Revolution and is but a reflex of advanced capitalism. In the form of "economic planning" it is inextricably bound up with high national wealth and can therefore hardly be attempted with any significance in zones of poverty and in regions such as find themselves in the earlier stages of the First Industrial Revolution, when, as is well known, *laissez faire* was the inevitable doctorine in statecraft and public finance. The Natural Limits of Planned Economy.

Documents: (1) Economic Planning for Bengal (*Insurance and Finance Review*, Calcutta, March 1933), (2) *Indian Currency and Reserve Bank Problems* (Calcutta, 1934, 94 pages), (3) *Imperial Preference vis-à-vis World-Economy* (Calcutta, 1934, 172 pages), (4) Lecture on Industrial Revolution,

Industrial Planning and Industrialzation at the Tenth Annual Meeting of the *Bangiya Dhana-Vijnan Parishat* (Bengali Institute of Economics), December 4, 1938.

1934-37. Religion as a Social and Spiritual Force

The Ramkrishna-Vivekananda movement has been generating soulinspiring creative forces among the diverse races of the world. This is the new Indian Empire of the twentieth century, so to say, and is bidding fair to be a powerful factor in international relations and human progress. Religion can lead to national expansion and world reconstruction and should not be treated as a defunct force in human civilization.

Documents: (1) "Vivekananda Dumukho Chhuri" (Vivekananda as a Double-edged Sword) in *Udbodhan* (Calcutta 1934), available as a chapter in *Badlir Pathe Bangali* (Bengalis in Progress, Calcutta, 1934, 640 pages), (2) *The Expansion of Spirituality as Fact of Industrial Civilization* (Presidential Address at the Ramakrishna Centenary Convention of Religions, Rangoon, April 1936, *Prabuddha Bharata,* Calcutta, 1936), (3) *Hindu Dharmer Digvijaya O Ramakrishna Samrajya,* The World-Conquest of Hinduism and the Ramakrishna Empire (Presidential Address at the Ramakrishna Centenary Convention of Religions, Malda, June 1936, *Udbodhan,* Calcutta, 1936), (4) *Ramakrishna-Vivekananda and the Religion of Progress* (Address at the Ramakrishna Centenary Convention of Religions, Karachi, Sind, November, 1936, *Prabuddha Bharata,* Calcutta 1937), (5) *Religious Categories as Universal Expressions of Creative Personality* (International Parliament of Religions, convened at Calcutta under the auspices of the Ramakrishna Centenary Committee, March, 1937, *Calcutta Review* 1937), available as a chapter in *The Religions of the World,* Vol. I. (Ramakrishna Institute of Culture, Calcutta, 1938). (6) *Samaj-Vijnan* (Sociology), Vol. I. (Calcutta, 1938), edited by Sarkar with papers from himself and others.

1934-1938. Overpopulation and Race-Deterioration as Demographic Scares

Several demographic scares are subjected by Professor Sarkar to critical analysis. Demographic optimum cannot be demonstrated, says he, by mere density of population. Overpopulation is in most instances an "open question." He maintains also that the ascendency of the alleged inferior races and lower castes of to-day in number and social position cannot by itself lead eugenically to race-deterioration or cultural degeneracy in any of the continents of the two hemispheres.

Documents. (1) The Trend of Indian Birth Rates (*Indian Journal of Economics*, Allahabad, July 1934), (2) *Neuorientierungen in Optimum und wirtschaftlicher Leistungsfaehigkeit* (International Congress for the Scientific Study of Population Problems, Berlin, 1935), (3) *Les Races, les Classes et les Forces Transformatrices au point de vue du Métabolisme Social* (International Congress of Sociology, Brussels, 1935), (4) *Open Questions and Reconstructions in the Sociology of Population* (Presidential Address at the Sociological Section of the Indian Population Conference, Lucknow, 1936), (5) *The Sociology of Population* (Calcutta, 1936, 150 pages), (6) Die soziologischen Wechselbeziehungen der Bevoelkerungsdichte (*Archiv fuer Bevoelkerungswissenschaft*, Berlin, 1937), (7) *La Situation démographique de l'Inde vis-à-vis des récoltes, des industries et des capitaux* (International Congress for the Scientific Study of Population, Paris, 1937), (8) *The Economics of Employment vis-à-vis Demographic Reconstruction* (Indian Population Conference, Bombay, 1938)

1935-1939. The Theory of Progress

That progress is not a function of race and is a complex of multiform agencies is maintained by the author in *Les Races, les Classes, et les Forces transformatrices au point de vue du métabolisme social*, a paper presented to the International Congress of Sociology, Brussels, August 1935. It is published as "Le Métabolisme social" in *Revue de Synthèse Historique* (Paris, February 1937), and "Social Metabolism in its Bearings on Progress" in *Social Forces* (North Carolina, U. S. A., December 1937). See also (1) "The Doctrine of Progress" (*Mahabodhi*, Calcutta, April 1938), and (2) *Samaj-Vijnan* (Sociology) Vol. 1. (Calcutta, 1938) edited by Sarkar with papers from himself and mers.

1937 The Charaiveti ("March on") of Hindu Positivism

The evolution of Indian culture through the ages in both its practical and speculative aspects is exhibited in two volumes: (1) *Creative India* (Lahore, 1937, 725 pages) and (2) *Introduction to Hindu Positivism*, Allahabad, 1937, 770 pages). The second work is Vol. I, of the second edition of the *The Positive Background of Hindu Sociology*. A paper in Italian entitled *I Dati Secolari e Sociologici nella Letteratura Buddistica Pali* presented to the International Congress of Orientalists, Rome (1935), is to be mentioned in this connection.

1937-39. Economic Autarchy

The autarchic measures of the German Four-Year Plan are not calculated to place Germany in splendid isolation,—no more than are the Imperial Preference measures of England and France or the ordinary tariff policies of the U. S. A. and other countries planned to declare these regions closed to world-trade. Autarchy is desirable as a slogan, an economic war-cry. But economic statesmanship must be adequately oriented to the requirements of exports and imports in finance, labour and goods.

Documents: (1) *Economic Aspects of the German Four-Year Plan,* a lecture at the *Bangiya Jarman Vidya Samsad* (Bengali Society of German Culture), July 31, 1937, (2) Economic Autarchy as Embodied in the German Four Year Plan (*Calcutta Review,* February 1938), (3) Economic Autarchy in Italy (*Calcutta Review,* July 1938), (4) The Theory of Autarchy and *Swadeshi* (*Calcutta Review,* September, 1938), (5) Lecture on Economic Autarchy at the *Bangiya Dhana-Vijnan Parishat* (Bengali Institute of Economics), May 14, 1939. See also *Imperial Preference vis-à-vis World-Economy* (Calcutta 1934).

1938-1939. Neo-Democracy and Demo-despotocracy

Professor Sarkar believes that freedom, nationalism, democracy, socialism etc. is a matter of doses or degrees and that each is mixed up with its psycho-social antithesis or opposite in actual life. Hence arise the problems of modification, multiplication etc. engendered by the presence of conflicts or dualities. The thesis is established in *Demo-despotocracy and Freedom,* a paper at the First Indian Political Science Conference, Benares (December 1938), published in the *Calcutta Review* (January 1939).

Documents: Articles in the *Calcutta Review* such as (1) "The People and the State in Neo-Democracy" (July 1936), (2) "Lasbax's Third Empire for France" (August 1938), (3) "Stalin as the Manager of Leninism No. II." (September 1938), (4) "Dualism in Law" (February 1939), etc. See *The Political Philosophies Since 1905,* Vol. II (Lahore, 1939).

1939. Modern Materialism

At the Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture (Calcutta) I delivered a lecture on *The Economic Teachings of Swami Vivekananda* on 22nd January 1939. As Chairman of that meeting Professor Sarkar made out a distinction between modern materialism and the materialism of ancient and medieval epochs. In those days, said he, the intellectuals who were generally known as

sages used to treat matter as something subordinate to the spirit. But in modern times mankind has got used to respect matter and spirit each on its own terms.[1] And this has initiated not only a sincerity of temperament *vis-à-vis* both material and spiritual things but at the same time served to strengthen man's command over nature and material prosperity without in any way belittling the dignity of the spirit.

Main Themes

1. East vis-à-vis West (Sociology and Comparative Culture-History)
2. Education and Man-making (Pedagogics).
3. Utilization of World-Forces (Political Philosophy)
4. The Chronological distance between the "Modern World" and Young Asia (Technology and Economics).
5. The Classes or the Nation? (Labour Philosophy)
6. Undeveloped Economic Regions in their orientations to Foreign Capital (Nationalism *vs* Economic Imperialism)
7. Equations of Applied Economics (Economic Statesmanship).
8. The Problem of Overpopulation (Demography)
9. The Alleged Inferior Races and Classes (Eugenics)
10. The Expansion of Spirituality.
11. Currency and Tariff Questions as well as Land Legislation
12. Freedom, Democracy and Socialism.
13. The Problem of Progress.
14. Form and Matter in Art and Literature.

Some Important Documents[2]

1. *The Science of History and the Hope of Mankind* (Bengali, 1910, Calcutta, English, 1912, London, 84 pages).
2. *Siksha-Samalochana* (Educational Observations, Calcutta 1912, 150 pages), not available in English.
3. *The Positive Background of Hindu Sociology* Vol. I. (Allahabad 1913-14, 300 pages), Vol. II. Part I. (1921, 126 pages), Part II. (1927, 150 pages). For the next volume see No. 19 below.
4. *Navin Asiar Janmadata*, The Parent of New Asia (Japan) published in journals 1915-16, as book 1927, 500 pages, not available in English.

1 See Appendix II. *Kant, Vivekananda and Modern Materialism* by Benoy Sarkar.

2 For the complete list, especially for the Bengali books see the contribution on "The Works of Benoy Sarkar" by Professor Banesvar Dass.

5. *Chinese Religion through Hindu Eyes* (Shanghai, 1916, 363 pages)
6. *Hindu Achievements in Exact Science* (New York, 1918, 95 pages).
7. *The Futurism of Young Asia* (Berlin 1922, 410 pages), in the second edition known as the *Sociology of Races, Cultures and Human Progress* (Calcutta, 1939).
8. *The Political Institutions and Theories of the Hindus* (Leipzig, 1922, Calcutta, 1939, 256 pages).
9. *Economic Development,* Vol. I. (Madras, 1926, 1938, 518 pages), Vol. II. (Calcutta, 1932, 1938, 320 pages).
10. *Greetings to Young India,* Part I. (Calcutta, 1927, 1938, 182 pages).
11. *The Political Philosophies since 1905,* Vol. I. (Madras, 1928, 404 pages), Vol. II. (Lahore, 1939, 600 pages).
12. *Comparative Pedagogics in Relation to Public Finance and National Wealth* (Calcutta 1929, 133 pages).
13. *Ekaler Dhana-daulat O Artha-shastra* (The Wealth and Economics of Our Own Times), Vol I. (Calcutta, 1930, 440 pages), Vol. II Calcutta, 1935, 770 pages). Not available in English.
14. *Naya Banglar Goda-Pattan* (The Foundations of a New Bengal), Vol. I Theoretical (1932, 532 pages), Vol. II. (1932, 450 pages). Not available in English.
15. *Indian Currency and Reserve Bank Problems* (Calcutta, 1933, 1934, 94 pages).
16. *Imperial Preference vis-à-vis World-Economy* (Calcutta, 1934, 170 pages).
17. *The Sociology of Population* (Calcutta, 1936, 150 pages).
18. *Social Insurance Legislation and Statistics* (Calcutta, 1936, 460 pages).
19. *Introduction to Hindu Positivism* (Allahabad, 1937, 770 pages). See No. 3 above.
20. *Creative India* (Lahore, 1937, 725 pages).
21. *Banglay Dhana-Vijnan* (Economics in Bengali) edited by Sarkar with papers from himself as well as others. Vol. I. (1937), pages 750. Vol II, (1939), pages 600. Not available in English.
22. *Samaj-Vijnan* (Sociology) edited by Sarkar with papers from himself as well as others. Vol. I. (1938), pages 600. Not available in English.

Translations or Adaptations

By Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar

1. *Sukranuti* (Sukra's Politics, Economics and Sociology) rendered into English from Sanskrit for the Sacred Books of the Hindus Series, Allahabad, 1914, Royal Octavo, 300 pages.

2. *Nigro Jatir Karmavir,* in Bengali, adapted from Booker Washington's *Up from Slavery,* Calcutta, 1914, Double Crown, 250 pages.
3. *Swadeshi Andolan O Samrakshan-niti,* in Bengali, from Frederick List's *Das nationale System der politischen Oekonomie* (historical part), published, first as articles in Bengali journals from 1914 to 1923, then as book, 1932. Double Crown, 250 pages.
4. *Hindu Politics in Italian,* from Salvatore Cognetti de Martiis, Formichi, Pizzagalli, Bottazzi and Vallauri, Calcutta, 1926. Royal Octavo, 62 pages.
5. *Parivar, Gosthi O Rastra,* in Bengali, from Engels's *Entstehung der Familie, des Eigentums und des Staates,* Calcutta, 1926, Double Crown, 250 pages.
6. *Dhana-daulater Rupantar,* in Bengali, from Lafargue's *L'Evolution de la Propriété,* Calcutta, 1927, Double Crown 250 pages.

APPENDIX I.

The Equations of Comparative Industrialism and Culture-History*

BY PROFESSOR BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

Notwithstanding the divergences of latitude and longitude and notwithstanding the differences in the make-up of the blood among the different races, anthropology as well as modern and contemporary history furnish us with what may be described as equations or identities and at any rate similarities in the ideals as well as technical and other attainments of the historic nations of the world.

It is necessary at this stage to invite the attention of scholars to some of these equations in the field of economic life and civilization. In place of the traditional ideas regarding racial and geographical differences in the so-called types of culture we are presented with differences or distances in time only. The fundamental features of civilization, pragmatically considered, are found to be the same in the different peoples. It is only proceeding step by step, or rather stage by stage, from epoch to epoch: the differences between the peoples are but differences in the stage or

* Part of a chapter in *The Cultural Heritage of India,* Vol. III. (Ramakrishna Centenary Memorial Volume, Calcutta, 1937).

epoch. The equations that are being established here reveal but the distinctions between earlier and later, go-ahead and backward peoples. The same features are appearing to-day in one race or region, to-morrow in a second, and the day after to-morrow in a third.

The "curves" of life in economic or political theory and practice as manifest in the modern East are more or less similar to those in the modern West. If one were to plot out these curves diagrammatically, one would notice that the Asian series ran almost parallel to the Eur-American. The "trends" of evolution would appear to be nearly identical in the most significant particulars and incidents of thought and experience.

The "exactness" of the mathematical and "positive" sciences, is, however, not to be expected in the human and moral disciplines. But certain socio-philosophical "equations" may still be discovered in a comparative estimate of the East and the West. By placing the Asian curves in the perspective of the Eur-American one might establish a number of identities for the modern period—although, of course, not without 'buts' and 'ifs.'

But, in any case, taking Asia as a whole one would come to the conclusion that the economic, political and social philosophies and endeavours in the different regions of the Orient are mainly but repetitions of Eur-American developments in their earlier stages. The following socio-philosophical as well as economico-technocratic equations may be established on the strength of positive data:

(1) New Asia (c. 1880-1890)=Modern Eur-America (c. 1776-1832).

(2) Young India (c. 1930-35)=Eur-America (c. 1848-1870).

In the first equation, Asia comprises Turkey and Egypt, indicating that the entire Orient from Tokio to Cairo was witnessing a technical and social transformation roughly corresponding to the remaking of the West during the epoch of the "Industrial Revolution."

The second equation has special reference to India, indicating that Japan and Turkey as well as China, Persia and Egypt will have to be comprehended by separate, perhaps five different equations. There are likewise to be separate equations not only for Hedjaz, Palestine, Syria and Iraq, but also for Afghanistan,

which has for some time been enjoying limelight as a somewhat serious and sincere youngster attempting the alphabet of modernism in technocracy, administration, economic life and general culture.

The modern East is about two generations behind the modern West in technocracy and socio-economic polity. New Asia is born through (1) contact with and example of modern Western progress, (2) industrialization, however slow and halting, and (3) dislike of foreign domination, intervention or concession.

The inspiration derived from the economic, political and cultural achievements of ancient and medieval Asia is another formative force in the New Orient. This "romantic" appreciation of the past is, however, intimately associated with modern historical, archæological and anthropological scholarship. Nationalism, in so far as it is an aspect of romanticism, is ultimately to be traced therefore, in the main to Western education such as began to bear fruit—among the pioneers of new life and thought in Asia—between 1850 and 1886 and has been more or less democratized filtering down to the masses since then.

The process of Asia's rebirth may be said to have begun c 1850 and taken about one generation or so, thus:

1. Western Asia (Turkey, Egypt and Persia). 1857 (Crimean War) to 1876, 1882, 1890.
2. Southern Asia (India): 1857 (Mutiny) to 1886.
3. Japan: 1853 (Commodore Perry) to 1867-1889.
4. China: 1842 (Nanking Treaty) to 1898.

Although modernization began to influence the Asian continent at different points more or less simultaneously during the decade from 1880 to 1890, the rate of growth for different regions since then has been different.

For instance, the distance or lag of some fifty years that existed between Japan and Eur-America, say, about 1886, has been made up to a very considerable extent; so that for to-day the appropriate economico-sociological identity would perhaps be indicated by the following equation:

Japan (c. 1930-35)=Eur-America (c. 1910).

That is, while India continues still to be some two generations or so behind the modern West in industrialism, constitution, social legislation, etc., and allied philosophies—the distance that existed

during the decade 1880-1890—Japan has succeeded in "catching up to" the go-aheads by more than a generation. And to that extent Japan to-day is ahead of contemporary India.

It is not the place here to go into details about the technocratic and economic transformations of the world. But these transformations may be indicated in four successive periods beginning with the new conquests of technocracy in which England commenced pioneering the world about 1760-85. The following scheme exhibits the West-European Economy and the Indian Economy in four periods of transformation, which, however, from the nature of the case cannot be synchronous or identical. In regard to West-European Economy the British-German equations are being shown for each of these periods. The French equations with Germany or with England are being given for the first two periods only. In regard to India it is the equations with Germany as a "relatively late" comer, and with England as the pioneer in the domain of technocracy and industrial revolution, that are chiefly pointed out, while the relations with France are indicated only incidentally.

It is to be observed that the categories, "industrialization," "first industrial revolution" and "second industrial revolution" have reference to the different degrees in the intensity and extensity of the socio-economic transformation as measured by *per capita* or per sq. mile values. In any case they are vague and sociologically anything but definite. International statistics, besides, are very incomplete and very uncomparable, and therefore must not be made too much of. And yet some amount of precision for general purposes can be obtained—provided we take care to guard ourselves against the monistic economic determinism of Karl Marx—from an examination of the equations of comparative industrialism as tabled below:[1]

1 In no instance should the equation be treated as possessing more than the value of "nearest approaches" or "approximate similarities"; cf. H. Hauser: *Les Débuts du Capitalisme* (Paris, 1931), pp. 42-44, 309-323, where the terms "industry," "industrial revolution," "capitalism", etc., have been subjected to careful sociological criticism. The strength and weakness of the economic interpretation of history have been examined at length in R. Michels: *Corso di Sociologia Politica* (Milan, 1927), pp. 15-17, 47-52, 81-85.

West-European Economy
I
1785-1830

"Industrial Revolution" is consummated in England. The age of technocracy commences its career. But France and Germany (1830) = England (1800).

Indian Economy
I
1793-1853

From the Permanent Settlement in Bengal to the first cotton mill in Bombay. "Commercial revolution" in India on account of contacts with Europe through England. No new "Industries."
India (1853)
= England (1785)
= almost France (1830)
= almost Germany (1830)

West-European Economy
II
1830-70

Industrial Revolution progresses in France and somewhat later in Germany. But Germany (1870) = England (1830-48). Rising birthrate in the West-European economy (1841-80).

Indian Economy
II
1854-85

"Industrialization" (but not industrial revolution) commences slowly and in a weak manner.
India (1885)
= France (1848)
= Germany (1848)
= England (1815)

III
1870-1905

In technocracy Germany catches up to England.
Germany (1905) = England (1905).

The epoch of "world-economy" in its most pronounced phases commences with the opening of the Suez Canal (1869).

The decline commences in the birth-rate (1881-90).

III
18586-1905

Industrialization continues at a slow rate. The Indian *intelligentsia* is growing self-conscious and seeks to achieve a veritable industrial "revolution." The economic sentiments of the Indian National Congress (1886) lead up to the *Swaraj*-Boycott *Swadeshi* complex (1905).
India (1905) = Germany (1850-60)
= England (1830).

Rising birth-rate in India (1881-1910).

IV 1905-35	IV 1905-35
The "second" Industrial Revolution progresses in Germany, England, (the U S.A. and some other countries). "Rationalization" and Technocracy paramount.	Industrialization is somewhat accentuated on account of the *Swadeshi*-Movement and the Great War (1914-18) and yet hardly constitutes an industrial "revolution" in terms of *per capita* or per sq. mile values.
The epoch of world-economy is intensified, among other factors, by the opening of the Panama Canal (1915).	In technocracy India (1935) =Germany (1865-75) =England (1848).
The decline in the birth-rate continues.	The decline in the birth-rate commences (1910-20).

In the above *tableau économique* the processes of transformation are identical on both sides, the West-European and the Indian. The chronological backwardness of certain regions in the West-European economy in relation to England the pioneer is quite clear. Equally clear also is the chronological backwardness of economic India in relation not only to England, but to the West-European economy as a whole. In technocracy India at 1905, *i.e.* when the *Swadeshi* Movement commences, is about 45-55 years behind Germany and about 75 years behind England. The general economic and social conditions of the Indian people as well as their material standard of life and efficiency are at this time on more or less the same level—allowing for the differences in climate and manners—as in these West-European countries between 1830 and 1860. There is nothing extraordinary, therefore, that the birth rate tendencies, namely, in the direction of ascent, which prevailed in these regions in those earlier years should manifest themselves along general lines in the Indian economy during this later period (1886-1910). It is under the more or less identical conditions of "temperature and pressure," to use a phrase from physics, that the more or less identical birth-phenomena, namely, the rising birth-rates have taken place. Only the periods of time during which the conditions have developed are some three decades apart from each other, the third period of the Indian Economy corresponding with the second period of the West-European.

The next phase in both these economies is a declining birth-rate. The decline commences in the West-European in the third

period, but in the Indian in the fourth. This decline is, however, quite a curious phenomenon.

The third and fourth periods of the West-European Economy are, if anything, but continuations of the previous two periods in technocracy, industrial revolution, etc. We have here indeed the beginning of real "world-economy" and what may be called the "second" industrial revolution, altogether an expansion and intensification of the economic prosperity which commenced about 1760-1830. And so far as the Indian Economy is concerned, the fourth period has likewise witnessed nothing but the accentuation of all the technical and financial forces which operated in the third The progress of industrialization in India has certainly embodied itself during this period in such productive enterprises and items of consumption as sharply distinguish it from the third as moving on a higher plane. Material prosperity has grown in India as in Western Europe, although undoubtedly at different rates in recent years.

Should the growing economic prosperity be a concomitant factor with the rising birth-rate in certain periods of West-European and Indian life-history, the birth-rate ought to continue to rise during succeeding periods which witness the continuity, nay, expansion of the economic prosperity. But the actual facts of international vital statitstics happen to be the exact opposite of what is logically expected. Instead of the birth-rate rising higher or at any rate maintaining a high level with higher doses of industrialization, technocracy, world-economy and material prosperity, it has actually fallen and has been going down lower and lower. And the decline is patent as much in the West-European Economy as in the Indian.[1]

Within the limitations to which all sociological equations as attempts at measuring magnitudes bearing on "un-exact" sciences are bound to be subject, it should be equally possible to indicate,

1 The present author's "Quozienti di Natalità, di Mortalità e di Aumento Naturale nell 'India Attuale nel Quadro della Demografia Comparata" in the *Proceedings of the International Congress for the Study of Population* (Rome, 1931), "The Trend of Indian Birth Rates" (in the *Indian Journal of Economics*, Allahabad, April and July, 1934); *Neu-Orientierungen in Optimum und wirtschaftlicher Leistungsfaehigkeit mit Berueecksichtigung auf* die *indische Bevoelkerungs-und-Gesundheitsstatistik* (International Congress for the Study of Population Problems, Berlin, 1935); and *The Sociology of Population* (Calcutta, 1936).

for the purposes of comparative social statistics, the rates of growth in the line of modernization for different regions of Eur-America as well. The entire West is not one in industrialism, democracy or the corresponding philosophies. To take one instance, that of Germany, we should find the following equations:

(1) Germany (c. 1875) = Great Britain (c. 1830-48).
(2) Germany (c. 1905) = Great Britain (c. 1905).

The first equation says that about 1875 Germany was tremendously behind Great Britain, say, by a whole generation. But by 1905, *i.e.* in 30 years she, first, made up the distance and, secondly, caught up to the latter. She was indeed on the point of crossing the equation-limit. The war of 1914-18 should appear socio-philosophically to be nothing more than the dramatic demonstration of this disturbance of the economico-technocratic equation or societal equilibrium in the international field.

The societal equations discussed here involve two fundamental considerations in the problem of human progress. The first has reference to the fact that during historic periods the evolution of mankind has been continuous, although not without ups and downs, cuts and breaks. And the second invities us to note that the societal development has been in the main along uniform lines, although not without diversities in regional and racial contexts.

For earlier periods the more or less approximate socio-philosophical identities or similarities may be roughly indicated as follows:

(1) East (down to c. 1300) = West (down to c. 1300) institutionally as well as ideologically.

(2) Renaissance in the East (c. 1400-1600) = Renaissance in the West (c. 1400-1600).

(3) c. 1600-1750. The new physical or positive sciences in the West constitute a special feature of the European Renaissance. The Asian Renaissance produces fine arts, but no new positive science worth mentioning. All the same, no genuine societal differentiations between the East and the West are perceptible as yet. We may then institute the following two equations:

(a) Asia in positive science (c. 1600-1750) = Europe in positive science (c. 1400-1600).
(b) Asia in socio-economic life (c. 1600-1750) = Europe in socio-economic life (c. 1600-1750).

(4) c. 1750-1850. Industrial Revolution in the West creates a new civilization, the "modern world." East and West differ substantially for the first time. Thus Asia (c. 1850)=Europe (c. 1750).

About 1850 the "East" is behind the "West" by nearly a century, in technocracy, economic institutions and general culture (see Table I. above).

The previous stages of evolution may be left alone for the present. An analysis of economic life in the contemporary Balkans would lead to the result that Jugoslavia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Greece, Turkey, etc., represent almost the same stages in technocratic evolution in which India finds herself at the present day. Almost each one of the new states that lie between the German and Russian spheres and between the Baltic Sea and the Eastern Mediterranean, with the exception perhaps of Czechoslovakia, is an India in miniature. Economically speaking, each of these states embodies the efforts of semi-developed and more or less chiefly agricultural peoples at imbibing the culture of the more advanced Western Europe and America. They represent the process by which Eastern Europe is tending to bid adieu finally to the lingering vestiges of the feudal-agrarian system, the medieval economic organization and technique, which disappeared in England, the U.S.A., France and Germany between 1750 and 1850.

In point of industrialization, technocracy and capitalism the British, German and American standard is the highest in the world. Nearly two-thirds of the European continent are in the more or less undeveloped and medieval conditions of Spain [1] That is why the people of India should make it a point to study the methods and achievements of Spain and other second-rate and third-rate countries of Eur-America. It would be a wrong policy for Young India always to talk of England, Germany and America while organizing industrial, literary, educational and library movements.

1 H S Suhrawardy: "Diversities of Spain," lecture at the *Āntarjātik Banga" Parishat* ("International Bengal" Institute), Calcutta, 27th April, 1932, M Deb-Ray: "Spain To-day," lecture at the "Malda in Calcutta" Society, 5th July, 1935, reported in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, Calcutta, for 12th July, 1935. See also the present author's *Politics of Boundaries* Vol I. (Calcutta, 1926, 1938), *Greetings to Young India* (Calcutta, 1927, 1938), and *The Political Philosophies Since 1905*, Vol. I. (Madras, 1928).

Modern civilization has been advancing from the West to the East. There is no region to-day more significant for the development of India than the Balkans, Central-Eastern Europe, the Baltic States and Russia. The problems that are being fought over and settled in these territories—generally described as the "Balkan complex" by the present author—are identical in many ways with the problems that await solution and are challenging the patriots, industrial experts and social workers of India.

The conclusion from an examination of the earlier stages of "modern" banking in France and Germany from the standpoint of comparative bank-statistics is equally significant with reference to the equations that are being discussed here. When one studies the European figures with special reference to Indian conditions, one should suspect that in banking, as in other aspects of economic and social (perhaps also cultural) development, India has yet to commence mastering the ideas of 1870 or thereabouts and traverse the ground covered by the moderns since then.

The cumulative effect of all these investigations may be embodied in the following futuristic equation: Whatever has happened in the economic sphere in Eur-America during the past half-century is bound also to happen more or less on similar and even identical lines in Asia, and of course in India during the next two generations or so. The problem before applied sociology and economic statesmanship, so far as India is concerned, consists in envisaging and hastening the working out of the "next stages" in technical progress as well as socio-economic and socio-political life.

The practical significance of the equations of applied economics as indicated here is not to be overlooked. Comparative industrialism discovers that in orientations to the "world-economy" economic India exhibits the features of an economically young, undeveloped or semi-developed people *vis-à-vis* the industrial "adults" of the day. In the interest of economic legislation and other aids to economic development, it may perhaps be quite one's worth while in India to try to cultivate up-to-dateness in the world-statistics, world-techniques and the world-ideals of economics. But for the more "practical" considerations of "realizable" ideals and methods of economic statesmanship, India will have to devote special attention to assimilating intensively the achievements in theory and practice such as the economic adults were contributing to the world, say, a generation or two ago. It is easier for a certain number or

rather a handful of intellectuals, considered as individuals, to advance "ideologically," than for an entire race or some substantially large sections of the population to grow in terms of institutions and get used to new techniques, habits and usages.

The banking situation in India to-day, to take an instance of current interest, can be aptly described in the words of the National Monetary Commission (1908), which sat to examine and report on the defects in the financial organization of the U.S.A. In 1911, we are told, the Americans exported about $650,000,000 in value of cotton. It was largely financed by 60 or 90 day bills drawn on Liverpool, London, Paris or Berlin. And this business was "practically all done by foreign banks or bankers." In regard to domestic trade also the American methods were "crude, expensive and unworthy of an intelligent people." The Commission observed as follows: "The man who raises cotton in Mississippi or cattle in Texas, or the farmer who raises wheat in the North-West cannot readily find a market in Chicago, New York or London for the obligations arising out of the transactions connected with the growth and movement of his products, because the bankers of these cities have no knowledge of his character and responsibility."[1]

Factually, perhaps, from the standpoint of comparative development, in spite of the modest language of the Commission the American conditions of two decades and a half ago were not literally as "crude" and "disgraceful" or "young" as the Indian conditions to day. But "generically" speaking, the two conditions are similar, if not identical. And Indian bank-reformers have, therefore, more to learn of pre-war than of post-war America or the Rooseveltian "New Deal" of to-day. We should have to begin at, say, the American stage of 1908. It is to be observed, however, in the interest of precision that the American economic curve of 1908 or thereabouts was already much too high, as representing quite an "adult" phenomenon, for the Indian curve of 1930-35. Statistically, there are indeed reasons to believe that for all practical purposes, the present Indian conditions hardly register anything beyond the Western-European or American growth of the seventies of the last century. Altogether, when we in India speak of pre-war Eur-America as a general guide for our present purposes, we should

1 *Report of the National Monetary Commission* (Washington D.C, 1912), pp. 29-39

really have in our mind the second half or rather the third quarter of the nineteenth century.

That is why, with a view to the pressing requirements of Indian commerce, manufacture, agriculture, labour, and economic legislation bearing on these practical aspects of life, we should often be at liberty to overlook or ignore the latest developments in the Western world. Indian studies in the twentieth century and especially the post-war phases of Eur-American experience—rationalization, trustification, "economic planning," etc.—are mainly to be evaluated as academic investigations into the possibilities of mankind's economic evolution and as scientific researches in the "next stages" of the world's developments in technical and national lines. To that extent such investigations would possess indeed a dynamic value of no mean order, fraught as they are likely to be with suggestions of a practical character.

On the other hand, the methods and policies of economic India to-day should appear to be almost akin to, nay, identical with those of the other economic youngsters of the world—in Southern or Eastern Europe, South America, Asia and Africa. The industrialization of India and other young regions can be appreciated at its proper worth—technocratic, commercial, social and political—only by those who are prepared not to overlook or minimize the importance of the "new industrial and commercial revolution" through which the adults have been passing for the last three decades, especially during and since the Great War. Once these perspectives of international economic life and the new world-order were grasped in their due proportions, it might perhaps be possible to discover the proper scientific approaches to the regulation of the economic and other conflicts between the "young ambitions" and the "vested interests."

The world-economy as patent to-day is the system of economic institutions and ideologies prominent since, say, 1918-20. In a concrete manner they may be said to be embodied in organizations like the League of Nations, the International Bureau of Labour, the International Chamber of Commerce, International Cartels, "planned economy," etc. It is clear that India is already a part of this complex, and willynilly has been trying to rise up to the methodology and technique of the new world-order. But the discrepancies lie no less on the surface. These consist in the attempts of a junior that is furnished, as it evolutionally is, with somewhat semi-medieval

paraphernalia, but is compelled none the less to observe and follow the up-to-date standard of the comparatively advanced members in the society of nations. This compulsion perpetually to aim at the highest and attitudinize oneself to the *mores* and code of the the seniors may to a certain extent undoubtedly hasten the developmental processes in the junior. But the frictions due to actual maladjustment and absence of natural harmony in the economic *Realpolitik* cannot fail to be the source of internationally tragic situations. The lack of adaptation between the economics of youngsters and those of the adults constitutes the greatest stumbling-block, technically considered, to international concord in the epoch of world-economy.[1]

APPENDIX II

Kant, Vivekananda and Modern Materialism

BY PROFESSOR BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

In the remaking of India, Vivekananda's spirit of defiance against Western chauvinism has had a conspicuous place. It has to be recalled that he died in 1902, three years before Young India was born in the glorious Bengali revolution of 1905. The manhood, energism and self-determination that characterized the first boycott of British goods which was declared in that revolution were spiritually linked up with the "*Mother, make me man*" messages of Vivekananda. He paved the way for the ideas of 1905 and was thus in a general manner a Rousseau of the Bengali revolution

Vivekananda's contributions to the remaking of India are to be found in economic fields as well. It is clear that he was neither a professional philosopher of politics nor a professional economist. His politics and economics are all to be found in his social philosophy. And in this domain we encounter Vivekananda as the messenger of modern materialism. It is possible to establish here an equation beween Vivekananda and Immanuel Kant. The

1 See the discussion on the relations between the "second" and the "first" industrial revolutions—the "adults" and the "youngsters"—in connection with the analysis of the world-economic depression in *Economic Development*, Vol II. (Calcutta, 1932, 1938)

equation is to be understood, however, not in the contents, form and style of writings but in the fundamental messages. What Kant did for Eur-America towards the end of the eighteenth century was accomplished for India towards the end of the nineteenth by Vivekananda. Kant is the father of modern materialism for the West. Vivekananda is the father of modern materialism for India. They are two of the greatest saviours of mankind. It is to them that the world is indebted for the charters of dignity for nature, matter, material science and material welfare.

Previous to Kant people in Eur-America under the influence of Christianity, and especially of the Catholic Church, had been used to looking upon life on earth as something to be ashamed of. Even Protestantism could not substantially change the mentality. The next world, the other-worldly interests, the supra-mundane thoughts had been considered to be the only glorious things. But in the meantime the experimental sciences, the laws of nature or matter had begun to make their appearance. Their truths could not be denied by honest intellectuals. It was Kant who for the first time had the courage to declare in so many words that nature, matter, the earthly world were no less glorious than man, the person, the inner world. The laws of Nature were as immutable and absolute, said he, as the laws of the human spirit. It is on this Kantian recognition of the equal dignity of the two worlds that the knowledge of Nature, investigations into the natural sciences, researches in material interests have been able to grow in the same unhampered manner as researches into the inner world, the sphere of moral personality.

The situation in India was parallel to that in Europe. The dignity of Nature had been denied to the exclusive recognition of the dignity of spirit, if not in practical life, at any rate in the dominant philosophical schools. This obsession by the affairs of the spirit, although confined to the academic world, engendered an intellectual and moral hypocrisy among the men and women used as they are to the ordinary family life, arts and crafts, commercial and social pursuits. In order to profess their reverence for things of the spirit they got into the habit of declaring, in any case, verbally, their alleged apathy and indifference to the most intimate concerns of their daily life. Among intellectuals those who studied the *Sankhya* system of philosophy were looked down as materialists because they were researchers into *Prakriti* (Nature). The

princes among philosophers were considered to be those who specialized in the topics of the soul, e.g., the students of *Vedanta*. India like Europe was therefore in need of a man who could say with all the honesty he could command that Prakriti was no less sacred than *Purusha* (Man) and that the pursuit of material sciences and material prosperity was as godly as that of the sciences and activities bearing on the soul.

This man is Vivekananda, who although predominantly an exponent of the soul-philosophy, of Vedantic communion with or realization of God, has been the loudest exponent of physical vigour, material welfare and commercial developments. The *swadeshi* (indigenous industry) movement associated with the Bengali revolution of 1905 has therefore found in Vivekananda's gospal of modern materialism, i.e., assimilation of Sankhyan nature-study with Vedantic soul-research, a most appropriate philosophical *milieu* for its industrialism and technocracy, scientific research and economic energism. The muscles and nerves,—the flesh and blood—furnished by Vivekananda have served to save the soul of Young India and enabled it to go on prospering and to prosper in the two domains of Nature and the Spirit

EDUCATIONAL REFORM IN BENOY SARKAR'S "STEPS TO A UNIVERSITY"

By Manmatha Nath Sarkar, M.A., Sometime Head Master, Memnagar H. E. School (Nadia) and Maheshtala H. E. School (24 Perganas).

Inductive Method in the Teaching of History

According to Professor Benoy Sarkar's *Educational Creed** (1907-1910) the Inductive Method of proceeding from the known to the unknown, concrete to the abstract, facts and phenomena to general principles, is to be the tutorial method in all branches of learning.* The application of this method in the teaching of History would be to proceed from the present to the past, through the national to the universal. So the knowledge of the familiar contemporary national history is to be used as the basis of all historical studies.

An elaborate scheme embodying all his ideas on the methods of teaching was published in 1912 under the title of *Shiksha-Sopan* or *Steps to a University: A Course of Modern Intellectual Culture (adapted to the requirements of Bengal)*. "As the lines of instruction described herein are fundamentally different from those obtaining at present in the Indian educational world," wrote the *Collegian* (Calcutta) in 1912, "we quote from it the passages relating to the teaching of history and recommend the whole pamphlet to our readers for perusal."

In the 2nd and 3rd years of the Elementary Stage i.e., when the child is between 8 and 9 years the subject of study is "Indian history in tales."

The object is to ground the student well in the people's traditions, train his sentiments, and impart ideals of character. The student is to be taught through stories and anecdotes the whole march of Indian history from the earliest times. The stories are to familiarise him with the principal men, institutions and move-

* See the contributions on "The Seven Creeds of Benoy Sarkar" by Mrs. Ida Sarkar and on "The National Schools of Benoy Sarkar" by Mr. Biren Das-Gupta, *Infra*, pp. 184-256.

ments that have made India through the ages. The whole of Indian history is to be thus finished in two years. (Three periods a week).

In the fourth year of the Elementary Stage (pupil's age 10 years) the subject is—"Men, Institutions and Movements in Modern Bengal." The course is meant to give the student an idea of (1) the prominent persons that are influencing life and society in Bengal in modern times, (2) the social, economic, religious, educational and political organisations that are the centres of thought and activity in Bengal in modern times, and (3) the prominent enterprises, schemes, and undertakings launched by Government and private citizens in Bengal in modern times (Two periods a week).

Points to be noted :—Schools, Universities, Tols, Chatuspathis, Research Societies, Technical Institutes, Professors, Inspectors, Courts, Laws, Municipalities, Thanas, Viceroy, Governor, Indian States, Legislative Councils, Congress, Conference, Museums, Art-Galleries, Exhibitions, Banks, Firms, Insurance Companies, Loan Offices, Co-operative Credit Societies, Zemindaries, Takkavi Grants, Strikes, Unions, Mills, Newspapers, Journals, Joint Stock Companies, Mythology, Rites, Ceremonies, Pilgrimages, Churches, Temples, Missionaries, Preachers, Swadeshi Movement for the Development of Industries, Propagation of Hindu Literature, Mass Education, Social Reform, Social Service and Philanthropy, Promotion of Vernacular Literature, Education of Indian Scholars in foreign countries, Sea Voyage, Depressed Classes Mission, Hindu and Moslem Universities, National Education.

The student is thus to be in living touch with the leading currents of national life. At this stage, lessons in history are not so much training in history proper as in the basis or underlying forces of history.

In the next year, likewise, lessons in history are to constitute a training in the basis or underlying forces of history. The subject of instruction is "Men, Institutions and Movements in Modern India (outside Bengal) including Indian states." There should be "constant reference to and comparison with Bengal conditions that have been already studied. (Two periods a week).

Points to be noted—as in the previous year with Bengal.

Thus the pupils who leave school at the final year of the Elementary Stage, i.e., when they are between 11 and 12 years of age, will be able (1) "to draw inspiration from the makers of Indian civilization" and (2) "to follow intelligently the movements in India."

Next comes the Preparatory Stage which is distributed over three years. During the first year (pupil's age 12-13 years) the course of instruction is—"The Epoch of Bengali Greatness (9th, 10th, 11th, centuries). The last phase of Hindu Imperialism in India—The Hegemony of Bengal. The Empire of the Palas—Intercourse with Nepal, Tibet, China, Java, Siam, Cambodia," (Two periods a week).

During the second year of this stage the subject of study is "The Modern World from The Capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453 to the fall of Port Arthur in 1905—The stages in the expansion of England—History of India as a British Province. The Awakening of the East." (Two periods a week).

The Historical Course for the School Final examination leading to University (Pupil's age 14-15 years) is: (1) Europe—Ancient and Mediaeval. Most elementary notions of the various epochs of European history. Each to be described with one or two remarkable incidents and one or two prominent characters. (2) India—From the earliest times to the foundation of the Moghul Monarchy by Akbar. Details to be carefully avoided. The student is to be introduced only to the principal forces, movements and institutions that have shaped the character of the Indians through the ages.

The Syllabus for the last two years has been framed by Professor Sarkar with great care so as to bring into prominence the principal factors of Indian Civilisation. The object is to give the student not so much a chronicle of dates, dynasties and disconnected facts as an idea of " the working of the forces, both national and international as well as political and non-political, that have moulded the history of the Indian people." All teachers of history and writers of the Matriculation and advanced text-books on Indian history should take note of this scientifically conceived curriculum.

In connection with this it is necessary to note the other features of Prof. Sarkar's pedagogic system that are calculated to make historical studies esay, interesting and practical:

1. The mother tongue is throughout the medium of instruction.
2. The students are to use no text-books.
3. Teaching of details to be avoided as far as possible.
4. Examinations to be wholly oral.
5. There are due co-ordination and inter-relation between the historical syllabus and the lessons in geography, literature and the physical sciences."

Natural Sciences in Sarkar's School Curriculum

The following extracts are taken from Professor Sarkar's *Steps to a University* referred to above :

Elementary 1st and 2nd years. Pupil's age : 7 and 8 years :

"Comprehensive Science Reader—Object lessons calculated to direct the student's attention to facts and objects of the physical, external world. Use of tapes, chains, watches etc. to indicate amounts of space, time etc. Names of plants, animals, minerals to be learnt from pictures, charts, maps, gardens, museums, art-galleries, magic lantern slides. Comparative weight and temperature of objects. Comparison of distances and heights by eye. Paper-cutting, and preparation of models in card board, clay moulding : handling of toys and raw materials used in carpentry, smithy, weaving, agriculture, dyeing, gardening, house-building."

The course of Botany is thus graduated :

Elementary third and fourth years (pupil's age 9 and 10 years), —"Uses of 24 Bengal plants—Their importance and utility to man's economic life. Each plant to be studied as a source of national wealth. The medical, industrial, domestic and other services rendered by each."

"Elementary fifth year (Pupil's age 11 years), Life-history of 24 Bengal plants studied up to date,—Growth, habit, habitat, cultivation, disease and food of each plant."

"Preparatory first and second years (Pupil's age 12 and 13 years). Study of 24 Bengal plants—Rice, Pea, Mango, Arum, Jack fruit, Neem, Red, pepei, Lemon, Datum, Vata Guava, Supari, etc How to identify. Morphology—External and internal characteristics of each. In treating the successive plants the student is to get an idea of the resemblances and differences in parts between the several plants and thus an insight into the varieties or natural orders."

"Preparatory third year—School Final leading to University (Pupil's age 14 years)—Classification, Generalisation, Laws."

This is how Professor Sarkar carries the pupil stage by stage from a first-hand study of the concrete facts and phenomena of the vegetable world to the abstract generalisations that may be deduced out of them as to their origin, classes etc.

The same method is applied to the study of animals. And the following are the stages through which the student is led for mastering Chemistry up to the University Entrance Standard.

"Elementary third and fourth years—Study of minerals—their uses, distribution etc.

"Elementary fifth year—(a) Chemical processes and operations described—solution, filtration &c. (b) Study of minerals—their uses, distribution &c. continued."

"Preparatory first and second years—Chemical study of minerals. Each mineral to be subjected to various experiments. The course is meant to give the students an idea that the minerals of the world may be analysed into various substances, and when treated with other substances may be changed into altogether new objects."

Preparatory third year—Laws and Generalisations."

Thus to start with, the pupil is introduced to the geography, economics, geology etc. of the minerals that he comes across everyday and has thus his interest created in the world about him. And when chemistry proper begins, he is presented not with the gases and acids—the atoms and molecules—things that are to be prepared, found out or proved, but is asked to undertake experiments on the familiar objects of the world, and observe the changes they undergo and the processes of change. It is only when manifold experiments have been undertaken that a rough generalization is presented to him as to the properties of acids, gases, atoms etc. and he gets an insight into the manifestations of chemical energy."

The Teaching of Sanskrit without Grammar

About Sarkar's new method of teaching Sanskrit Rai Bahadur Srish Chandra Basu, District and Sessions Judge (U.P.), author of the *Ashtadhyayi of Panini* (M.A. Text-book London University) and translator (and annotator) of Bhattaji Dikshita's *Siddanta Kaumudi*, the Upanishads, *Vedanta Sutra* and the *Mitakshara* in the "Sacred Books of the Hindus Series" wrote as follows :—

"The scheme of Sanskrit works in Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar's pedagogic series is based on the conception that any language, whether inflectional or analytical, living or dead, can be learnt exactly in the method in which the mother-tongue is acquired. No preliminary training in the generalisations and definitions of grammar is therefore required, and the student may be at once introduced to the *sentence* as the unit of thought and expression.

"By a skilful and systematic application of this method, Professor Sarkar has been able to build up, through lessons and exercises in translation, conversation, questions and answers, and

correction of errors, a text-book in Sanskrit which serves the *double* purpose of a guide to composition and a series of primers on Sanskrit literature. From this series of books the reader can master not only the necessary rules of Sanskrit Grammar, but also will be familiar with some of the most important passages of standard classics, e.g., *Raghu-vamsam, Kumara-sambhavam, Ramayanam* and *Manu Samhita,* adaptations or originals of which the author has incorporated in his book as specimens of narrative, historical, poetical and other styles.

"In applying to the study of Sanskrit principles and methods that have been utilised in modern languages in Europe, Professor Sarkar has demonstrated, through practical illustrations, lesson by lesson, that the most highly inflectional languages may, with considerable economy of time and labour and other pedagogic advantages, be reduced to the same method of teaching and treatment, as those languages which are not bound hard and fast by grammar. To all students of Sanskrit language and literature, Professor Sarkar's series cannot but be eminently useful and instructive; and scholars interested in the art of teaching and the history of Sanskrit learning cannot but note the considerable improvement on the existing readers and primers that are in most cases mere imitations or occasional modifications of the really original works of Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, C.I.E. whose genius succeeded in simplifying and adapting Panini for the use of students in Bengal.

"The method of the pioneer of Sanskrit learning can no longer be profitably used under the altered conditions of the times, and it is desirable that the new method should have a fair trial in our secondary schools in the interest of educational reform."

THE ECONOMIC SERVICES OF ZAMINDARS TO THE PEASANTS AND THE PUBLIC AS ANALYZED BY BENOY SARKAR*

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CHAPTER I

Zamindari Capitalism

In the atmosphere associated with the passing of the Tenancy Amendment Act in 1928 and since then a great deal of interest in the rights of peasants as well as the position of Zamindars (land-holders) has been in evidence among the public. It is now well established that the rents payable by tenants can hardly be enhanced by Zamindars just as the revenues payable by Zamindars can never be enhanced by the Government.

It is in the midst of nation-wide discussions bearing on land-holders and tenants that we were drawn to Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar's ideas on land-legislation, economic development, Zamindars of East and West, standard of living of the working-men, welfare of agricultural classes etc. in many of his lectures, articles and pamphlets since his return from foreign countries after nearly twelve years to India in 1925 as well as in the two volumes of *Nayā Bānglār Goḍa-Pattan* or "The Foundations of a New Bengal" (1932).

The Zamindars occupied a great deal of his attention in the public lecture delivered at St. Paul's College, Calcutta, on August 25, 1933. In the following month *Arthik Unnati* (Economic Progress) brought out an extensive article summarising or reproducing in a chronological order a great deal of all that he has been writing on the subject of Zamindars in relation to the Bengali people since the beginnings of the *Swadeshi* Movement in 1905-7. It is very

* First published as a brochure in 1934.

interesting that during this long period of over a quarter of a century[1] there is hardly any dissertation of importance in which he has not referred to the Zamindars in one connection or other.

In his analysis the Zamindar represents concentrated capital, is a source of capital, indeed, an embodiment of capitalism. It is, therefore, from the standpoint of the utilization of capital, i.e., as an item of "applied economics" that Zamindari capitalism has arrested Prof. Sarkar's attention. And his method of approach is that of ascertaining the facts He has studied the topics of Zamindari capitalism in the same spirit of objective and scientific research as those, for instance, of industrialism, labour movement, central banking, rationalization, trusts, "second industrial revolution," technocracy etc.

As a student of capitalism and comparative landlordism he has always encountered the fact that "the peasants and middle classes have succeeded in deriving some economic benefit from the concentration of capital in the hands of Zamindars".[2] Contacts with facts have compelled him likewise over and over again to realize that the complex of culture known as modern Bengal is unthinkable without the nucleus of Zamindari finance. "The direct and indirect contributions of the Zamindars as capitalists to the development of modern Bengali agriculture, industry, technical skill, and education are embodied in the thousand and one institutions and movements that have made the Bengali people so well known in India and the world."[3]

CHAPTER II

Peasants' Debts and Zamindars' Help

Let us begin with the masses of our countrymen, the peasants or *ryots*, and see how Prof. Sarkar analyzes the role of the Zamindars in regard to the greatest social and economic fact of rural Bengal, namely, agricultural debts.

We lawyers are used to taking the strictly legal point of view in the cases bearing on peasants' indebtedness. The people in

1 See Appendix III.

2 "The Economic Remaking of Bengal" in *Liberty* (Calcutta), August 26, 1933.

3 *Financial Times* (Calcutta), January 1934.

general, journalists and ordinary economists are used to taking a sentimental view of cultivators' debts. As a rule, the moneylender is regarded as "unspeakable." The Zamindar (or landholder) also in his capacity as moneylender is treated by the laymen with contempt.

But with Prof. Sarkar the economic analysis of agricultural indebtedness takes another turn. The Zamindar is in his estimate functioning as helper and co-operator to the peasant by furnishing him with loans. The loans are the inevitable "sinews of war" to the cultivators.

"As long as the *ryot* possesses the security of tenure his debts to the Zamindar constitute really his capital," said he in the public lecture[4] referred to above as indeed on several occasions in the discussions of the *Bangiya Dhana-Vijnan Parishat* (Bengali Institute of Economics).

In his view, since the economic societies of to-day are constituted on the "individualistic basis," the "role of debts as capital and of interest as a share that registers the claim to virtual joint-proprietorship" is to be accepted as the "first postulate of normal business organization."

He expounds the doctrine that whatever be the "formal law of property," economically speaking, the land belongs in part only to the cultivator and in part also to the persons who finance him. To him the actual law of ownership, proprietorship or tenancy, occupancy etc. is of not much importance in so far as economic bearings are concerned. The interest enjoyed by the Zamindar, as long as he is a furnisher of credit, is to be appraised as but his "share of the agricultural produce" to which he has a legitimate right because of his advancing the credit. The only consideration that weighs in Prof. Sarkar's estimation in regard to interest is the humane factor. The rate of interest is not to be "inhumanly high," says he. The recent Money-lenders' Act should appear to have met his desideratum to a certain extent. And yet he is not in favour of ruining the money-lenders because in that case the cultivators would be left without any sources of finance.

4 Reported in *Liberty* (Calcutta) 26 August 1933 See also *Arthik Unnati* (Economic Progress), Calcutta, September 1933 ("Bengali Zamindars in Relation to Bengali Industry and Commerce").

In his analysis of the social structure the fundamental fact is credit. It is credit that to a great extent mobilizes the resources of all members in the community. The resources of one are not likely to function and fructify without the functioning and fructification of the resources of others. And the connecting link is furnished by the mechanism of loans. "Loan-sharks" are dangerous, but not all money-lenders are "loan-sharks" according to Professor Sarkar.

Society becomes thereby an organization of mutual aid and co-operation as a matter of course As a money-lender, therefore, the Zamindar is, according to him, "more sinned against than sinning."

As long as credit is the foundation of society, indebtedness is not necessarily to be condemned or feared. Rather, the "increase in indebtedness may indeed be an index to the increase in national wealth." It is to be understood that unless the "security and credit" of the peasant had been enhanced and unless his purchasing power augmented he would not have been considered worthy of increased loans either by *Mahajans* (professional money-lenders) or by the Zamindars.

CHAPTER III

The Zamindar as Ryot's Banker

The Zamindar's services to *ryots* have been examined by Prof. Sarkar from another no less important point of view.

"By allowing the rent to fall into arrears[5] the Zamindars function automatically as *mahajans* or bankers to the *ryots* who are thereby enabled to carry on their agricultural operations in a somewhat secure manner." This is a salient feature of Zamindari capitalism as analyzed by Prof. Sarkar.

Practising lawyers are well acquainted with the rent-suits instituted by the Zamindars. The *baki khajna* (rent in arrear) cases are indeed the peculiar characteristics of the land-system of Bengal. The lawyers, Munsifs and other judges who deal with

5 *Liberty* (Calcutta) 26 August 1933 See also *Arthik Unnati*, September, 1933.

civil suits will therefore easily understand what a deep insight into the rural economy of Bengal he has exhibited by calling the Zamindars the real bankers or credit-suppliers of the peasants.

In Bengal rich cultivators are almost unknown. Those who can carry on agricultural operations with their own capital are to be counted at fingers' ends. The co-operative credit system does not touch more than a fringe of the huge peasant class. Land mortgage banks were unknown until the present year. The only source of liquid capital that may be tapped by the peasants is the *mahajan, bania* or professional money-lender. The mahajan's rates of interest are too notorious.

What would the agriculturists have done, he asks, if they were compelled to pay their rent to the Zamindars every year punctually, i.e., if they were not permitted to keep arrears, except fall back inevitably upon the *mahajan* and borrow of him at exorbitant rates? The system of rents in arrears has enabled the peasant to abstain from borrowing of the *mahajan* at ruinous rates,—at least for the "limitation" period. In his judgment the Zamindar who does not demand the rents punctually at due date every year is therefore unconsciously functioning as a supplier of capital, a money-lender, or a banker to the peasant in an indirect manner.

The economic advantages accruing to the cultivators from the system of rents in arrears are unknown in the *khas mahal* estates, i.e., those lands which are under the direct administration of the Government, says he. Tenants under the *khas mahal* system are compelled to pay their rents punctually at due date and are not permitted to hold them in arrears. Lawyers as well as the lay public are aware that this explains why Bengali cultivators as a rule prefer the tenancy under Zamindars to that under the *khas mahal* system.

Prof. Sarkar is convinced that Zamindars' realizations in interest at the end of three years,—the period for which arrears are allowed,—do not as a rule come as high as the realizations by the *mahajan* when he offers the loan. Indeed, lawyers are aware from personal experience that very often the Zamindar's realizations of total rents in arrears plus interest reach modest proportions.

The fact that *baki khajna* system is the normal feature of Zamindari land-tenure indicates in his viewpoint, as a matter of course, the enormous contributions by Zamindars as bankers to the agricultural development of the Bengali people.

CHAPTER IV

The Zamindar as Financier of Industry and Commerce

Another prominent idea in Prof. Sarkar's ideology may now be indicated.

"In the development of modern industry and commerce[6] during the different periods of the *Swadeshi* Movement," "says he," "the donations made and shares held by the Zamindars have played a considerable part. Their role as financiers of the Bengali enterprises is too important to be overlooked."

On this subject our ideas have up till now been very vague and indeed misleading. Seeing that the Bengali people to-day does not happen to command *large* industrial establishments and *extensive* commercial concerns we have been taught to believe that Bengali Zamindars have contributed *nothing* to modern industry and commerce. Bengalis and especially Zamindars are alleged to invest their surplus funds exclusively in land.

The fallacy of these ideas has been exposed by Prof. Sarkar on numerous occasions and in the most diverse contexts People living in the *mofussil* (rural areas) know quite well that practically every industrial undertaking on modern lines that has been started in Bengal owes its origins either to the financial patronage or to the financial co-operation of the Zamindars Prof. Sarkar has not fought shy of names, and his synthetic survey does justice to North, South, East and West Bengal. For instance, it is brought home to us that Sj. Brajendra Kishore Roy-Chowdhury of Gauripur (Mymensingh), Kumar Sarat Kumar Roy of Dighapatiya (Rajshahi), Kumars G. C Law, Suren Law, Dr Naren Law and others of the Law Family of Calcutta, Sjs Satyendra Mohan and Nalini Mohan Roy-Chowdhury of Tepa (Rangpur), the Roy Family of Bhagyakul (Dacca), Sjs. Surendra Nath Sen of Barisal, Radhika Ray-Chowdhury of Tarash (Pabna), the Pakrashis of Sthal (Pabna), Sj. Ramani Roy of Chowgaon (Rajshahi), Bhaben Roy of Narail (Jessore), Manindra Chandra Roy-Chowdhury and Radharaman Majumdar of Rangpur, Tulsi Goswami of Serampore, Ramanath Das of Dacca, Arun Sinha of paikpara (Calcutta), Raja Prasanna Deb Raikut of Jalpaiguri, Kumar Kartick Charan Mullick (Calcutta), and others have interest

6 *Liberty* (Calcutta), 26 August 1933 See also *Arthik Unnati*, September 1933.

in modern business "not only as shareholders but to a certain extent as directors and managers as well."

The business activities of the Zamindars along modern lines are not confined to one or two fields. It is pointed out that these enterprises comprise not only agri-flori-horticulture and poultry-farming but mining, banking, and insurance, nay, printing and publishing as well. In this connection Prof. Sarkar does not fail to mention the name of Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandy of Cossimbazar whose manifold services in the promotion of modern business, industry and technical education in diverse ways are too well known. Indeed the patronage extended by him in these fields was a household word in Bengal of the first two decades of the *Swadeshi* movement. The country's debt to the Maharaja of Cossimbazar was referred to by Prof. Sarkar in a Presidential address in 1931 (December 4). He said as follows:[7]

"While enjoying the privilege of opening the Industrial Exhibition at Berhampore it is my foremost duty to begin by paying homage to one of her noblest and most patriotic sons, the late Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandy of Cossimbazar, who it was that in 1905 helped forward the birth of Young Bengal by raising the first historic Indian cry for industrialization at the nationalist meeting held in the Town Hall at Calcutta."

Coal mining is one of the prominent lines of modern business in which Bengali talent has been flourishing. Prof. Sarkar invites our attention to the fact that it was a Zamindar family, the Banerjis of Labhpur in Birbhum, that did some pioneering work in this line.[8]

The business activities of Bengali Zamindars of "olden times" have not escaped his attention. In some of the discussions of the *Bangiya Dhana-Vijnan Parishat* it was pointed out that during the middle of the nineteenth centrury Raja Digambar Mitter (1817-79) had extensive dealings in indigo and silk.[9] During the nineteenth century, we are told, the Singh-Roys of Chakdighi (Burdwan) used to carry on a large trade in silk, indigo, *gur* and salt in Western

7 "The Industrialism of Young Bengal and Its Role in World-Economy" in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika, Advance, Basumati, Ananda Bazar Patrika, Liberty*, etc. 5 December 1931

8 *Indian Commercial and Statistical Review* (Calcutta), July 1934

9 Loke Nath Ghose. *The Modern History of Indian Chiefs, Rajas, Zamindars*, etc. Part II. (Calcutta, 1881), pp 21-22.

Bengal and Northern India. They were interested likewise in coal. Co-operative credit succeeded in enlisting their sympathy at the time of the initiation of this movement early in the present century.

Maharaja Durga Charan Law (1822-1904) is described by him as a pioneer in India's export-import trade.[10] The Maharaja was a banker and founder-director of the finance-institution which eventually grew into the present National Bank of India. Insurance business also found in him one of the early promoters. He was thus "altogether one of those far-sighted Bengali Zamindars," says Prof Sarkar, "who knew how to transform landed wealth into diverse forms of modern industrial and commercial capital."

CHAPTER V

The Zamindar as Promoter of Common Weal

Up till now we have touched upon those aspects of Zamindari capitalism which according to Prof. Sarkar have direct bearings on the economic welfare of the rural folk as cultivators or *ryots*. His survey brings out in bold relief also the achievements in industrialization such as have been continuously accomplished by Zamindari finance.

Let us turn our eyes to another aspect. This has reference to the entire cultural and social developments of the country. Prof. Sarkar makes it clear that not only the peasants and *ryots* but the middle class, the "*bhadralok*," the intelligentsia, as well as other communities have derived considerable profit because of the utilization of wealth by Zamindars in the interest of common weal.

"It is the public spirit[11] of the Zamindars," says he, "that has enabled them to transfer a part of their wealth to the community by means of gifts in the form of roads, tanks, schools, hospitals, literary and scientific patronage, religious endowments etc."

Among the pioneers of modern education[12] in West Bengal Prof. Sarkar calls attention to the Singh-Roys of Chakdighi in

10 *Indian Commercial and Statistical Review* (Calcutta) August 1934

11 *Liberty* (Calcutta), 26 August 1933.

12 *Indian Commercial and Statistical Review* (Calcutta), July 1934.

Burdwan. It was in the company of Bhudev Mookerjee, Iswara Chandra Vidyasagara and Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, that band of modernizers of Bengali culture in the mid-Victorian epoch, that the Singh-Roys made a *début* in this branch of public service. The Zamindars of Hetampur as well as the Banerjis of Labhpur, both in Birbhum, have likewise been mentioned by him in the same context.

Attention is invited by Prof Sarkar to the religious and educational as well as literary benefactions and endowments of the Mallik family of Marble Palace, Calcutta, and of the Natore and Puthia families of Rajshahi, which have long been established as items of All-Bengal culture. Raja Jagat Kishore Acharya-Chowdhury and other Acharya-Chowdhurys of Muktagachha (Mymensingh) have likewise contributed handsomely to the same cause. In many of these instances the services are not confined to Bengal, says Prof. Sarkar, but have extended to other centres of Hindu life, for instance, Benares, Brindaban, etc., in the U.P.

A very distinguished member of the Singh-Roy family, who is, besides, well known among the intellectuals of Bengal because of his endowments for the Calcutta University, was Saroda Prasad Singh-Roy (died 1868). It is pointed out by Prof. Sarkar that Saroda Prosad made provision also for a charitable dispensary, a hospital, a free Anglo-Sanskrit school, as well as an asylum for the poor, all located at Chakdighi.[13] A fifteen-mile metalled road from the railway station (Memari) to Chakdighi owes its construction to the public spirit of this family, says he.

About Raja Digamber Mitter, likewise, it is known, says Prof Sarkar, that he was a patron of female education, and took interest in the travels of Indians to foreign countries for higher training. His social service was responsible for free meals and books as well as grants in the form of school-fees, and these were enjoyed by hundreds of indigent scholars[14]

According to Prof. Sarkar the beginnings of modernism in Bengali culture are intimately associated with the liberal tendencies of the Tagore family of Calcutta. To mention only a few, the celebrated Tagore Law Professorship of the Calcutta University

13 Loke Nath Ghose· *The Modern History of Indian Chiefs, Rajas, Zamindars* etc Part II. (Calcutta 1881), pp. 21-22.

14 *Ibid*, pp. 9-10.

is due to the educational idealism of Prosonno Kumar Tagore (1803-1868). His endowments are being enjoyed also by quite a number of educational and charitable institutions as well as hospitals.

Maharaja Jatindra Mohan Tagore (1831-1908) was a patron of the great poet Michael Madhu Sudan Dutt. It is to his financing that many authors of the day owed the publication of their works. The modern Bengali theatre was likewise indebted to him as well as contemporary Bengali music. His interest was keen in regard to the establishment of a prominent hospital in Calcutta as well as in the institution of stipends for modern and Sanskrit learning.

The patronage of Indian music and musicians, as well as schools of Indian music by Raja Sourindra Mohan Tagore (1840-1914) was proverbial in his days, says Prof. Sarkar. And his extensive services in this field were liberally recognized both at home and abroad by connoisseurs, royal houses, and the public

The educational benefactions of Kali Kissen Tagore were likewise enjoyed by many young men who subsequently became well-established in life.[15]

The Tagore tradition in the patronage of arts and artists is being maintained in our days,—says Prof. Sarkar, and indeed it is well known also,—by Sj. Profulla Nath Tagore and Maharaja Prodyot Kumar Tagore, funder of the Academy of Fine Arts (at the Indian Museum, Calcutta).

One could really cite instances from every district in every Division of Bengal, says Prof. Sarkar, to show that there is hardly any Zamindar family in Bengal which has not interested itself in the spread of modern education. It is not unknown that persons who subsequently became prominent as lawyers, medical men, teachers or authors owed their primary, and secondary, and very often their collegiate education not only to the institutions founded by the Zamindars but also to the munificence of Zamindars in and out of school. Without being too literal and extreme one can almost assert, he opines further, that the origin of a great part of the middle class that we see in Bengal to-day is directly and indirectly associated with the financial idealism, educational charity and literary as well as scientific patronage of the Zamindars.

15 Ghose: *Modern History*, etc, pp. 160-214.

At the opening ceremony of a new building for the Ramkrishna Mission Industrial School at Belur on July 23, 1934 the following was said by Prof. Sarkar:

"The Zamindars have pioneered to a considerable extent the movement for industrial and technical education in Bengal. The Ashanulla Technical School at Dacca is an instance. Seal's Free Industrial School at Calcutta is well known. Maharaja Cossimbazar's Polytechnic Institute is likewise located in Calcutta.

"The enthusiasm for technical education found one of its first expressions in the *Swadeshi* movement of 1905-06 and was embodied in the National Council of Education, which is to-day represented by the College of Engineering and Technology at Jadabpur, near Calcutta. We are all aware that every pice of the several lakhs of Rupees with which this institution was originally endowed came from the Zamindar community. Raja Subodh Chandra Mallik of Calcutta and Maharaja Surya Kanta Acharya-Chowdhury of Mymensingh, as well as Sj. Brajendra Kishore Roy-Chowdhury of Gauripur (Mymensingh), who has been mentioned in another connection, have therefore become immortal in Bengal.

"Nor must we forget that the donations and subscriptions collected by Sj. Jogendra Chandra Ghose since 1904 with the object of maintaining hundreds of scholars in industry, science and commerce with stipends in Japan, America and Europe have been the gifts of land-holders throughout the length and breadth of Bengal.

"Finally, there is the Department of Applied Sciences at the Calcutta University. A great part of the finances of this Department is likewise the donation of landholders, whose contributions to the other Deparmtents of the University as well as Presidency College are equally well known."

CHAPTER VI

The Zamindar and other Classes in the Evolution of Public Life

In Prof. Sarkar's analysis, synthetic and comparative as it always is, the Zamindar does not cover the entire social canvas. He is careful enough to point to the existence and achievements of other classes and place them all in mutual perspective. Lecturing at the Suburban Reading Room, Beliaghata, Calcutta, on June 3, 1934 he said in part as follows:

"To the category of unrecognized patriots, publicists or servants of the country belong the Zamindars or landholders.[16] Students of social economy should be scientific enough to realize that lawyers, schoolmasters, medical doctors and businessmen are not furnishing the only public-spirited men and women of Bengal to-day. Substantial nation-building and constructive welfare activities are to be found in the land-holding communities also. A great deal of the industrial and commercial ventures of Young Bengal since the birth of the glorious *Swadeshi* movement in 1905 has been financed directly and indirectly by the Zamindars."

"With that movement indeed commenced the epoch *par excellence* of lawyers and other intellectual and middle-class publicists—and to a certain extent of the industrial and commercial classes. But these new classes of publicists have not yet been able to eclipse the contributions of the age-long publicists of Bengal, namely, the landed proprietors. Besides, the traditional landed aristocracy has been partially getting transformed into and swelling the ranks of the new industrial and commercial *bourgeoisie* In the appraisal of economic dynamics as operating in Bengal the economic theorist as well as business politician will have to attach due importance to the practical consequences of this transformation of the landholders into modern financial agents."

On May 20, 1934 Prof. Sarkar presided at the annual function of the Ramkrishna Mission Schools for Boys and Girls at Sarisha, 24 Pergs. His presidential address which dealt chiefly with the formative forces in the modernization of Bengal contained the following among other ideas:

"Until a generation ago," said he, "virtually the only public-spirited men of the country came from the Zamindar class. * * * Latterly, the legal and medical practitioners have become prominent in society, in political as well as cultural activities. It is interesting to observe that in recent years also the Zamindars have continued their tradition of public service by associating themselves as colleagues with members of those new professions as well as with journalists and other intellectual classes."[17]

16 *Indian Commercial and Statistical Review* (Calcutta), August 1934

17 *Indian Commercial and Statistical Review* (Calcutta), July 1934 See also Sarkar: "The Social Discoveries of Young Bengal" in *Advance* (Calcutta), December 1931.

CHAPTER VII

The Zamindar To-Morrow

In Prof. Sarkar's judgment the Zamindar does not appear to have been played out as yet. Both in his "Scheme of Economic Development for Young India" published in the *Modern Review* (Calcutta 1925) and later as a chapter in his *Economic Development* Vol. I. (Madras 1926, 1938) as well as in his suggestions for the programme of the *Deshonnati Sangha* (National Welfare Association), published in *India Tomorrow* (Calcutta, 30th November 1933) he has definite ideas about the part to be played by the Zamindars in the "economic planning" for the Bengali People.[18]

His "rural welfare policy" is based on an idea like the following:

"The land-owning (Zamindar) classes are to be protected with a view to enable them to use their financial resources in the interest of agriculture, land-reclamation and rural industries."

The role of Zamindars is not to be confined to the villages alone. He envisages for them a much wider scope of constructive work. According to his "economic policy" "the industrialization of Bengal is to be promoted by the mobilization of Zamindari capital."

Prof. Sarkar does not want us to understand that the Zamindars constitute the sole capitalist class of Bengal to-day. In "Socialism, Capitalism and National Welfare" published in *Arthik Unnati* (Economic Progress) for January-February 1934 he establishes the thesis (1) that so far as present-day India is concerned we have to promote by all means the co-operation between the most diverse classes, and (2) that capitalists are not to be treated as excommunicable pariahs. And in the community of capitalists as at present obtaining in Bengali society he counts, first, the peasants with their capital amassed in co-operative institutions, secondly, the middle-classes, working-men and clerks, furnished as all these are with savings banks accounts, thirdly, the money-lenders under diverse names such as *mahajan and bania*, as well as, fourthly, the long and short-term depositors of all ranks and professions in

18 See also "The Next Stage in Our Economic Life" in *Arthik Unnati* (Calcutta, November 1927).

the "cottage banks" known as Loan Offices and other joint stock finance-institutions.

These are according to him the new sources of capital in Bengal in addition to the traditional financial magnates, namely, "the Zamindars, who owe their status and position to the political revolution of the latter half of the eighteenth century."[19] He expects, as we have noticed above, that some of the Zamindars would get transformed into the industrial and commercial bourgeoisie, as indeed they have been doing for some long time.

CHAPTER VIII

Financing by Zamindars A Subject of Research in Applied Economics

It is interesting to observe how the economic ideology of Prof. Sarkar in regard to the present position and potentialities of the Zamindar in the national economy of Bengal is being received by the people. In June 1934, for instance, the following observations were made in the *Insurance and Finance Review* (Calcutta):

"For some time economists and politicians, especially those who derive their inspiration from non-Bengali sources have been preaching from house-tops that the economic miseries of Bengal and their industrial backwardness are due to the Zamindars. It is indeed very fashionable now-a-days to lecture to students in University and other academic circles throughout the length and breadth of India that the Bengali people owes nothing to the Zamindars, whether in culture, politics or economic life.

"It is therefore something of a rude shock for many to learn from Prof. Benoy Sarkar that the contributions of Zamindars are, to say modestly, not less than those of any other class of people."

The same *Review* says further, "In considering the contributions of Zamindars as worthy of recognition by our scholars and publicists, Prof. Sarkar has but sought scientifically to 'give the Devil his due.' No doubt this message will smack tremendously of an economic heresy. But it is interesting to observe that this frank appreciation of the part played by Zamindars is one of

19 "Insurance Agents: A New Socio-Economic Force" (*Insurance World*, Calcutta), April, 1933.

the many economic and cultural heresies with which Messrs Chuckervertty Chatterjee & Co., Ltd. have presented Bengali readers by publishing two volumes (nearly 1000 pages) of his *Nayā Bāṅglār Goḍā-Pattan* (The Foundations of A New Bengal) in 1932. The world knows that in regard to Ottawa as to currency, industrialization, foreign capital, financial co-operation with Marwaris, and other major problems of applied economics Prof. Sarkar has long been a hardened heretic."

We should like to add that these "rude shocks" and "economic heresies" are perhaps well calculated to supplement the much too legal interest of our countrymen in the Zamindar question by doses of economic thought. They have served to call the attention of our scholars to Zamindari capitalism or the financing of economic and cultural enterprises by Zamindars as a subject of research in applied economics. The topic is important enough to deserve, as Prof. Sarkar has often observed in the course of discussions in the *Bangiya Dhana-Vijnan Parishat* (Bengali Institute of Economics) and "*Antarjatik Banga*" *Parishat* ("International Bengal" Institute), the intensive and statistical investigations by scholars, district by district.

This indeed is a theme of study and research about which he has been creating the interest of Bengali intellectuals and landholders since 1923-25 while he was investigating economic conditions in Switzerland, Italy, Austria and Germany. Perhaps the time has come when something should be attempted in an organized manner. Needless to observe that researches in Zamindari capitalism would be tantamount to investigations into the agricultural, industrial, commercial and financial developments of modern and contemporary Bengal.

CHAPTER IX

The Permanent Settlement in India and the Enclosure Movement in England

In recent years the land-system of Bengal known as the Permanent Settlement of 1793 has been subject to the most radical, nay, revolutionary criticism on the part of publicists and social reformers. Professor Sarkar has kept aloof from the controversies and has avoided identifying himself with the conservatives or with the radicals. In his paper on "Modernism in Land Legislation" published in the *Calcutta Review* for December 1937 this peculiar

land system of Bengal has been placed in the perspective of European land-legislation and the following equation has been established :

Permanent Settlement = Enclosure Movement.

The trend of evolution in East and West as regards the land problem and agrarian reforms is considered by him to be similar, if not identical. His ideas are reproduced below :

The beginnings of modern capitalism in India, says he, are to be traced to the Permanent Settlement of Bengal in 1793. For, if we exclude the political and administrative features associated with it, the system was essentially an instrument in the concentration of landed estates in a relatively few hands. This implied nothing but the establishment of large-scale capitalism in agrarian enterprises.

Large-scale Zamindaris or *latifondi* as generally known in Continental Europe were considered in those days to be economically most worthwhile propositions in the mentality of British statesmen. England had got used to the eviction of small tenants, the extinction of the yeomanry and the aggrandisement of the big few as normal features of the socio-economic order. The enclosure movements of economic Britain since the sixteenth century could not fail to foster the tradition of large estates as being the sources of prosperity, although with buts and ifs, to the British people. It was the sociological *milieu* of these enclosures consummated in England with the utmost enthusiasm towards the end of the eighteenth century that, in addition to the local Indian socio-economic circumstances, furnished the intellectual background of the British legislators responsible for the Permanent Settlement in India.

The social motives and economic origins of the British enclosures are by no means identical with those of the Indian Permanent Settlement. But in certain economic consequences, for example, the evolution of big-scale *zamindari* capitalism it is possible to establish an equation between the enclosure movement of England and the Permanent Settlement of Bengal. Historically, at any rate, it was at the peak of the enclosure legislation in England that the Permanent Settlement was enacted in India.

After this it took Europe nearly a century to look for new principles in land-legislation. The sociology of large-scale landed capitalism gradually gave place to that of small holdings, family farms, etc Positive law was ultimately established on novel

foundations. It was towards the nineties of the nineteenth century that Bismarck became the architect of a new world by initiating the principles of land-legislation adapted to modern requirements. Those principles of Bismarck are the leading ideas in the land-reform of every country in the modern world since *c.* 1890 and remain indeed to be adapted to Indian conditions, as often maintained by the present author since 1922.

It is to be observed, however, that neither economically nor juridically has the agrarian system of India been nailed down to the *status quo* of the Permanent Settlement. Social mobility is manifest no less in economic India than in the Western economy. The rights or privileges of the large landowners or landholders were curtailed by the Bengal Tenancy Act of 1886 and perhaps in the same proportion the tenant (*ryot*) rose as a socio-legal person. This relative ascendency of the *krishak-praja* (farmer-tenant) in the enjoyment of economic freedom has gone on increasing ever since. In the eye of law the cultivator of today is not identical with the cultivator of the middle of the nineteenth century, nor of course of the end of the eighteenth. The status of the small man in the land-system *vis-à-vis* the upper ten thousand is unquestionably quite decent at the present moment.

On the other hand, the economic bearings of the Permanent Settlement on the *zamindars* have undergone a tremendous transformation on account of the sheer impact of generations. The commercial revolution engendered in economic India on account of contacts with the world-economy since the American and the Napoleonic Wars (1776-1815) of the British Empire has led to the creation of new forms of wealth and the transference of wealth from older to newer families and classes. The transformations and transferences of wealth have been promoted, further, in India on account of the industrial transition facilitated by new technocracy since the middle of the last century. The landed estates have, therefore, changed hands and moved into the pockets of the *nouveaux riches* as a result of purchases with cash. The alleged "permanent" proprietors of yore have very often been replaced by the "upstarts" of the day. The "permanency" of the Permanent Settlement refers factually, therefore, not to the proprietors but to the property. The *zamindars* of to-day have among them very few who may be regarded as having any blood-contacts with the beneficiaries of the Act of 1793. So far as the family or

class composition is concerned, the landholders of the present generation are, like the proprietors in other concerns, industrial and commercial, enjoying their properties in most instances on account of the capital invested by themselves or by their immediate predecessors in the acquisition or enlargement of landed estates. The persistence of the category, "Permanent Settlement," must not blind the student of economic realities to the processes of family, class or social revolution that has been going on through generations. The disappearance of old families and classes in India and their substitution by new is as great an embodiment of the "circulation of *élites*" as the disappearance of old individuals and their replacement by new in the race-histories of East and West.

Transformations and revolutions, then, have affected both the land-holders and the tenants of the Permanent Settlement category as of the other agrarian categories in India. It is in the atmosphere of these socio-economic and socio-legal revolutions that the social metabolism of revolutionary land-legislation as prominent in contemporary Europe especially since the Great War (1914 1918) is likely to be regarded as worth adapting or assimilating by Indian legislators and economists.

APPENDIX III.

Chronology of Articles and Books by Prof. Benoy Sarkar in which Zamindars (and land questions) have been dealt with in one context or other :

	1906-1914 (Swadeshi—"National Education" Period).
1907, June,	*Maldaha Samachar* (Malda), "The New Learning of the New Age in Bengal."
1907, August,	*Navya-Bharata* (Calcutta), "The Servant of the Country."
1910	*Modern Review* (Calcutta), "The Man of Letters."
1912	*Sadhana* (Strivings).
1912	*Grihastha* (Calcutta) "The Zamindars of Bengal."
1913	*Vishwa-Shakti* (World-forces).
	1914-1925 (Period of Travels and Investigations Abroad)
1914-16	*Grihastha* (Calcutta), "The Land systems of Great Britain, Ireland, Japan and China."
1924	*Forward* (Calcutta), "New Land-laws of Central and South-Eastern Europe."

1925 *Modern Review* (Calcutta), "Economic Legislation in the Small-Holdings Movement."

1925 *Welfare* (Calcutta), "Agricultural Policy in Post-War Britain."

1925, July, *Modern Review* (Calcutta): "A Scheme of Economic Development for Young India."

1926-1929

1926, May, *Arthik Unnati* (Economic Progress), "The Landlords of England."

1926 *Economic Development* Vol I. (Madras).

1926, July, *Arthik Unnati* (Economic Progress), "The Foundations of Economic Progress."

1926 *Journal of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce* (Calcutta), "Law and the Cultivator. The Example of France."

1927 *Ibid* (Calcutta), "Investments and Business Organization for Bengali Capitalists."

1927 *Arthik Unnati* (Calcutta), "The Next Stage in Our Economic Life."

1927 *Calcutta Review,* "The New Economics of Land" (an Austrian View).

1928 *Calcutta Review,* "Communism vs. Individualism in Land. an Italian Theory."

1928 *Dhana-Daulater Rupantara* (Bengali translation of Lafargue's *L'Evolution de la Propriété*)

1928, Feb.-Mar. *Arthik Unnati* (Calcutta), "The Economics of Young Bengal."

1929, Dec. & 1929, March, *Arthik Unnati* (Calcutta), "Land-ownership of a New Type."

1929 *Subarna-banik Samachar* (Calcutta), "The Methods and Policies of Material Advancement."

1929-1931 (Second Period of Sojourn Abroad).

1930 *Ekaler Dhana-Daulat O Arthashastra* (The Wealth and Economics of Our Own Times), Vol. I.

1931-1939

1931, December, *Amrita Bazar Patrika,* "The Industrialism of Young Bengal and its Role in World-Economy."

1932	*Naya Banglar Goḍa-Pattan* (The Foundations of a New Bengal), 2 vols.
1933, April,	*Arthik Unnati* (Calcutta), "These Seven Years."
1933, April,	*Insurance World* (Calcutta): "Insurance Agents: A New Socio-Economic Force."
1933, May,	*Jiban-Bima* (Life Assurance), Inaugural Speech at the Indian Insurance Companies Agents' Conference, Calcutta.
1933, Aug. 26,	*Liberty* (Calcutta), "The Economic Remaking of Bengal."
1933, Aug. 27,	*Ananda Bazar Patrika,* "The Bengali People in Progress."
1933, Aug.- Sept.	*Amrita Bazar Patrika,* "Decline-Cult of To-day."
1933, Sept.	*Arthik Unnati* (Economic Progress), "Bengali Zamindars in Relation to Bengali Industry and Commerce."
1933, Sept.	*Ananda Bazar Patrika* (Calcutta), "The People of Bengal and Bengali Folk-Literature."
1933, October,	*Clive Street* (Calcutta), "Is Bengal Advancing?"
1933, October,	*Udayan* (Calcutta), "The Thousand-handed Bengali People"
1933, October,	*Sonar Bangla* (Dacca), "Bengalis En Route to Expansion."
1933, Oct. 23,	*Forward* (Calcutta), "Bengali Enterprise."
1933, Nov. 30,	*India Tomorrow* (Calcutta), "A Programme of National Welfare for Young Bengal"
1934, January,	*Arthik Unnati* (Calcutta), "Socialism, Capitalism and National Welfare."
1934, February,	*Udbodhan* (Calcutta), "Vivekananda, The Double-Edged Knife."
1934, February,	*Arthik Unnati* (Calcutta), "Bengalis in Course of Expansion."
1934, February,	*Insurance and Finance Review* (Calcutta), "The Economic Expansion of the Bengali People."
1934, July,	*Indian Commercial and Statistical Review* (Calcutta), "Landholders' Contributions to Bengal's Progress."
1934, August,	*Indian Commercial and Statistical Review* (Calcutta), Bengali Landholders as Unrecognized Financiers."
1934	*Badtir Pathe Bangali* (Bengalis in Progress).
1937, June,	*Calcutta Review,* "Land Reform in Czechoslovakia."
1937, December,	*Calcutta Review,* "Modernism in Land Legislation."
1937	*Banglay Dhana-Vijnan* (Economics in Bengali) Vol. I.
1939	*Banglay Dhana-Vijnan,* Vol. II.

CURRENCY AND TARIFF QUESTIONS AS VIEWED BY BENOY SARKAR*

By Dr. Monindra Mohan Moulik, D.Sc. Pol. (Rome), Author of *La Politica Finanziaria Britannica in India*

After twelve long years of study and travel abroad,—in Europe, America, China, and Japan,—Benoy Kumar Sarkar returned to Calcutta in December 1925. Just at that time a keen currency controversy was raging throughout the length and breadth of this country. The Hilton Young Currency Commission Report was published in the summer of 1926. Then came the Currency Bill before the Indian Legislative Assembly. One of the first declarations that Sarkar made after his return home was in connection with this controversy in August 1926. His opinion came as a real surprise to many. While the representatives of Indian capitalists and businessmen at Delhi and publicists all over India were demanding a 16d. Rupee, Sarkar expressed his agreement with the Government proposal to fix the value of the Rupee at 18d. gold. Not a little curious is the fact that his views were published in, among other journals, the *Journal of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce* of which he was the editor, although the Chamber was officially opposed to the Government view.

Benoy Sarkar is regarded by his countrymen as a product of the *Swadeshi* Revolution of 1905. He took not an inglorious part in the same and was responsible for various constructive activities of national welfare in those days of awakening. He used to be treated as an ambassador of Indian culture by his countrymen while he was travelling abroad (1914-1925). It is on account of this fact that his views in regard to the Rupee-ratio question sounded paradoxical and bewildered his nationalist admirers. The controversy is still raging unabated, and both Sarkar and the advocates of the other side have brought new light on the question. But in 1926 his was virtually a solitary voice among Indian publicists in favour of the 18d. ratio. The exchange value of the Rupee was fixed later at 18d. gold in July 1927. The 18d. gold exchange is now

* See Appendix IV. *The Problem of Correlation between Exchange Rates and Exports* by Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar.

gone, and the Rupee is now linked to sterling (since October 1931) but the agitation against the 18d. rate continues.

On the other hand, Sarkar is not alone to-day in thinking that the 18d. ratio is more favourable for the sound development of our national economy than the other one. His following has undoubtedly increased, and when the leaders of the Currency League (Bombay) visited Calcutta in 1933 after the defeat that their party encountered in the Legislative Assembly in connection with the Reserve Bank Bill, they met with considerable opposition from Sir Prafulla Chandra Ray and influential newspapers like the *Ananda Bazar Patrika*, the *Indian Economist*, *Advance* and the *Insurance and Finance Review*. It is significant to note in this connection that the majority of two votes which brought Sir George Schuster, the then Finance Member, victory in the Reserve Bank Bill, could have been nullified if the two members from Bengal had voted in favour of the 16d ratio But they favoured the 18d. rate. To what extent public opinion had grown effective in support of the 18d. ratio during the 1933 currency controversy may be realized from what "Eavesdropper" wrote in *Indian Finance* (Calcutta), the most active mouthpiece of the Currency League. "It is, therefore, obvious," said he, "that whether Sir P. C. Ray and other eighteen-pencers represent the opinion of the many or of the few, they have dealt a crushing blow, at the crucial moment, to the movement advocating a depreciated Rupee."

The Insurance and Finance Review for December, 1933, made the following rather interesting comment in connection with the visit of Messrs Vissanji and Shroff to Calcutta: "We are glad that the Bengali intelligentsia has been emancipated from the tyranny of Bombay domination. Bengal has now produced a number of persons, groups and journals which have been in a position to discuss the currency problems on an independent footing. We remember how tragic the situation was during the controversy of 1925-27 when Bengalis felt utterly helpless in the atmosphere created by the alleged currency experts of Bombay. It was during this period that India for the first time heard the voice of Bengal in quite an emphatic manner in the scientific, clear-cut and pithy statements of Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar who made the position absolutely clear before the country."

Sarkar's views on currency and banking questions as embodied in his public statements, interviews and articles were incor-

porated in a monograph which was published in 1933 under the title, *Indian Currency and Reserve Bank Problems,* and a second edition of the book was published with additional and up-to-date material within a year of its first appearance. We do not subscribe to all the views that are advocated in this book, and certainly there is much to be weighed in the balance before it can be accepted as the final say in the matter; nevertheless the arguments put forward in this monograph offer an unconventional approach to the entire problem and stimulate scientific controversy.

I have dealt with Indian currency problems in the chapter dealing with the history of the British currency policy in India in my *La Politica Finanziaria Britannica in India* (Bologna, 1938). The advocates of the devaluation of the Rupee maintained, as indicated there, that a rise in the prices of agricultural commodities following upon devaluation, would be a great relief for the poor cultivators of the country. Secondly, devaluation would be able to counteract, if not remedy, the evil consequences of the contraction of exports from which Indian industries and industrial workers are supposed to have been suffering on account of an overvalued Rupee.

Prof. Sarkar's main contentions against these views are as follows :

1. Price-curves in India are indifferent to the course of currency. Prices rose in the past even with a relatively high Rupee as established in 1927. The export curves previous to 1929 were not influenced by exchange curves in the manner as expected according to theory. Devaluation alone, therefore, cannot necessarily stimulate exports.
2. That the Rupee is over-valued cannot be proved by a comparison of the price indices in India and the United Kingdom, since the structures of these indices are widely different in the two countries under consideration, the Indian "general index" being composed mainly of agricultural commodities whereas the British mainly of industrial goods. Comparison in "general price-levels" furnishes no test, therefore, as to the comparative value of the Rupee *vis-à-vis* sterling.
3. The devaluation of the Rupee would increase the cost for us of foreign goods. We still need various foreign

goods, specially machinery and other appliances, for our industrial development, which would be dearer in a regime of the devaluated Rupee, and thus our industrial progress may be handicapped. As to the possibility of the cheaper foreign products competing against our domestic products, Sarkar thinks that the Tariff Board is in a position to defend our infant industries such as may require protection against foreign invasion.

4. Devaluation is generally followed by a rise in prices. Wages do not rise in the same proportion as prices. Thus there may be hardship for wage-earners as a result of devaluation in the short period.

Sarkar also supported the linking of the Rupee to sterling in October-November 1931. He opposed the conversion of the Imperial Bank of India into the Reserve Bank, and insisted that the Reserve Bank should be a Shareholders' Bank. He advocated the representation of agricultural interests on the directorate of the Reserve Bank of India, and exhorted the Bengali banks and investors to enter "high finance" by subscribing to the share capital of the Reserve Bank to the extent allotted to them.

Regarding Imperial Preference and Indian tariff problems Sarkar's views are perhaps more revolutionary and startling than those on currency and central banking. In November 1932 while lecturing at the University of Lucknow Sarkar supported the Ottawa Agreement while the rest of nationalist India condemned it as an instrument of British exploitation. Sarkar has demonstrated by means of adequate statistics that Ottawa has been beneficial to India and has been somewhat responsible for the improvement effected in certain categories of Indian exports in the British market. Tariff has been a question of supreme importance to us in connection with the development of our national industries, and has been discussed for nearly half a century. Economists, or rather economic statesmen of India have so long considered tariff problems mainly in relation to the *Swadeshi* aspects of the question. Prof. Sarkar's contribution to the theory of Indian tariff lies in the fact that he has given a new orientation, a new approach to the entire question. He has viewed Indian tariff questions from the perspective of world-economy and world-trade. His views on our tariff problems are embodied in his *Imperial Preference vis-à-vis World Economy, published* in 1934 at Calcutta.

On protection Sarkar's views are thoroughly realistic. He believes that protection does not necessarily involve hardship for the foreigners. This will be evident by consideration of the fact that a country does not offer protection to all its industries at the same time, and there is always some scope for expansion in trade of other commodities that are not prohibited or protected. Moreover, protection of one industry may necessarily encourage the imports of certain other products which may considerably offset the hardship inflicted on the trading country. This is exactly what happened when our cotton textile industry was given protection for the first time. Although British imports of coarse textile suffered slightly for the time being, the loss was compensated by the imports of British machinery which was required for the production of cloth within the country. Besides this, the mere starting of an industry within the country under the tariff wall does not imply for the foreigners loss of the markets altogether, since for example, the scope for the sale of finer qualities or different varieties of the commodity within the protected country always exists. Arguing from the same point of view, Prof. Sarkar thinks that preference for British goods cannot completely oust the competitors who have been discriminated against. This is illustrated by the fact that although Germany produces the cheap varieties of woollen products on a very large scale for export to Russia and the Balkan countries, she herself imports the costlier varieties from England. So long as there is diversification in industries and industrial products, the fundamental economic position of a country is scarcely altered by tariff regulations unless they are carried to the extremes or mixed up with political questions.

According to Sarkar the industrialisation of backward countries is not prejudicial to the interests of industrial adults. This will be evident if we consider again the gradations and varieties in any particular industry. A protected infant industry can by no means, at least in the initial stage, meet the total demand of the country, nor can it satisfy the entire taste of the people for different varieties and qualities which they used to like and consume. Sarkar is convinced that it is economically desirable for India to be integrally associated with the United Kingdom in tariff as well as currency. According to orthodox Indian economics and especially the economic theories and policies of the Indian National Congress no position could be more open to challenge. But as a realist, although no less

nationalistic and patriotic than the other economists or statesmen Sarkar believes that England is the only country which on account of its political connection and past commercial contacts with India is likely to invest increasing volumes of capital in India.

Although he attaches considerable importance to the development of banking under Indian auspices, the utility of foreign capital for India is an item in Sarkar's fundamental economic creed. So he has an implicit faith in the fact that India is destined to participate in British prosperity if India should care to develop her trade with Britain. There is no *politics* in it. To him no economic consideration is more vital. He considers Imperial Preference as planned international trade and believes that with the achievement of the Ottawa Pact Empire economic unity has become an established fact. At the same time he sympathises with the Indian public opinion which demands a fair and equitable treatment of Indian nationals in different parts of the Empire. Sarkar sees the tendency of world trade to flow in future through certain organized channels composed of economic units politically allied together. The familiar talk, therefore, often overdone by economists in India, of bilateral trade argeements with different countries of the world without reference to the realities of the British Empire-Economy, seems to Sarkar as too wide of the mark. He stops to ask those optimists to what extent trade can be developed, under the present conditions of economic nationalism and autarchy, by means of bilateral agreements.

It is, therefore, evident that Sarkar does not subscribe to the popular view in regard to the tariff question and in regard to the effects of Imperial Preference on India's national economy. He bases his theories here on economic principles unbiased by political questions, as he himself wrote while introducing the *Indian Commercial and Statistical Review* in 1934. "In spite of finance and economics being bound up inextricably with politics there is such a thing as non-political and non-party economics," said he. "And that is the finance and economics that the businessman understands in so far as he is a pure businessman, whether in agriculture, manufacture or commerce."

It is on purely economic grounds that the tariff and currency policies of the Indian National Congress are opposed by Sarkar's *Imperial Preference*. In regard to the political policies of the

Congress Sarkar has expressed no views. He is evidently in general sympathy. In any case he has not taken sides on definitely political issues. His economics is entirely non-political and uninfluenced by whatever political views he may happen to possess.

Apart from all considerations of theory these studies of Benoy Sarkar in currency and tariff have methodological value in economic science as growing in India. There was a time when people could not as a rule conceive of any economic policies or ideals outside those propagated by the millowners of Bombay and their allies among the members of the Indian National Congress. That condition of things embodied what may be called the "classical tradition" in Indian economic thought. Sarkar's heresies, bold and fundamental as they are, have served to create a new atmosphere among the businessmen, politicians as well as economists not only of Bengal but of all India. The public, lay as well as academic, is now convinced that it is possible to be scientific and reasonable as well as patriotic and *swadeshist* even when one differs as the poles asunder from the stalwarts of the Bombay school, nay, of the Indian National Congress. The establishment of more than one school, tradition, policy and theory in the Indian scientific and business world,—the "conflicting tendencies" as described by Mr. S. C. Dutt,—is a consummation for which we are indebted, among other things, to Sarkarism in currency and tariff. It is not out of place to suggest that the diversities in currency and tariff thought as generated by the impact of liberal economics associated with Sarkar's works have contributed to the growth of an independent labour and agrarian economics in India, the exponents of which naturally are on the look out for unconventional viewpoints and ideologies, especially as they are interested in the supply of cheap goods for the masses.

APPENDIX IV

The Problem of Correlation Between Exchange Rates and Exports

*An Analysis of Indian Statistics in its Bearings on Economic Theory**

By Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar

The Theory of Inverse Correlation

Towards the end of September 1936 the franc was devalued in France and along with it the Swiss franc and the Dutch guilder. The obstinate "gold bloc" came thus in line with the off-gold countries. These devaluations constitute but the last stage in the process which commenced in October 1931 with the United Kingdom (as well as India), and was taken up by the U.S.A. in March 1933. Germany has not formally abandoned the gold standard. But as is well known, the privileges granted by Germany to her traders on the international market since 1934 constitute a factual 33 per cent devaluation (cf. "Register-Mark," "scrips," and other facilities). Altogether, we have, then, another occasion for an investigation into the problem of correlation between exchange rates and the export trade.

In economic theory no generalization is perhaps more accepted as a universal postulate than that which seeks to render the exports of a country the *function* of its exchange rates. The alleged economic law can be formulated in two main parts as follows:

1. Higher exchange = −exports.
   = hindrance to and diminution of exports
2. Lower exchange = +exports.
   = incentive to and expansion of exports.

In the business world of every country no economic law is more popular than the one indicated in the above correlations which embody the facts of the fall in and stimulation of exports accord-

* A paper for the Twentieth Indian Economic Conference, Agra, December 31, 1936—January 2, 1937, published in the *Indian Journal of Economics* (Allahabad) for October 1937.

ing to the rise and fall respectively of the rate of exchange. The correlation between exchange and exports is taken to be inverse.

It is the object of the present paper to examine the validity of this alleged correlation of an inverse character. We propose, therefore, to analyze some of the recent Indian foreign trade statistics in the perspective of the exchange-rates.

It may indeed be conceded to deductive reasoning that as soon as the Rupee becomes high compared, say, to Sterling, the foreigner has to pay more in Sterling for the Indian goods if the price be calculated in Rupees. In other words, Indian goods become dearer to the parties that have to make purchases with Sterling. The consequence should be a fall in the foreign demand, which is tantamount to saying that the exports will tend to diminish in quantity. This tendency to the diminution of exports on account of high exchange (which is sometimes an item in deflation) has indeed constituted the argument of all those economists and statesmen who in almost every post-war country, in Austria, in Czechoslovakia, in Germany, in France, in the Balkan states, in Italy, and even in England advocated inflation (implying lower exchange) in order to furnish a stimulus to exports.

In "gold-exchange standard" countries like India (down to 1926) one might argue that the prices of export-goods are calculated not in the currency of the country itself, *i.e.* not in Rupees but in terms of the international medium of exchange, *viz.*, gold, say, dollar or sterling. And therefore as soon as there is high exchange the Indian exporters, in other words, as a rule the agriculturists should have to be satisfied with a lesser number of Rupees for the same amount of goods because Sterling is low compared to the Rupee.

Thus arguing, we should expect agriculture to be a less and less profitable concern and the agricultural output diminishing in quantity. The natural consequence to international trade should not fail to make its appearance. It ought to manifest itself in the tendency of India's exports to diminish.

We thus come to the same position as we had in the previous consideration. That is, whether the prices of Indian exports be calculated in terms of gold or in terms of Rupee, a high exchange (*i.e.* the command over a greater number of, say, pennies per Rupee) should prove to be damper on India's export-trade.

It should be observed at once that this speculative reasoning, Ricardian as it is, can be considerably neutralized by another argument, equally Ricardian. For, as Truchy[1] puts it, *la prime à l'exportation ne dure que le temps nécessaire à l'adaptation des prix interieurs* (the premium on exports offered by the depreciation of currency does not last longer than the time necessary for the adjustment of internal prices). Besides, it furnishes to external sales but an artificial spur, the cessation of which may give rise to serious damages.

The Realities of Direct Correlation (1914-25)

In any case, the Indian figures tell us that exports neither declined in volume, say, during the period 1914-25 nor did they yield a lesser and lesser number of Rupees.[2]

The war-average in the export of grain (rice, wheat, barley etc.) gave the figure 3,141,000 tons. In 1923-24 it rose to 3,429,000 tons and in 1924-25 to 4,260,000 tons. And the total Rupee prices received by India rose from 344,180,000 to 508,715,000 and 650,604,000 respectively.

The essential seeds were exported to the extent of 708,000 tons per year during the war-period, 1,177,000 tons in 1922-23 1,255,000 tons in 1923-24 and 1,328,000 tons in 1924-25. And the Rupee yields for the corresponding years were 121,742,000, 273,538,000, 298,172,000 and 331,685,000 respectively.

The total value of exports, again, does not indicate any tendency to decline. On the contrary, beginning with Rs. 2,159,670,000 per year during the war-period, it successively rose to Rs. 2,991,619,000, Rs. 3,488,301,000 and Rs. 3,846,653,000 in subsequent years.

The significance of these rises in exports in the currency-history of India will be clear if we place these increases in the figures (both in *quantum* and Rupees) for exports in the perspective of the exchange-curve during the corresponding periods. All this time, as we are aware, the Rupee was steadily rising in relation to Sterling. Form 16, 28/32d. in January 1923 it rose to 17, 17/32d in December 1923, 18, 14/32d. in December 1924 and 18, 16/32d. in December 1925.

1 *Cours d'Economie Politique*, Vol. II (Paris 1934), p. 131.

2 *Review of the Trade of India in 1924-25* (Calcutta, 1925), Tables Nos. 7, 28—41.

The situation, therefore, is curious. The exports increased both in volume and Rupee-price at a time while the exchange was rising too. But our theory should lead us to expect quite the reverse, *i.e.*, an inverse correlation. Should there have been any correlation between exports and exchange, it was not inverse as the "law" suggests, but direct.

We encounter the statistical reality, namely, that the higher Rupee was actually a stimulus to export or rather that the period of high exchange coincided with the period of increased exports. And we have to admit that the demand for India's goods abroad is not determined, if at all, exclusively by the rate of exchange. There are other and more weighty circumstances influencing the volume and price-movements of export-goods, which need not be gone into for the time being.

The paradoxical situation, namely, that even a higher exchange may be accompanied by the stimulation of exports is somewhat comparable to an important fact pointed out by Nogaro in *La Monnaie et les phénomènes monétaries contemporaines* (Paris 1935).[3] Contrary to the expectations of the quantitative theory of money, says he, an increase in the volume of money in circulation may act as a stimulant to production and this increase in production *provoque une baisse des prix* (leads to a fall in prices). Instead of raising prices, the enlarged monetary circulation may thus be the cause of their fall.

The Eighteen-Penny Rupee and Stimulus to Exports (1927-29)

Let us examine the situation in another economic conjuncture.

The eighteen-penny Rupee was introduced in July 1927 in the place of the "popular" sixteen-penny Rupee. As a result of this measure the Indian cultivators' goods were not sold abroad in relatively less quantities than before. An analysis of the export figures of 1927-29 indicates rather that the exports increased in jute, cotton as well as tea. Besides, the export of those oil-seeds for which the demand in foreign countries is old and regular also showed some increase. During this period, then, also the correlation between exports and exchange was not inverse but direct.

3 L. Baudin: *La Monnaie et La Formation des Prix*, Vol. I (Paris 1936), pp. 478-479.

The eighteen-penny ratio had been the *de facto* rate since September 1924.[4] The regime of higher exchange had lasted five years when in September 1929 the crisis overtook the world-economy.

During this entire period the average monthly exchange was invariably above 18d. The annual averages were as follows:

1925	...	...	... 18·14/32d.
1926	...	...	... 18·8/32d.
1927	...	...	... 18·9/32d.
1928	..	...	... 18·11/32d.
1929	...	...	... 18·11/32d.

The behaviour of exports as well as prices under the "new Rupee" may be examined in connection with raw cotton as well as raw jute. And for this it should be appropriate to study the curves previous to the world-economic depression. We find that in the *milieu* of the eighteen-penny Rupee, *i.e.* in the conditions of the so-called higher exchange the exports *behaved* quite favourably. The following table will exhibit the average figures for raw cotton[5] in the three periods, (1) pre-war, (2) 1927-28, *i.e.*, the first year of the new Rupee, and (3) 1928-29, the last pre-depression year:

	Bales exported (400 lbs. each)	Total-value Rs.	Price per cwt. Rs.
1. Pre-war ...	... 2,407,000	333,000,000	38-11- 0
2. 1927-28 ...	... 2,686,000	477,000,000	49-11-11
3. 1928-29 ..	.. 3,712,000	662,000,000	49-15- 7

All the three curves for raw cotton,—*quantum*, value and price,—rose during that period. The three jute-curves of those days also told the same story of rise, thus:[6]

	Bales exported (400 lbs. each)	Total Value Rs.	Price per ton Rs.
1. Pre-war ...	... 4,281,000	222,000,000	290
2. 1927-28 ...	... 4,995,000	306,000,000	342
3. 1928-29 ...	... 5,028,000	323,000,000	360

4 *Statistical Abstract for British India* 1920-30 (Calcutta 1932), pp. 316-17.

5 *Review of the Trade of India in* 1928-29 (Calcutta 1929), pp. 72, 161, 207, 225.

6 *Ibid.*, pp. 161, 205, 225.

Both in jute as well as cotton, higher exchange (18d.) went hand in hand with (1) higher exports in *quantum* and value as well as with (2) higher price per unit. No matter what be the theory, the facts of trade statistics demonstrate that both export and price curves moved in India's favour even under conditions of higher exchange.

It is of course patent on deductive grounds that the higher exchange ought to raise the prices of exports. The rise of prices, therefore, as demonstrated by statistics is quite in keeping with the demands of speculative economics. But the rise in the *quantum* of exports is at variance with *a priori* reasoning.

The index number of the prices of 28 exported articles repeats the same story of rise, as follows:[7]

1873	...	100	1927	...	209
1911	...	136	1928	...	212
1913	...	154	1929	...	216

The reactions of Indian prices as well as exports to currency are then clear. From 1927 to 1929 during the period of the statutory eighteen-penny Rupee under pre-depression conditions exports rose as well as prices in comparison to pre-war conditions.

The World-Economic Depression and the New Rupee (1929-32)

The diminution of exports was a universal phenomenon during the world-economic depression (1929-32). It may then be treated as having been in the main indifferent to exchange considerations, high or low. The impact of the "new Rupee," therefore, may be left out of the consideration.

At 1932 the percentage decline in exports since 1929 may be seen for certain countries as below:[8]

A

	Countries	Per cent		Countries	Per cent
1.	Denmark	53	3.	Netherlands	57
	Belgium	53		Italy	57
2.	Australia	55	4.	New Zealand	58
	Finland	55		Germany	58

7 *Statistical Abstract for British India* 1920—30 (Calcutta 1932), p. 722.
8 *World Economic Survey* 1932-33 (Geneva 1933), p 214.

B

5.	Irish Free State ...	60		Sweden .	64
	Japan	60		United Kingdom	64
	Canada	60		Czechoslovakia .	64
6.	Brazil	61		Argentine .	64
	Greece	61	10.	Mexico .	65
	France	61		Spain .	65
7.	Poland	62	11.	Peru .	67
8.	Switzerland	63	12.	Hungary .	68
9.	Jugoslavia ..	64	13.	U.S.A. .	69
	Egypt	64	14.	India .	70

C

15.	Austria	71	16.	China	75
	Uruguay	71		British Malaya	75
			17.	Chile	84

Nearly three dozen countries sustained a decline in exports exceeding 50 per cent in the course of four years. In five countries, namely, Chile, British Malaya, China, Uruguay and Austria the decline was heavier than in India and ranged between 71 and 84 per cent. India's position which is measured by a decline of 70 per cent was almost identical with that of the U.S.A. (69 per cent) and Hungary (68 per cent). Six countries, namely, Argentine, Czechoslovakia, U.K., Sweden, Egypt and Jugoslavia, each with a decline of 64 per cent, happened to be just a few points ahead of India. Nay, all those countries which are marked by a decline down to 60 per cent, namely, Irish Free State (60 per cent), Japan (60 per cent), Canada (60 per cent), Brazil (61 per cent), France (61 per cent), Poland (62 per cent), and Switzerland (63 per cent) might be described as belonging almost to the same fraternity of adversity as Hungary, U.S.A., India and Austria.

All the same, it is worth while to observe that the trade balance of India was improving, as will be evident in the following statement of export surplus from April 1930 to September 1933:[9]

9 Based on *Accounts Relating to the Sea-borne Trade and Navigation of British India* (Delhi) for September 1932 and 1933. See *Indian Finance* (Calcutta) for November 18, 1933 and December 9, 1933

		Exports Rs.	Imports Rs.	Export-Surplus Rs.
1930	April-Sept. (slack season)	1,251,300,000	874,100,000	+ 377,200,000
1930-31	Oct.-March (busy season)	1,005,100,000	774,100,000	+ 231,000,000
1931	April-Sept. (slack season)	780,100,000	663,500,090	+ 116,600,000
1931-32	Oct.-March (busy season)	825,300,000	600,200,000	+ 255,100,000
1932	April-Sept. (slack season)	621,900,000	709,000,000	− 87,100,000
1932-33	Oct.-March (busy season)	734,400,000	616,800,000	+ 177,600,000
1933	April-Sept. (slack season)	726,900,000	554,800,000	+ 172,100,000

The trade balance of the slack season (April-September 1933) was larger than that of the preceding busy season (1932-33, October-March). The improvement should appear to be remarkable in view of the fact that the corresponding slack season of 1932 was marked by a negative figure, imports exceeding exports. That half-year represented indeed the *nadir* of depression in the Indian economy. As it is, the figure for April-September 1933 (Rs. 172,100,000) is considerably above that of the corresponding season of two years ago (Rs. 116,000,000).

The regime of the new Rupee, then, was relatively speaking quite favourable even during the period of the world-economic depression. In other words, the correlation continued to be direct.

India's Exports from April to August 1936

During the last decade (1927-36) the Rupee-Sterling ratio has not undergone any statutory modification. This is the decade of the eighteen-penny Rupee. But bazar-fluctuations there have been. Let us exhibit these fluctuations for the five months of 1936 (April to August) in the background of the average rates for 1926-28. We get the following table:[10]

10 *Monthly Survey of Business Conditions in India* August 1936 (Delhi 1936), p. 286.

Months	Average for 1926 to 1928 (1)	1936 (2)	% Change (+ or −) of (2) over (1)
April	17·28/32d. per Re.	18 3/32d.	+ 1
May	17·29/32 ,,	18 3/32d.	+ 1
June	17·29/32 ,,	18·3/32d.	+ 1
July	17·28/32 ,,	18·3/32d.	+ 1
August	17·29/32 ,,	18·3/22d.	+ 1

Comparative exchange statistics indicate a positive value for all months. In 1936 the Rupee was invariably "higher" than during 1926-28 by one per cent.

We shall now examine at random the export-biography of a few Indian commodities with reference to this the most recent date (April-August 1936).

The behaviour of raw jute in the export world during the five months April to August can be seen in the following table for 1936 in the perspective of that for 1926-28:[11]

Months	Average for 1926 to 1928 (1)	1936 (2)	% Change (+ or −) of (2) over (1)
April	48,307 t	49,699 t	+ 3
May	40,647 t	52,290 t	+ 29
June	38,240 t	55,794 t	+ 46
July	32,690 t	53,874 t	+ 65
August	39,983 t	30,542 t	− 24

In August 1936 there was a decline compared to the situation in August 1926-28. But during the other months there was an increase.

For raw cotton the comparison in export-behaviour between the two years 1936 and 1926-28 is recorded below:[12]

Months	Average for 1926 to 1928 (1)	1936 (2)	% Change (+ or −) of (2) over (1)
April	55,663 t	86,513 t	+ 54
May	51,705 t	71,173 t	+ 38
June	49,126 t	55,070 t	+ 12
July	41,864 t	52,600 t	+ 26
August	37,254 t	30,176 t	− 19

11 *Monthly Survey* etc., p. 270.

12 *Monthly Survey* etc., p. 271.

In this instance also August 1936 marked a decline *vis-à-vis* 1926-28. But otherwise the story was positive.

In regard to hides and sikns (tanned or dressed) comparative export-statistics yield the following figures:[13]

Months	Average for 1926 to 1928 (1)	1933 (2)	% Change (+ or −) of (2) over (1)
April	1,656 t	2,091 t	+ 26
May	1,694 t	1,895 t	+ 12
June	1,548 t	2,066 t	+ 33
July	2,147 t	2,044 t	− 5
August	1,995 t	2,396 t	+ 20

In 1936 the exports for July were somewhat less than those in 1926-28. But during the other months they were more.

The export-story exhibited by lac in 1936 (April-August) is shown below in the perspective of that in 1926-28:[14]

Months	Average for 1926 to 1928 (1)	1926 (2)	% Change (+ or −) of (2) over (1)
	cwts.	cwts.	
April	40,000	49,000	+ 22
May	54,000	58,000	+ 7
June	64,000	65,000	+ 1
July	55,000	58,000	+ 5
August	54,000	50,000	− 7

With the exception of August when the percentage in relation to 1926-28 was negative the other months in question for 1936 gave positive results.

We may take the whole-year views of the export-world for the depression and post-depression years. The behaviour of raw cotton, jute manufactures, raw jute and pig iron during the seven years (1929-36) is exhibited below:[15]

Years	Raw Cotton in bales of 400 lbs.	Jute Manufactures (including twisted yarns) in tons	Raw Jute in tons	Pig-iron in tons
1929-30	4,070,500	957,955	806,900	568,800
1930-31	3,926,100	766,649	619,600	439,100
1931-32	2,369,300	663,618	586,600	350,900
1932-33	2,062,800	679,745	563,100	218,300
1933-34	2,820,800	672,155	748,200	377,500
1934-35	3,490,300	684,718	752,400	417,100
1935-36	3,396,100	752,391	771,300	538,200

13 *Monthly Survey* etc., p. 273. 14 *Monthly Survey* etc., p. 274.
15 *Monthly Survey* etc., pp. 297, 300, 302, 305.

It was during the regime of the eighteen-penny Rupee that the *nadir* was touched by the exports of raw cotton, raw jute and pig-iron in 1932-33, and by that of jute manufactures in 1931-32. It was also the same regime of exchange which saw the recovery in the export-trade of those commodities,—after 1931-32 in the case of jute manufactures and after 1932-33 in the case of others.

It is possible to quote commodities whose export-biography is different from the facts placed here. Indeed, even the commodities described here exhibited months, as we have noticed, during which the results were negative

It is not necessary to go into the export-biography of all the months of the year, nay, into the statistics of all the years. The student of statistics is already forced into an atmosphere where an invariable correlation of a particular type between exchange and export is the farthest removed from the economic reality. Even a higher exchange may run *pari pasu* with intensified or higher exports. In other words, the correlation may be direct instead of being inverse. Should the investigation be carried on in regard to the leading foreign countries such as receive India's exports the result would not fail to be more or less similar.

The impact of "other circumstances," *i.e.*, non-exchange factors in the economic *Gestalt* or form-totality of economic enterprises on the *quantum* and value of exports would continue to be a dominant consideration. In the study of economic causation, then, exchange-monism like many other monisms in economics or other sciences is found to be wanting. The relativity of currency-economics is to be pronounced as a sound doctrine both for economic theory and economic statesmanship.

The Ottawa Agreement as a Non-Exchange Factor (1933-36)

Among the non-currency or non-exchange factors of the recent economic conjuncture is to noticed the Ottawa Agreement of December 1932.

The total exports rose from 132,4 crore Rupees in 1932-33 to 151,2 crore Rupees in 1934-35. The total imports remained almost the same coming down slightly from 132,5 crores to 132,2 crores.[16]

16 *Review of the Trade of India in 1934-35* (Delhi 1935), pp 181, 200,

In 1932-33 India sold to Japan, Germany and the U.S.A. 24·3 per cent of her foreign exports. In 1934-35 the percentage rose to 28·8 per cent. In monetary value India's exports to these countries were worth 32,4 crore Rupees in 1932-33. But in 1934-35 the value rose to 44,7 crore Rupees. During the Ottawa period India has not lost her non-Empire markets. From the total of 54·6 the percentage has come down to 54·1 only. In other words, there has been no perceptible retaliation from the foreign countries.

In 1932-33 India imported from Japan, Germany and the U.S.A. 31·7 per cent of all her foreign requirements. In 1934-35 the percentage came down to 29·7. In monetary value, however, India bought 42,2 crore Rupees worth in 1932-33 from these countries. But in 1934-35 the purchase rose to 47,3 crore Rupees. Individually speaking, both Japan and Germany have maintained their position on the Indian market. Germany lost only 0·2 per cent while Japan gained 0·3 per cent. The Indian market is still open to non-Empire suppliers. The total reduction sustained by all foreign countries combined is 4 6 per cent (from 55·2 to 50·6 per cent). It may be pointed out *en passant* that it is this relative reduction that was one of the objectives of the Imperial Preference.

India's imports from the United Kingdom rose from 36·8 per cent in 1932-33 to 40 6 per cent in 1934-35. This points but to the realization of the same objective.

During the same period India's exports to the United Kingdom rose from 28 0 per cent to 31·6 per cent. This percentage is higher than the pre-war, war and post-war averages. The expansion of India's exports to the United Kingdom has been consummated, be it observed, without detriment to her exports to the non-Empire countries.

The Place of Inverse Correlation in India's Export-Behaviour (1931-36)

Finally, it is important to observe that the "new Rupee" was not always 'high" from 1927 to 1936 in relation to *all* the currencies of the world.

In September 1931 the U.K.'s getting off the gold standard wat tantamount to the depreciation or devaluation of the British currency, namely, Sterling, in terms of the gold-standard currency. The linking of the Indian currency to the British implied (1) that

the ratio of the Rupee to Sterling remained unchanged *i.e.*, what it had been since 1927, but (2) that the Re. was devalued, *i.e.* depreciated to the same extent as the £ in terms of the dollar, the Reichsmark, the yen, the franc and other gold-standard currency units.

While analysing the relative expansion of exports during and since the depression of 1929-32 due value has to be attached to these devaluations. It is in the *milieu* of this fall of the £ st. and of the Rupee that the industrial goods produced by the British manufacturers and the agricultural produce of the Indian cultivators were exported to foreign countries, it is to be noted, in relatively larger amounts,—of course, *within the limitations* of the world-depression.

The foreign countries, however, did not remain indifferent to the devaluations of the Sterling bloc. Most of the countries followed suit as exhibited below for October 1933 in three groups :[17]

I. Gold-parity 65-80 per cent, *i.e.*, currency-depreciation 20-35 per cent.

Countries	Gold Parity %	Countries	Gold Parity %
Austria ...	77 95	Egypt ...	65 09
Jugoslavia ...	76 97	United Kingdom	65·09
Hungary ...	72·36	Ireland ...	65 09
Portugal ..	68·20	Esthonia ..	65 06
U.S.A. ..	66 45	India ...	65 05
Canada ...	65·43		

II. Gold-parity 50-65 per cent, *i.e*, currency-depreciation 35-50 per cent.

Countries	Gold Parity %	Countries	Gold Parity %
Sweden ..	61 11	Finland ..	55·54
Argentine . .	59 90	Denmark ...	52·48
Norway ...	59·50		

III. Gold-parity 35-50 per cent, *i.e.*, currency-depreciation 50-65 per cent.

Countries	Gold Parity %	Countries	Gold Parity %
Colombia ...	48·30	Spain ...	43·39
Brazil ...	46·18	Japan ...	36·28
Greece ...	44·08		

201 (Tables 5, 9, and 10) See also the *Review* 1933-34 (the corresponding tables).

17 *Wahrungsubersichten Oktober 1933* (Deutsche Bank Berlin); *World*

The devaluation of the Rupee was equal in amount to that of the pound. But in regard to the other currencies (extra-British), these devaluations (gold-parity 65 per cent) were only nominal or relative, effectively counteracted as they were by larger or smaller doses of depreciation instituted by the different countries (from Sweden with 61 per cent gold-parity down to Japan with 38 per cent). Competition in devaluations between country and country was so keen as to prevent virtually every country from enjoying any effective devaluation. In any case the stimulation to or increase of exports from India after September 1931 may have to be attributed in part at any rate to this relative devaluation or lower exchange. To this extent the correlation between exports and exchange was inverse as the law should lead us to expect. In India's export-behaviour, then, the place of inverse correlation cannot be altogether ruled out as out of the question. The devaluations of October 1936 in Europe are to be recognized as constituting some more factors affecting or counteracting the relative devaluations of the Sterling bloc. It should be observed, however, that, elastic as they happen to be, they range as a rule between 25 and 35 per cent.[18] The extent of devaluation, *e.g.*, of the French and Swiss francs is not greater than that of the Pound sterling and the Rupee as indicated in the tables.

Leaving the phenomena of the last few weeks out of the picture we may then formulate the proposition that, in the first place, exports cannot be interpreted as but *functions* of exchange-rates alone. Tariff, quota, barter or compensation business, clearing agreements, strategic alliances, industrial "autarchy," credit insurance, and many other items in "economic planning" or planified economy constitute the non-exchange factors to which also the exports react in a functional manner. And secondly, the correlation between exchange and exports, in so far as it is a reality, is not all inverse. There is a great deal of direct correlation to be emphasized in the analysis of export-behaviour.

Economic Survey 1932-33 (Geneva 1933), pp. 222-223; *Review of World-Trade* 1932 (Geneva 1933), p. 30; *Federal Reserve Bulletin* (Washington, D. C.), June 1936, pp. 429-30.

18 *Midland Bank Monthly* (London), October-November 1936 (Is the World Nearer the Gold Standard?), pp. 1-2. See also the *New Monetary System of the United States* (National Industrial Conference Board, New York 1934), pp. 95, 103 and *Federal Reserve Bulletin* (November 1936), pp. 878—881.

SOME ECONOMIC TEACHINGS OF BENOY SARKAR

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I am one of the first readers of Professor Benoy Sarkar's writings in favour of industrialization and promotion of capitalism published during the *Swadeshi* period in the monthly review, *Grihastha* (Householder), of which he was the editor (1912-1914). At that time he was translating into Bengali the German economist Frederick List's *National System of Political Economy*. The chapters on the changes in commercial and economic policy of different countries in Europe and America were published in the *Grihastha* and other monthly journals of Calcutta from 1914 to 1918 (Great War). Bengali economic thought was greatly influenced by these ideas.

The twelve volumes of *Varttaman Jagat* (Modern World) were written by Professor Sarkar while he was travelling in foreign countries (1914-1925). Every single line of these 4500 pages was published in the monthlies and weeklies of Calcutta. A special feature of these contributions consisted in the importance attached to the industrial organization and structure, factories and workshops, technical developments and labour legislation of England and other countries. Because of these month to month publications ranging over a period of twelve years the readers of the Bengali monthly and other journals could easily assimilate the economic teachings of Benoy Sarkar in their diverse phases.

It is doubtful, however, if his publications in the American journals of ethics, education, international relations, political science, etc. during 1917-1921 reached the Indian readers except those who tried to be in touch with foreign thought. The exports and imports of capital as well as the migrations of labour constituted the topics of two of his papers published in the *Journal of International Relations* (1919, 1921).

During 1920-21 he was making economic investigations in France and reporting on them in the Reviews of India. In 1922 he became the editor of *Commercial News* under the management of *Indo-Europaeische Handelsgesellschaft*, Berlin, an Indian firm. His ideas were well calculated to help Indian merchants and

industrialists with opportunities in foreign trade as this journal had a wide circulation in India. During this period Sarkarism was taken in India to be identical with the philosophy of mechanisation, industrialism and so on.

It is as a result of his investigations for *Commercial News* as well as because of contacts with the *Société d'Economie Politique* of Paris as a life-member since 1920 that the first volume of his *Economic Development* (Studies in Applied Economics and World-Economy) was prepared and published at Madras in 1926. Many of the chapters of this book, be it observed, were published in the journals of India like the *Mysore Economic Journal, Indian Review* (Madras), *Modern Review* (Calcutta) and had thus been read far and wide by the intellectuals and businessmen during 1920-1925. Since 1920 world-movements in commerce, economic legislation, industrialism and technical education, on the one hand, as well as the equations of comparative industrialism with special reference to economic India, on the other, have been engaging his special attention in the scheme of his scientific researches and publications.*

Perhaps I should call attention to the well-known fact that Benoy Sarkar's economic views are generally opposed to the ideas and notions prevalent among the scholars, lay public and politicians of India. About his *Indian Currency and Reserve Bank Problems*, the *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* (London, Part I., 1937) remarks: "It is well known that Prof. Sarkar who has travelled and studied widely in Europe and America, holds views on politico-economic problems now facing his country not identical with the strongly nationalistic opinions of many of his countrymen." The *Hindu* of Madras also wrote in 1933 about the same work as follows: "On most questions Professor Sarkar's views are not identical with those held by prominent businessmen in the country. On every question he has attempted to substantiate his case by facts and figures. One fails to see how the businessmen can pick holes in Prof. Sarkar's arguments."

Writing on his *Imperial Preference visàvis World-Economy* the monthly *Federated India* of Madras (27th February 1935) observes

* The different influences of England, America, France and Germany on Sarkar's economic thought have been analyzed by himself in his *Ekaler Dhana-Daulat O Arthashastra* (The Wealth and Economics of Our Own Times), Vol. I. (Calcutta 1930).

that "Prof. Sarkar is to be congratulated on his courage in maintaining an unpopular point of view. The care and skill with which he has collected his data is wholly admirable." The weekly *Commercial Gazette* (Calcutta) of 14th November 1934 says as follows while writing about this book: "Prof. Sarkar, as is well known, is one of the very few economic thinkers who refuse to throw themselves headlong into the general stream of economic thought prevailing in this country and like to interpret things in an individualistic way. And in this case too the interpretation he gives of the results of the Ottawa Agreement runs counter to the generally held opinion on this subject in India. The judgment is marked by a breadth of outlook very rarely met with in the writings of Indian economists."

The *Economic Journal* of London (March, 1936) likewise observes that Benoy Sarkar "is a vigorous as well as prolific writer on the present-day economic problems of India" and "is not afraid of propounding views which run counter to those held by a large section of Indian politicians." This Journal of the Royal Economic Society (London) says also that Sarkar's "arguments are full and well-reasoned and are copiously illustrated by figures and charts."

My interest in these writings is chiefly or rather wholly from the practical standpoint, as I am an importer of machineries from the Continent and the United Kingdom. With theoretical considerations I have hardly any concern. But businessmen like myself have derived much profit from discussions held at Benoy Sarkar's Bengali Institute of Economics and other Institutes since 1926 when his *Arthik Unnati* (Economic Progress) monthly began to appear. There was no economic journal in Bengal,—in Bengali or English—until the establishment of this monthly.

It should be added that from 1926 to 1932 the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce used to publish a quarterly *Journal* and that Professor Sarkar was its editor. This likewise was the only economic review of Bengal in English. Not only the economists and economic researchers but the bankers, insurance men, merchants and industrialists also of to-day have thus had the advantage of the atmosphere created by Benoy Sarkar's economic ideas published in Bengali and English since 1920, when he joined the *Société d'Economie Politique* of Paris.

In the following sections I am reproducing without comment extracts from or summaries of Benoy Sarkar's economic writings published in recent years, specially since 1934.

The Economic and Financial Creed (1934)

In the first number of the *Indian Commercial and Statistical Review* (Calcutta, July 1934) Benoy Sarkar as editor announced his economic and financial creed as follows:

To Promote Industrialization

Our slogan is two-fold. First, we believe in the industrialization of India by hook or by crook,—even at break-neck speed if possible. Industrialization is with us a comprehensive category. It does not imply simply the promotion of company-managed and machine-driven factories and workshops of medium or large scale. It is wide enough in our parlance to comprise not only the modernization of agriculture and rationalization of internal trade methods by adequate banking and insurance facilities etc. but the promotion of international trade under Indian auspices as well as the uptodatization of rural handicrafts and small industries as well.

To Advocate the influx of External Capital

Secondly, the influx of British and other external capital is in our financial thinking a most powerful aid to India's progress in capitalism and technocracy as well as cultural advance and societal reconstruction. That for some long time to come our *Swadeshi* capital is bound to play but a second fiddle in our material and moral welfare enterprises belongs to the A.B.C. of economic statesmanship conceived by us. Indian banks, insurance institutions and other financial companies are to be fostered and protected by all means. But efforts are at the same time to be made to facilitate the import of foreign finance in adequate doses and on reasonable terms.

These are the two sets of paramount considerations which will lend colour to all our ideas on commerce, industry and agriculture. It is on these postulates, be it observed *en passant*, that our *Economic Planning for Bengal* also was reared in March

1933, and the *Scheme of Economic Development for Young India* given out in July 1925.*

To Serve Economic Activities

It is to serve the agriculturist, the landowner, the handicraftsman, the artisan, the manufacturer, the working man, the trader, the banker, the insurance man, the transportation agent, the exporter and the importer in the programme of their business rounds that the *Indian Commercial and Statistical Review* will develop an objective and pragmatic financial and economic policy That financial and economic policy will grow from month to month. It will move according to the needs of the diverse financial and economic agents. It will seek to keep pace also with the requirements of higher purchasing power and standard of living among the millions of our cultivators and the creation of employment for our other manual and brain workers.

To Avoid Currency and Tariff Fetishes

Agitations in favour of particular tariff policy or particular currency policy are very often misunderstood by business politicians and journalistic economists to be the chief, if not the sole, factors in financial, commercial, industrial or agricultural development. A sort of fetish worship in regard to currency and tariff has thereby been engendered militating, as it does, against sanity as much in economic theorising as in applied economics.

But in India as in every other country today there is a large slice of constructive economic activity and positive financial development which is virtually indifferent to political idealism and currency or tariff propaganda. In India as elsewhere the people's enterprises in all sorts of business can grow and expand, as indeed they have been growing and expanding to a certain extent almost uniformly under the most diverse conditions of tariff and exchange.

It is too patent a fact that the world-economic depression attacked the different countries of the world without distinction although they were pursuing tariff and currency policies the most widely remote from one another. On the other hand, the econo-

* See Appendix V as well as "The Six Creeds of Benoy Sarkar" (Mrs. Ida Sarkar).

mic curves of the last few months indicate that economic recovery has been going on slowly but steadily almost everywhere although some of the regions are gold-standard and others off-gold, the latter again varying from one another in the percentage of distance from the parity, and although secondly, the customs duties levied by the regions exhibit the greatest variety in rates.

It is impossible to pounce upon a tariff or currency patent of universal validity such as can be trusted to as an infallible tonic in the economic and financial *corpus* of a people. This kind of fetish worship will be the farthest removed from the *Indian Commercial and Statistical Review.*

To Render Unto the Businessman the Things That Are the Businessman's

In other words, in spite of finance and economics being bound up inextricably with politics there is such a thing as non-political and non-party finance, as well as non-political and non-party economics. And that is the finance and economics that the businessman understands in so far he is a pure businessman whether in agriculture, manufacture or commerce. The claims of the non-political, non-party business finanace and economics are perhaps not as exhilarating as those of the other brand, and are as a rule likely to be overlooked. But while not ignoring that other side of the shield the *Indian Commercial and Statistical Review* would like to emphasize the requirements of the businessman's economics and finance.

We would render unto Delhi and Simla the things that legitimately belong to Delhi and Simla. But we would at the same time render unto the farmer, the merchant and the manufacturer the things that legitimately belong to these latter. The businessman is not to be dominated by the politician.

To Emphasize Technique and Organization

The *Indian Commercial and Statistical Review* will not fight shy of devoting its columns to the analysis of customs duties as well as the rates of exchange and the monetary questions. But it will seek rather to focus attention on the growth and expansion of the people's enterprises in all sorts of business, no matter what the tariff or currency policy may happen to be for the time being.

There is to be no pandering to the fetishism of currency and tariff economics and no encouragement of any brand of economic or financial monism.

To be a true pluralist in economic and financial policy perhaps we should formulate our method in some such words as the following: "Let politics, propaganda and agitation in regard to currency and tariff grow from more to more, but more of the technique in agriculture, manufacture and commerce, and more of the organization in agriculture, manufacture and commerce in us dwell." It is in this way that we can prevent the businessman from being obsessed by politics and enable the cultivator, the industrialist and the trader to assert themselves in the social economy of India.

To Invite International Co-operation

An open-eyed and realistic approach to the problems involved in raising the standard of life and efficiency of our people will be tantamount to exploring every possible source of financial and technical aid, Indian or foreign, accessible to us along the lines of least resistance. The utilization of international finance and technique in the interest of India's economic expansion and the heightening of the Indian level of achievements will be regarded as a most fundamental plank, as already suggested, in our scheme of agricultural, industrial, commercial and societal planning.

The Empire-Economy, based as it is on the reciprocal preferences of the Ottawa Agreement has come to stay as a more or less permanent limb of the Indian Economy and the World Economy. But it should still be possible to develop relations of co-operation and mutuality in finance as well as manufactured goods, machineries, tools, implements, and raw produce between India and the non-Empire countries. The most prominent of these latter regions, so far as Indian commerce, industry, and agriculture are concerned, naturally are Japan, the U.S.A., Germany, France, and Italy. Further, the importance of Austria, Switzerland, Belgium Czechoslovakia, as industrial regions, although small countries, has need to be called attention to while planning India's orientations in foreign commerce whith an eye to constructive and contractual relations. The *Indian Commercial and Statistical Review* will seek to throw light on the growth of exports and imports between India and these non-Empire countries.

To Promote Knowledge About India's Socio-Economic Equals

With the countries of the "Balkan Complex," the Little Entente, Russia and the rest of Europe, China, Java, Persia, Turkey, Latin America etc., regions which from the standpoint of technocracy and capitalism happen to find themselves like India in different stages of the "first industrial revolution" our financial and economic relations are bound to be essentially different from those with the "industrial adults" of the previous count, which may be regarded as representing more or less the "second industrial revolution." But both in regard to the relations between industry and handicrafts or between agriculture and manufacture the regions of the "first industrial revolution" are likely to exhibit similar and almost identical features of socio-economic structure. It should therefore be a part of the financial and economic statesmanship of India to cultivate intimate acquaintance with the balance of accounts, gold movements, agricultural indebtedness, market conditions, industrial finance etc. of those semi-developed, half-agrarian, partially industrialized regions in Asia, Europe and America. For the purpose of economic planning in India we are likely to derive more fruitful and constructive hints from these parallels or duplicates of ourselves in those regions than from the ambitious projects, experiments or schemes undertaken by the pioneers of the first and the second industrial revolution. In these aspects of our economic and financial creed is indeed to be found the very foundation of our "geopolitics."

Indian economy to-day is already industrialized enough to be a source of manufactured goods to Western Asia and Eastern Africa. These markets of Asia and Africa would therefore belong likewise to the sphere of interests that are to be sedulously cultivated by the *Indian Commercial and Statistical Review*.

The Economics of Output Control (1934)

The next extract from Benoy Sarkar's economic writings deals with the coal question and is a study in the economics of output control. It was published, first, in the *Indian Commercial and Statistical Review* (September 1934) and subsequently in the *Insurance and Finance Review, Commerce* and other journals.

It is reported that the Government of India should like not to intervene in the present coal muddle, thus begins the article by

Sarkar. They have advanced the "principle" that in a question of one of the essential raw materials like coal it would be desirable for the State to keep aloof unless it were possible to interfere simultaneously in other raw materials as well, which for the time being should appear to be out of the question.

The problem is rather complicated. On the one hand the reported attitude of the India Government in regard to the policy of non-interference is right, so far as the coal situation in 1934 is concerned, and should be supported by the public. But on the other hand, it is interesting to have to observe that this alleged "principle" viz., the objection to one-sided interference, if it is to be regarded as a principle, is very un-British and un-modern.

It is just one-sided intervention,—piecemeal control of industry and commerce, the expansion of the state's sphere item by item or inch by inch, that has been the characteristic of British economic statesmanship during the last few generations. Any sweeping state socialism, comprehensive public ownership, all-embracing municipalization or revolutionary "economic planning" is unknown to British tradition, realistic and pragmatic as it is.

Even the story of Britain's coal policy in recent years furnishes us with but another instance of this item or one-sided advance of state control in economic life. Since the Royal Commission on the Coal Industry (1925) state intervention has been accepted as the first postulate in coal reorganization or rationalization. This statutory control consists as much in compulsory amalgamations of collieries and the enforcement of co-operative marketing of the output as in the restriction of production to the most "economic mines."

The restriction plan in regard to Indian coal should appear to be objectionable not because of any "philosophical" grounds but because there is no economic justification for it at the present moment. A few figures relating to the output, prices, consumption, etc. should not fail to convince us objectively that the coal depression, as it is, exhibits features such as do not demand any legislative interference or state control of the sort announced in the papers.

Coal Output

The raisings of coal have not been showing any sign of abnormal or even steady or uniform increment. Quite contrary is the

factual situation of the last few years. There is no suspicion possible as to the likelihood of a glut.

The production of coal during the depression period 1929 to 1933 is exhibited in the following table:

1929-30	...	23,375,000 tons
1930-31	...	22,714,000 tons
1931-32	...	19,513,000 tons
1932-33	...	18,064,000 tons

The curve is one of steady and continuous decline. The gradient also is quite steep. In 1932-33 the output was 78 per cent of that in 1929-30. The curve is thus one of an automatic going down of raisings.

Tea Curve contrary to Coal Curve

Tea presented a far different story. The circumstances which led to the enactment of the Indian Tea Control Act in the summer of 1933 are not identical with the conditions obtaining in the coal world of India. The tea-curve and the coal-curve have run generally in contrary directions.

The production of tea for the depression period is shown in the following table:

1929	...	432,842,000 lbs.
1930	...	391,081,000 lbs.
1931	...	394,084,000 lbs.
1932	...	433,414,000 lbs.

Here the story is one of increase in the long run although marked by some decline during two years. In case of tea, besides, it is exports rather than production that should attract our attention as the chief factor in the market conditions. We have the following figures for export of tea from India during the depression period:

1929-30	...	376,364,000 lbs.
1930-31	...	356,240,000 lbs.
1931-32	...	341,519,000 lbs.
1932-33	...	378,469,000 lbs.

There was only a slight decline during the two years 1930-32. Even in 1931-32 the year of the smallest exports the figure was

still nearly 91 per cent of that in 1929-30. But at 1933 the figure rose and exceeded even the figure of 1929.

Ignoring the demand side for the time being, we find that the tea-curve was perhaps heading towards a disaster. Comparative output analysis should counsel the coal industry into the belief, reasonable as it is, that its conditions have happily been moving along lines which do not justify any statutory control.

In a depression period the most outstanding mark is the slump in prices. Now it appears that the price-level of coal is not as distressing as one generally believes. The coal market is not much too depressed. One may almost speak of "improvement" or recovery to a certain extent. The situation is certainly encouraging by all means when one compares the raw jute market and places the coal market in the perspective of the former. In any case one is convinced that a calamitous fall in prices is not the fact of the coal trade in recent years.

Jute and Coal Prices

Let us take two kinds of coal,—the Desherghur and the Jharia. The price indices of these two are being exhibited in the following table along with that of raw jute (July 1914 = 100):

	Coal Desherghur	Coal Jharia	Jute Raw
January 1933	57	74	39
February	57	74	36
March	50	63	38
April	50	63	46
May	47	63	50
June	47	63	45
July	47	63	45
August	47	63	43
September	47	63	38
October	47	63	38
November	52	69	35
December	53	69	38
January, 1934	52	69	40

With July 1934 = 100 the price-index of Desherghur coal came down to 47 from May to October 1933. But since then the indices

have been showing a tendency to rise. At January 1934 the Desherghur index touched 52 and Jharia 69.

The price index of coal has not been as a rule as bad as that of jute. Of late the jute index has been rising. With the exception of the six months, February, March and September—December 1933 which marked slight descent the index-curve is one of ascent. At January 1934, the jute index touched 42 but it rose as high as 46 and 50 in the course of the year.

But with all this "improvement" or recovery the jute index has been lower than the coal index. The depression in coal from the standpoint of price is not as catastrophal as that in jute.

In regard to the price-indices we shall go back to tea once more. Let us take the Calcutta as well as the London prices. The following table gives the conditions of the tea market (prices of tea per lb.) during the depression period:

	Calcutta			London		
	Rs.	A.	P.	£	s.	d.
1929-30	0	11	6	0	0	16·73
1930-31	0	9	4	0	0	14·69
1931-32	0	6	5	0	0	11·77
1932-33	0	5	2	0	0	9·29

Both the Calcutta and London prices came down catastrophically. The decline was steady and continuous. With 1929-30 as 100 the Calcutta index in 1932-33 was as low as 45.

But coal statistics tell us another tale of prices as follows (per ton into wagon):

Year		Rs.	A.	P.
1929	...	3.	13.	0
1930	...	3.	14.	0
1931	...	3.	13.	0
1932	...	3.	6.	0

During the entire period the price was quite firm, almost steady at Rs. 3-13-0. Rather in 1930 it was higher than in 1929. The decline in 1930 was slight. With 1929 as 100 the index was as high as 88·5.

Naturally, therefore, from the standpoint of price-level the milieu of the market antecedent to the Indian Tea Control Act cannot be said to have been repeated in the sphere of coal.

Consumption-Index

One might suspect that perhaps the discrepancy, if any, between the supply of coal and the demand for coal was approaching dangerous conditions. Let us watch the trend of India's demand for coal in recent years.

The statistics of consumption yield the following figures:

1929	...	22,800,000 t.
1930	...	23,500,000 t.
1931	...	21,300,000 t.
1932	...	19,600,000 t.

At 1930 the figure was higher than that at 1929. The decline in 1931 was slight. But yet in the year of the smallest consumption, namely, in 1932 the index was as high as 86 with 1926 as 100.

For the depression period, then, we have the two following indices, one for production and the other for consumption:

	Production	Consumption
1929	100	100
1932	78	86

We understand that the relative decline in consumption was less than that in production in spite of the fact that oil and electricity have been in as rivals to coal. From the standpoint of demand, therefore, the coal market does not have to be too nervous and panicky. If anything, we are factually encountering a tenacity in India's effective demand for coal. And this should argue against any case for statutory control of output.

Railway Freights

On all these considerations it should appear reasonable to leave the market alone. But perhaps it may be necessary to examine to what extent some of the external factors, for example, the Railway Administration and the freights are responsible for certain hindrances to the smooth functioning of the collieries. The 15 per cent surcharge on coal freight is being regarded as a grievance by the concerns badly affected.

Rationalization, when Desirable

So far the economic arguments against restriction. Socially also the restriction should be deemed to be objectionable as being

inexpedient. Generally speaking, restriction as an element in the concentration of output in the most up-to-date and efficient establishments deserve encouragement. But as is well known, such rationalizations involve, as a matter of course, the weeding out of the "small man"—the technocratically under-developed and organizationally ill-equipped concerns. In case "speedy" mechanization, efficiency, economy and standardization were to be looked for as the "immediate" goal in the Indian coal industry we should have to be prepared for the spectacle of mines on the margin of exploitation disappearing in no time. Indeed, many have already been closed. And the name of such mines on the margin is legion, financially handicapped as Indian industry is in every line. It is such countries as are pioneering the "second industrial revolution" that can afford to indulge in the economics of the full-fledged rationalization movement involving therein, as it does, the extirpation of the lesser members of the system. As long as Indian capitalism happens to remain in the Kindergarten stage it should be the farthest from our economic statesmanship to attempt lisping the alphabet of hundred per cent efficiency as understood by the "industrial adults" of to-day.

THE SMALL MAN TO BE SAVED

In India to-day, placed as she is in some of the earlier stages of the "first industrial revolution" the spectacle of such extirpations of the financially weak and inefficient can but spell social disasters. The fortunes of several hundred "cottage-mines" operating quite a few million Rupees are at stake in this game.

For some time to come while appreciating technocracy, rationalization, trustification etc. of the highest types from a distance it should be part of our economic policy in India to go in deliberately for *lower degrees* of "mechanization," economy, efficiency, elimination of waste etc. and to protect the *relatively* ill-equipped and ill-financed establishments, as far as possible, from the competition of the thoroughly uptodatized giants.

We should be prepared to witness the existence of different degrees of efficiency among a large number of mines instead of a uniform degree of efficiency permeating the entire system as is possible with a thorough centralization. Therein would lie a really

scientific or rational management, i.e. genuine rationalization of coal mining *adapted* to the financial and general economic conditions of present-day India.

In Indian business morphology the chief desideratum as yet should appear to be not rationalization of the type employed in Germany or the U.K. but the *rationalization of the rationalizing methods*. The rate at which mechanization is to be introduced has to be controlled and the methods by which efficiency can be won have to be restricted, i.e. the period of time during which the reorganization is to be carried through should be lengthened,—in order that the smaller doses of capital manipulated by the Indian *entreprencurs* may still find and keep up some fields for profitable investment. It is among other things with the object of saving the "small man" in the coal industry against the ravages of rationalization that the India Government should come forward to reject the restriction scheme.

We cannot entirely ignore the consideration that under conditions of relative freedom or relative absence of control it should be possible for the mines below the margin of exploitation to rise above it once in a while as well as for the ones on the margin to march somewhat ahead and enjoy some doses of relative prosperity during certain periods.

AMALGAMATIONS WANTED

Already some simpler forms and types of rationalization should by no means be beyond the capacity of smaller mines. Amalgamations among the most intimates are likely to be forced upon them by the sheer force of circumstances. The conditions of the market will compel them to look for the strengthening of their financial staying power by pooling their resources. For some time the voluntary fusion movement may be given a chance. But later, compulsion as under the British Mining Industry Act of 1926 will have to be resorted to. In the meantime half-way houses to full-fledged rationalization will not have failed to educate the Indian financiers and business organizers up to the mysteries of enlarging the unit of establishment in mining as in sugar, cotton, oil, paper and other industries, nay, in banking and insurance also.

The Economic Depression (1935)*

According to Sarkar lecturing at the *Bangiya Dhana-Vijnan Parishat* (Bengali Institute of Economics) on May 12, 1935, economists in India have not bestowed adequate study on the correlation between prices and wages, or on the subject of prices *vis-à-vis* costs of production and profits, prices in the perspective of currency, etc. It is, however, time to realise that the only economics that is worth while as science is price-economics, says he; and the price-mechanism ought to arrest the attention of our investigators more and more. The substance of the lecture is given below.

The fall of wholesale prices is older than 1929, the year with which depression is generally taken to have commenced. The prices began to fall already in 1925 and since then the fall has been steady in the U.K., Japan, Germany, France, Italy, the U.S.A. and other countries. India has but followed the general trend.

The most fundamental fact in the world's price-mechanism of to-day is to be found in the deliberate stabilization legislation of of 1924-26 consciously attempted to initiate an epoch of alleged "normal prices" by counteracting the high prices of the post-war inflation period. The currency deflation of that time was the direct first cause of the fall in price which has been continuous since 1925. Simultaneously came the feverish rationalization activities (1926-28) which amounted to a technocratic revolution leading indirectly to the same fall in prices, because they served to keep the level of production virtually at the inflation level.

The depression of 1929-32 was but a continuation on an intensified scale chiefly of the results of these two sets of phenomena. The first attempt at remedying the low prices manifested itself automatically, by the sheer logic of price-structure, in the restriction of output in industrial countries, the discharge of hands, i.e. unemployment during 1930-32; and this restriction of output somewhat counteracted the effects of rationalization. For agricultural countries the counterpart of unemployment has been the

* Sarkar's paper in the *Calcutta Review* for June 1937.

Reports of this lecture were published in the Calcutta dailies, *Advance* (17 May 1935), *Forward* and *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (24 May 1935) and the weekly *Calcutta Commercial Gazette* (20, May, 1935).

uneconomic prices of the farmers' produce and the consequent increase in agricultural indebtedness. But unemployment has been combated by unemployment insurance which implies to a considerable extent state charity. And agricultural indebtedness has likewise been combated in many countries, including India to a certain extent, by state intervention in the form of remissions or postponements of rent, loan moratoriums etc.

The second attempt at remedy was discovered in 1931 in devaluation or currency depression which served as antidote to deflation. The little rise in prices that has been manifest since 1935 is due to this curtailment of supply and lowering of the value of currency. There has been hardly anything that can be described as exceptional or special to India. The post-war boom as well as the post-stabilization depression have manifested themselves in the Indian economy in almost the same forms and processes as in other regions of the world-economy. Actually the rise in prices has been still very slight in India as elsewhere because the output (especialy in agriculture) has remained quite high.

Depression or fall in prices is not, however, to be taken as equivalent to adversity on a national or world-wide scale. In every country including India it has been a source of prosperity to the classes with fixed incomes because their salaries have not experienced a considerable cut. Traces of this prosperity are to be seen, among other things, in the construction of new buildings and in the premium collections of insurance companies. Indeed, depression does not necessarily spell universal stagnation just as universal prosperity is not to be associated with boom.

From 1911 to 1931 the population of India increased only 11 per cent. But there are many lines of imports in which in terms of *quantum* (as contrasted with prices) India's consumption increased several times more than 11 per cent. Some of these imports are articles of direct consumption and others are aids to industrialization. The price-movements must not mislead the statistician in regard to the *quantum* movements. For instance, in certain lines India in 1937 finds herself relatively more industrialized and relatively more capable of consumption, in spite of the depression.

The transformation of economic structure during the period of depression is a fact and not only of economic India, but, on a magnified scale, of the British, German, Japanese and other economies as well.

The Theory of Wages in the Epoch of Social Insurance (1936)

The following is a *resumé* of Prof. Benoy Sarkar's paper for the Nineteenth Indian Economic Conference held at Dacca University in January 1936 (*The Theory of Wages in the Light of Social Insurance and Public Finance*).*

Absence of Economic Freedom

It is in the *milieu* of a huge institutional complex that the "economic man" of to-day,—the employer no less than the employee—has to function. The least that the economic theorist is justified in postulating in regard to the theatre of economic activities is the "freedom of enterprise." Economic freedom is the farthest removed from the realities of economic life, especially such as has developed in Eur-America and Japan under the conditions of the "second industrial revolution" and "neo-capitalism." In the first place, the "social expenses" of national budget which comprise the "benefits" of social insurance as well as poor relief constitute the most fundamental background of institutions in the midst of which the earnings of the economic man have to make their appearance. No theory of wages can be realistic and adequate enough which is not oriented to the considerations of public finance such as the state-directed economic and societal "planning" and campaign against poverty inject into the economic world at every item of its functioning. The negation of *laissez faire* has grown into the greatest of all realities in the internal economy of nations.

In the second place, even without or rather outside of state intervention there are the innumerable "frictions" to economic competition engendered by the doctrines as well as facts of *solidarisme*. Both employees and employers—well organized into unions on each side as they are,—have got used to the regime of give-and-take, mutuality, "interdependence." The employer is no more a free-to-choose individual than the employee. The earnings of labour, wages, salaries, bonuses, and what not,—require therefore to be interpreted in terms of these new conditions of the

* The paper has been published at length in the *Indian Journal of Economics* (Allahabad) for July 1936.

labour world in which, in the last analysis, not so much individualist competition as reciprocal co-operation virtually rules.

Doles and State Subsidies

Social insurance cannot in theory be described as a system of doles or charities because it is essentially insurance and, as such, is based on premium paid by the insured.

The "dole-ful" character is apparent, however, in the facts (1) that a part of the premium is paid by the employer, and (2) that another part of the premium is paid, in several branches of social insurance and in many countries, by the state. In regard to the first point, the employer's contribution, it may perhaps be described as part-payment of "supplementary wages" and cannot therefore be described as a charity or dole even in liberal, *laissez faire* or orthodox economic thinking.

But the contribution by the state is likely to be treated as pure charity or dole, and the wage-earner or salaried employee treated in the same manner as a "public charge," nay, as a pauper depending on Government benevolence. It is evident that state dole is rendered possible simply because of allocations from the national finances which naturally come from the citizens' taxes. The wage-earner and salaried employee become thereby the charity-boys of the nation. The element of dole involved in this item cannot be ignored either in classical economics or in socialist economics. Naturally, therefore, the state contribution is condemned on all sides as a bounty or subvention to the employees or capitalists who are thereby enabled to curtail their pay-bill. The economic system which normally requires a state-subsidy for employers cannot be regarded as a legitimate one. The perpetual protection of capitalists by the state is curiously enough the most outstanding fact of modern economy in so far as and to the extent that social insurance is an established institution.

Risks Ignored in Unemployment Relief

It is to be remembered that in unemyloyment "assistance" as well as in "poor relief," as organized in the British Isles, the question of risk from the standpoint of insurance does not arise. The problem of approximating the benefit, grant, allowance or relief to the risk is out of the question. The financial responsibility is

borne by those persons who are farthest moved from the likelihood, possibility, danger, or risk of unemployment, namely, the capitalists, employers and higher middle classes. The cost of unemployment relief (and semi-insurance?) in these two instances is met by the tax-payer. It is at the expense of the comparatively richer classes that the unemployed are enabled by the state to carry on.

In regard to the unemployment insurance proper, also, it is not always possible to detect any logical connection between the benefit and the risk. No consideration has been paid to the question as to whether the percentages of unemployment are high or low in regard to those classes for whom the insurance has been declared to be compulsory. The rates of contribution as well as benefit have been fixed in an arbitrary although uniform manner without reference to the branches of business, rates of wages or age groups. Only, the women and the juveniles have been accorded the right to lower contribution as well as lower benefits. On the other hand, children's allowances have been admitted although the parents have not been burdened with higher contributions. Altogether, the more "risky" occupations and age-groups have been "protected" at the cost of the others, i.e. the more favourably situated.

SOCIAL BUDGETS OF GOVERNMENTS

Nothing illustrates more clearly the institutional transformation in the economic *milieu* than the revolution in public finance brought about in modern times. An aspect of this revolution in economic institutions consists in the fact, as emphasized by Tivaroni, that "the wealth raised by taxation from one social class is not spent by the state for the satisfaction of the requirements of that class but is assigned, wholly or in part, to those of another class." In other words, the institutional economics of to-day is normally used to the Finance Acts such as legalize the *trasferimento di ricchezza da una ad altra classe* (transference of wealth from one to another class).

The *trasferimento di ricchezza da una ad altra classe* on a more or less large scale is the most signal feature of contemporary institutional economics in virtually every country of the world. Extra-wage earnings or supplementary wages are through this agency normally flowing into the wage-fund or wage-stream. The solution of the wage-problem as a question of earnings derived by the working-

man or clerk as a competitive economic agent is therefore a question which economics as such has failed to consummate. In so far as there is a solution at all it is essentially "uneconomic," and in the instance discussed, political. The problem of "fair wages" continues still to be the "will-o'-the wisp" of economic theory.

As long as the state has to maintain, in part at any rate, the wage-earning classes in order to keep them going one is forced to admit that the wages as economic categories, i.e. earnings in the "open market," fall short of the minimum requirements of the wage-earner. The wages, as they are, do not normally cover the necessities for sickness, accident, old age, unemployment and so forth.

Iron Law of Wages a Reality Still

The most stable of all economic generalizations, then, should appear to be the "iron law" of wages formulated by the German socialist Lassalle on the basis of Malthus and Ricardo.

In modern times the general level of wages has risen, as one can see in the improvements in the *per capita* consumption of nations. But to use an old phrase in reference to modern conditions, perhaps it is still possible to speak in a rather general manner of the "standard of wretchedness" as determining the wage-rates in most occupations even in countries commanding high national dividends.

Evidently, even with the second industrial revolution, neo-capitalism, social assurance and what not we have not seen the last term in the progress of mankind so far as the problems of poverty and the poorer classes are concerned. And as for India, situated as she is somewhere in the earlier stages of the first industrial revolution, equipped as she is with very few trade unions, and those again of a primitive and rather unorganized character, and suffering as she does under poverty against which a seriously planned warfare has hardly commenced, and where therefore social assurance is not yet a question of practical politics,—we have reasons to be more solicitous about the safeguarding of not only the economic welfare of our workingmen and other employees but also of their position as "moral agents." And in this regard nothing ought to be envisaged as more powerful instruments than the organization of a larger number of effective trade unions on a legal and secure basis as well as the promotion of social insurance among all ranks and in all occupations.

Ascending Curves of Economic India (1936)

A resumé of the Presidential Address by Prof. Sarkar delivered in Bengali while opening the Industrial and Health Exhibition at Chittagong under the auspices of the Chittagong Association (February 23, 1936) was reported in the *Calcutta Commercial Gazette* (2nd March, 1936). It is reproduced in the following statement.

The Achievements of Chittagong

There are very few districts in Bengal whose contributions to modern culture, public life, and economic development are of as great all-Bengal, nay, all-Indian importance as Chittagong. In the poetry of Chittagong's Nabinchandra Sen the Bengali people was furnished with virility and energism comparable only to those of Madhusudan Dutt and Hemchandra Banerji. In recent years the self-sacrifice of Jatindramohan Sen-Gupta, the valiant son of Chittagong, served to advance the best tradition of the "ideas of 1905" in and through labour organization and political groups.

The business organizers of the Chittagong Electricity Supply Company command an all-Bengal reputation. The extension of their activities to Narayanganj and Rajsahi has rendered them all the more conspicuous. Another glory of Chittagong, which, besides, has crossed the boundaries of Bengal is the sturdy Bengal-Burma Navigation Company, associated as it is with the Scindia Steam Navigation Co. The most characteristic product of Chittagongese genius is certainly the sloops which to-day as in the past furnish evidences of Bengali ship-building and sea-faring activity. The Mahaluxmi Bank of Chittagong is an institution of which the Bengalis, modest as they are in financial achievements, are justly proud. Chittagong enjoys, besides, the credit of conducting the only Bengali daily of the *Mofussil* (districts), namely, the *Panchajanya*.

Chittagong is the most enviable division of Bengal. The death rate here is the lowest. During 1921-30 while the average death rate for males was 28·7 in Rajsahi division, it was 20·1 in Chittagong, and while the Rajsahi rate for females was 27·9 the rate in Chittagong was 18·8. Compared to Rajsahi, Chittagong was an "earthly paradise," so to say.

The Chittagong division arrests our attention from another angle. In 1872 this had been the least "dense" of all divisions in

Bengal. But in 1931 its density was higher than that of the Rajsahi and Presidency Divisions. While the average Bengal density advanced from 422 persons per square mile to 616, that of Chittagong rose from 298 to 584. The "relative" increase is phenomenal. From 100 the Bengal index rose to 148 but the Chittagong rose to 197. This extraordinary progress in density is a correlate perhaps of the growth of the division in economic resources.

The hills and forests, on the one hand, and the river and the sea, on the other, have marked Chittagong out as the favoured centre of Bengali creative enterprises. Add to these the circumstance that Assam and Burma have co-operated with Bengal to establish in Chittagong the nucleus of economic and cultural exchanges. The prosperity of the Port of Chittagong and Chittagong's contributions to the wealth of Bengal can be taken to be almost foregone conclusions.

Indeed, it is in the Chittagong-Chandpur-Narayanganj complex that we are encountering the beginnings of a New Bengal. The solid foundations for the expansion of Bengali life and culture are being laid in this Easternmost region.

Doses of Economic Recovery

1936 furnishes India with an atmosphere of ascending curves in economic life. And since the lines of evolution for to-morrow and day after to-morrow in Chittagong as in other parts of Bengal and the rest of India are too well known to need fresh discussions let us throw ourselves consciously into the stream of activities and enterprises such as during the last few years have been testifying to the progress and expansion of the Indian people.

At the outset it is good to feel that the condition of the cultivators has commenced to improve. The investigations of the Bengal Board of Economic Enquiry indicate that in Bankura, Pabna and Faridpur prices of rice have been rising since 1932. According to the latest *Report on the Land Revenue Administration* this should appear to be almost universal in Bengal. Economic "recovery" is already palpable to a certain extent although the depression in jute prices, partly counteracted as it is, continues to be somewhat obstinate. A solid test of the general improvement in the situation is embodied in the fact that fresh borrowings by cultivators have been decreasing since 1933. Besides, repayments of loans also have been increasing.

For the establishment of Union Board dispensaries and the improvement of water supply in rural areas the sum of Rs. 350,000 has been set apart. Minor drainage and flushing schemes are to be taken care of with Rs. 330,000. The sum of Rs. 180,000 has been earmarked for the introduction of agricultural and manual training in selected secondary schools, and for the provision of libraries, playgrounds etc. in villages. The improvement of cattle and of fodder crops is an item for which Rs. 175,000 has been allocated and for the establishment of seed, paddy and crop demonstration centres Rs. 109,000. Then there are projects for the improved marketing of jute and paddy, the establishment of coir spinning and weaving demonstration parties, broad-casting service etc. on which different sums have been granted. An item with a grant of Rs. 25,000 refers to improvements in Chittagong Hill Tracts. The allotments are not liberal and hardly touch even the fringe of the problems concerned, when we visualize the interests of the fifty million people of Bengal. But the new directions as well as doses of "relative" progress are undoubted.

Howrah Bridge and Road Development

The construction of the Howrah Bridge on which the country is embarking is likewise to be itemized as a new force in the creation of employments as well the setting up of subsidiary industries.

The activities of the Road Development Fund which was established by the Government of India in 1929 have had important bearings on "economic planning" during the period of depression. Down to December 1934 nearly two crores and a quarter of Rupees were spent out of this fund, forty-four lakhs being spent in Bengal alone. The value of roads in the marketing of goods, especially of agricultural produce, and hence in the prosperity of villages cannot be over-estimated. The question should demand the special attention of the Bengali people, because Bengal does not possess more than 4·87 miles of metalled road per 100 square miles as against 12·20 miles in Bombay and 19·15 miles in Madras. Be it observed, *en passant*, that the roads, the Howrah Bridge and the Government rural reconstruction projects are all directly or indirectly calculated to create jobs for the intellectual or *bhadralok* classes.

India as Exporter of Manufactures

The most important item in the new economic morphology of India is to be found in the fact that she is already well established in countries overseas as an industrialized region.

In pre-war years India's exports in manufactures constituted 23 per cent of her total exports. To-day some 27 per cent of all the articles exported by India are "wholly or mainly manufactured" goods. India's industrialization has thus maintained itself in an active manner even during the years of depression.

Jute yarns and manufactures, cotton yarns and manufactures, tanned or dressed hides and skins as well as leather, metals, woollen yarns and manufactures, iron and steel manufactures, dyes and colours, chemicals, drugs and medicines,—these are the principal representatives of industrial India in foreign markets.

Import of Machineries Increasing

Another encouraging feature of Indian economy, pointing inevitably as it does to the ascending curve of industrialization, is to be seen in the import of machinery and mill work which is to-day worth nearly thirteen crores of Rupees. Even during the period of depression the import of metal working machineries, prime movers, electrical machineries, textile plants and so forth has been on the increase. It is well known, besides, that the machineries for sugar mills have virtually all been imported during this period.

Progress of Cotton, Steel and Sugar Mills

In 1905-06 the *swadeshi* mills produced 2·03 yards of cotton piece-goods per head of population. In 1934-35 the same mills produced 9·03 yards per head. During the same period the amount of foreign piece-goods came down from 7·97 to 2·62 yards. To-day on the average every Indian can use 15·60 yards. This is 2 yards more per head than in 1905-06, an evidence, be it noted at once, of the rise in the standard of living and comfort as well as of that in the purchasing power.

With 1925-29 as 100 the cotton-spinning industry of India rose to 129 in 1934, and the cotton weaving industry to 138. In 1925 the spinning was at 91 and the weaving at 90. To get an idea of the imposing volume of output let us visualize 3,397,100,000 yards of piecegoods produced in 1934-35 against 1,164,300,000 in 1913-14.

In 1930-31 the cotton mills of Bengal alone consumed 96,000 bales of raw cotton. In 1934-35 the consumption rose to 106,000 bales.

The expansion of industrialism as embodied in the progress of the Tata Iron and Steel Company during the depression period is no less remarkable. The production of coke rose from 671,000 tons in 1930-31 to 726,000 in 1934-35. Pig iron advanced from 714,000 to 892,000, steel ingots from 625,000 to 834,000 and finished or saleable steel from 431,000 to 604,000.

In 1929-30 India produced 111,000 tons of sugar but in 1934-35 the output of *swadeshi* sugar was 620,000 tons. During the same period the imports of foreign sugar went down from 940,000 tons to 223,000 tons.

Machineries Manufactured in India

No less conspicuous a feature of Indian industrialism is the production of machineries, tools and implements of all sorts. Electric lamps, electric apparatus, litho-printing machines, paper perforators, pulverizers, rubber tyres, water softening plant, tablet machines, sanitary equipments, cooking stoves, asbestos, cement products, sewing machines, domestic machinery, paints, enamels etc. as well as railway rolling stock, bridge work and other heavy structures,—these are some of the lines in which India has been showing her hands in manufacture. The spirit of Tata is abroad and Tataism has come to stay.

Increase of Savings

The savings of the people show encouraging signs of growth. In 1921 the deposits in Savings Banks totalled nearly 23 crores. The figure was over 37 crores in 1931. While the population index rose from 100 to 111 the savings index rose to 162. The expansion of deposit-"capitalism," especially among the poorer and middle classes, is then as real a fact as the growing tendency to industrialization. In this expansion we should read, however, not so much perhaps an increase in wealth as an improvement in the saving habit and banking propensity of the people.

Improvements Real though Slow

I have been inviting your attention to the new activities, the marks of fresh creativeness, and the signs of expansion. But one

must not ignore that we are a very poor people and that the progress of Bengal is to be taken as consisting in improvements moving on the plane of poverty. Let us all call to our mind that the standard of living of the masses as described by Rammohun (Select Committee of the House of Commons, 1831) did not comprise things more ambitious than rice and salt, loin cloth and hovels. That background must not be overlooked while the economic conditions of the Bengali people of to-day are being appraised. The verdict of objective observers is, then, likely to be optimistic. The rate of progress has not been high and rapid but the reality of progress is patent in every line. It is in the *milieu* of this consciousness that we have to organize all our economic and cultural activities with a view to a relatively as well as absolutely more prosperous future.

Non-Bengali Capital

At Chittagong as at Karachi, nay, as in Bombay, Vizag, Cawnpore, and Calcutta we have to notice the rôle of British capital in the expansion,—however slow and modest it be,— of the Indian people. And throughout the Indian subcontinent, again, the part played by "Marwari" finance is fundamental to the economic remaking of India. Non-Bengali capital is a necessity for the enrichment of the Bengali people. This is the postulate of capitalistic evolution with which every Bengali businessman, engineer, chemist, mill-director, tea planter, factory organizer, exporter and importer, insurance-man and banker ought to commence his career. This ought to be the foundation of optimism in the agricultural, industrial and commercial circles of Chittagong also.

Bengali capital has been growing. But for some long time yet it is bound to remain but a second fiddle. Optimists must not ignore this reality.

New Industries Worth Trying

I need not dwell on the need for more cotton mills in Bengal. The Bengali people will have to take more seriously to cotton growing also as well as to machine spinning and weaving. Happily, Chittagong is already in this field. An extensive line of industries, although of medium and small size, has for some time been in the hands of Bengali financiers and businessmen. The hosiery, porcelain, glass, matches and other industries of Bengal are well

known in different parts of India. In coal mining and tea also Bengali finance and organizing ability are in evidence.

Because of natural facilities paper industry ought to be taken in hand at Chittagong. Bengali scholars of the College of Engineering and Technology at Jadabpur, Calcutta (National Council of Education, Bengal), such as have had further theoretical and factory training in America and Europe are available as experts. Tanning and leather industry have good prospects in Chittagong, and in this field also Bengali experts may be depended upon. Incidentally, it may be pointed out that Bengal has now young men whose experience in the textile industry, both Indian and foreign, should be regarded as an asset to our people.

Fishing to be Modernized

Fishing and sea-life constitute a characteristic feature of Chittagong society. But from the standpoint of business one may suggest that both require to be modernized and rendered uptodate in technique. Fishing boats ought to be equipped with Diesel motors. They should also be furnished with refrigerators. Perhaps it is time for those communities and castes which for ages have been used to sea-fishing to send some of their young men to Hamburg in Germany for training in the fishing arts. Chittagong may soon be called upon to tap and organize the fishing resources of the Bay of Bengal.

While dealing with fishing it is relevant to refer to the manufacture of fish oil that might be taken up on a large scale. The oil stuffs that are wasted in the process of drying the fishes may then be profitably utilized. Fish oil is in extensive demand in the soap, jute mill, printing and other industries.

Ottawa Agreement*

I wish now to touch upon the beneficent workings of the Ottawa Agreement in economic India.

In 1932 the U.K. bought £90·5 millions worth of Indian goods. In 1934 her takings from India rose to £107·5 millions. India's percentage share of British imports from all foreign countries rose thereby from 5·3 per cent (4·6 per cent in 1931) to 6·3 per cent. In other words, the preference enjoyed by India in the British

* See Appendix IV. *The Problem of Correlation between Exchange Rates and Exports* by Benoy Sarkar.

market has enabled her to push her goods at the cost of non-Indian goods. The increase of India's command over the British market, nay, the maintenance of the "relative" *status quo*, was a chief objective of the Ottawa Agreement, as analyzed by the present author in *Imperial Preference vis-à-vis World-Economy* (Calcutta 1934), and it happens to have been realized.

We have only to recall that the British tariff of 1932 was entirely protective and might have been differential against India. We can then be convinced that India to-day could not possibly have maintained her "relative" position in British imports and of course could by no means have enhanced it had the U.K. chosen to keep the Indian goods outside her preference-ring. This would have taken place if India had decided not to grant preference to the U.K. As long as the British tariff policy continues to be protectionist and discriminative, India cannot afford to reject the preference offered by the United Kingdom.

Money and Barter Economies (1936)

The theory of prices was discussed by Professor Sarkar in a meeting of the *Bangiya Dhana-Vijnan Parishat* (Bengali Institute of Economics) held on June 14, 1936. In his judgment price-economics is the only economics worth-while. But prominent attention is to be invited to the fact that while every man is an economic animal, not every economic activity in the world can be translated in terms of comparison, appraisal, evaluation, exchange or price-relations.

Sarkar's ideas are summarized in the following statement.*

Even in 1936 Indian economy is, like the Chinese and Russian economies, to a considerable extent "natural economy" and "barter-economy." "Market-economy" is confined to a rather small percentage of the Indian population. "Price-economy," strictly so called, is therefore limited to the same extent in India.

The bearings of this type of economic morphology on the prosperity or otherwise of the teeming millions deserve therefore a careful analysis. "Price-fluctuations" or rather booms and depressions, in so far as they are phenomena of price-dynamics, cannot always and in every region affect a large part of the Indian, Chinese and Russian peasants. Herein is to be sought a main explanation of

* See the *Calcutta Review* for August and October 1936.

the " relative" absence of unemployment or economic distress in these subcontinents as contrasted with the virulence of the crisis in England, Germany and America.

But even in the regions and professional groups subject to natural and barter economies the invasion of money, i.e., market and price economy is to a certain extent palpable. The demand for and supply of tools, implements, machine-made goods, imported commodities, etc., cannot be all consummated through barter. Secondly, in regard to credit or loan transactions also the agriculturists have often to submit to the currency-economy. And finally, money almost invariably plays a part in the revenue liabilities of the agricultural population.

The intensity and incidence of agricultural indebtedness, on the one hand, as well as of privations caused by the fall of prices during depression on the other require to be assessed under new conditons in the zones of non-price economies. The exact proportions between price and non-price economies such as rule a region's economic structure have to be quantitatively established by statistical investigations. The Provincial Boards of Economic Enquiry ought to make it a point, among other things, to ascertain, for instance, what percentages of agricultural produce, fishery and animal products, etc. in the rural areas are actually subject to market and price conditions. It is on the strength of such quantitative measurements that it may be possible to appraise the extent to which price-fluctuations are socially ineffective.

In so far as in certain economic regions or occupational groups the relative absence of price-economy is a social fact, the problem of estimating the national income *per capita* assumes an unusually complicated character. In countries like India where salaries and wages, high, medium or low, do not cover large classes, the British and German methods of estimating national income are hardly applicable in any appreciable degree. The "objective" or output census method as used in the U.S.A., Hungary and other countries is likely to be more useful. But in so far as the produce is really outside the market influences its valuation is bound to remain arbitrary and associated with vagueness and uncertainty.

In any case, the national income estimate for regions, used in large proportions to natural and barter economies, cannot be rendered "comparable" in a scientific manner to that for market-economy regions. No matter what turns out to be the amount of

national income for the non-money regions of India, China, Russia, etc. it cannot be taken as an index to prosperity, efficiency or otherwise as understood in money-economy regions.

The theory of prices places the problem of prosperity or adversity in rather inconvenient perspectives so far as the economic morphology of countries like India, China, and Russia is concerned. Economists and statesmen are forced to abandon their conceptions of efficiency and prosperity, etc., as universal categories and reinterpret economic conjunctures according to the economic morphology of the region or the group, i.e., in a local and professional, or in other words, in a "relative" manner. We are enabled to be on our guard against accepting stereotyped views about economic progress or decline.

The survival of barter in the districts of Bengal was described by Professor Sarkar on the strength of experiences reported as follows by local experts among the Research Fellows of the Bengali Institute of Economics.

Barter is prevalent to a large extent in the *mofussil* (interior) of the Twenty-four Parganas and Barisal. Produce-rent is also well-known. Teachers' salaries, ferry services etc. are paid in paddy. For some time salt manufacture has been going on rendering the rural folk virtually self-contained.

From the experiences from Mymensingh one can assert that money-economy is not much noticeable among peasants except in the articles like cloth, silk, kerosene, tobacco, umbrella, agricultural tools and so forth. During the depression period repayments have hardly been made by debtors who have therefore succeeded in escaping privation to this extent. Among the Garos money-economy is almost nil. In *char* lands the economy is virtually untouched by money except in the matter of paying rents.

Money-economy has been expanding in the villages of Mymensingh. But payment in the form of personal service is still quite prevalent.

The Chakmas and other tribes of the Chittagong Hill Tracts can be described as constituting virtually an economic autarchy. It is impossible, of course, to maintain that barter is exclusively prevalent in the villages. In Khulna, Jessore, Noakhali and other districts of South East Bengal, price-economy is very often to be encountered. In those instances where barter is in evidence one of the partners is generally subject to money-economy.

In the Vikrampur villages of Dacca, personal service is a prominent medium of payment by laundrymen, barbers, scavengers and others who get foodstuffs in return. In certain parts of Nadia and Murshidabad barter as well as personal services were very prevalent even two decades ago but have of late been declining. The expansion of jute cultivation has been bringing the agricultural classes more and more to the regime of market, money and price-economy.

The very fact that currency circulation in India is too small in comparison with the amount of foreign and internal trade indicates that price-economy is not yet well-developed on a large scale in Indian business transactions.

What is Industrial Planning? (1938)

The tenth anniversary of Professor Sarkar's *Bangiya Dhana-Vijnan Parishat* (Bengali Institute of Economics) was celebrated at Chandernagore on December 4, 1938. There he brought the discussions on "The Industrialization of Bengal" to a close in the following manner.

He said that considerable confusion existed as to the use of the terms: 1. Industrial Revolution, 2. Industrial Planning and 3. Industrialization.

In his judgment Industrial Revolution had not been achieved in India as yet. The existence of several big industries in India did not prove that we had consummated our industrial revolution, just as single swallows did not make a summer. He then gave an estimate of India's present position in comparison with that of other industrial countries and established some equations of comparative economics on the basis of chronological distances. He believed that

India was some 90-100 years behind Britain,
,, ,, 70-80 ,, ,, Germany,
,, ,, 50-60 ,, ,, France,
,, ,, 40-50 ,, ,, Japan and Italy.

This, he said, could be proven by the indices of technocracy, railway business, insurance premium, bank-capital and industrial output etc. per head of population and per square mile of territory.

Planning, Sovietic and Non-Sovietic

Dealing with the second category he said that there were two types of "planning," the Sovietic and the non-Sovietic. Technocratically speaking, both these types were alike. They had a

specific objective to be attained within a specific time-limit. Besides, each involved an ear-marked budget of quite a few crores of Rupees to be commandeered as almost a military necessity. Ideologically, however, there were fundamental differences, as the Soviet system allowed no profiteering and indeed no profits at all. The non-Soviet or capitalistic type was best illustrated by Germany, Italy and Japan and to a certain extent also by America, Britain and France. But whether capitalistic or non-capitalistic, industrial planning presupposed a dictatorial and centralized drive for the fulfilment of the plan from the side of the state. It was essentially etatistic.

Where was the dictator in India to-day to serve and to command all the four hundred millions and commandeer all their resources that we talked glibly of "planning?" asked Professor Sarkar. No Indian revolution had yet produced a Lenin or a Mussolini or a Hitler. And of course in India there was no Roosevelt or even Chamberlain, and indeed neither the *Front Populaire* of France nor the *Sei-yu-kai* Party of Japan. Where, besides, were the crores of Rupees to come from in order that they might be commandeered or ear-marked with the object of operating the totalitarian plan? inquired he.

Economic-technocratically as well as socio-politically India was too far behind the modern world to employ the language of the latest economic strategy and tactics used by the industrial "adults" of mankind. India was still in some of the earlier stages of the the first industrial revolution whereas the leading countries of Eur-America were consummating their second industrial revolution. Indian economic statesmanship should have to be satisfied as a rule with the categories prevalent among the pioneering and go-ahead sections of the Eur-Americans, say, some 60-75 years ago, when the very alphabet of "planning" was unknown and when indeed they had no dictators, capitalistic or non-capitalistic. But of course should some of the Indian intellectuals want to indulge in the luxury of displaying their acquaintance with the up-to-date words and phrases of present-day Eur-America, hyper-industrialized as some of its countries happened to be, they were at liberty to write learned monographs on the far-off divine event towards which India might somehow some day be made to move. Such monographs might be appreciated as contributions to Indian economic speculation.

INDUSTRIALISATION—A COMPREHENSIVE CATEGORY

So there remained the third item, Industrialization. This, according to him, was a simple category implying nothing more than the establishment of new industries or the extension of the existing ones. It implied, besides, as a matter of course, the promotion of banking, insurance, foreign and internal trade, shipping and other transport systems as well as the improvement of agriculture. Further, it was comprehensive enough to include cottage, small and medium industries, i.e. business organization on all scales. Every new factory or trading establishment or agricultural enterprise—be it with a capital of 500, 5,000, 500,000 or 5,000,000—was a solid and effective contribution to the industrialization of India. There was no metaphysics in industrialism, and it excluded no economic activity. The primitive and elementary efforts of which the Indians were in the main capable at the present stage did not require such bombastic words as "industrial revolution" and "industrial planning." The proper category was industrialization or economic development. *A Scheme of Economic Development for Young India,** furnished with minute details, had been published by him in English and Bengali in the summer of 1925 and since then several times in various forms—and propagated through the dailies, weeklies and monthlies.

BENGALI AUTARCHY

So far as Bengal was concerned, Professor Sarkar gave out his opinion that it should be treated as an independent economic unit just as the Bengali people was known as an independent cultural unit. It was on a provincial basis that Indian economic planning —whatever it might mean—should be investigated and worked out. This did not imply that Bengal should separate herself from the All-India system. He observed that the place of the Bengali people in the Indian complex should be envisaged as similar to that of the French, Italians, Germans, etc. in European polity. He spoke of the international agreements regarding rivers, railways, postal and other services etc. by which the states of Europe cooperated with one another. But still, said he, France was France

* See also Appenix V. *Economic Planning for Bengal* by Professor Benoy Sarkar.

and Italy Italy. The European states maintained their economic self-sufficiency and each organized its own planning on independent foundations in spite of the Anglo-French Entente, the little Entente, the Franco-Russian United Front, the Berlin-Rome-Axis, and Pan-Europa or Pan-America ideologies. Bengal should try as far as possible to be economically autarchic according to the ideals of her glorious *Swadeshi* revolution of 1905. But she should make it a point also to join the All-Indian system of industry, finance, marketing, labour and defence. Bombay, Madras, Punjab, Assam, indeed, each one of the provinces ought to do the same, i.e. try to make herself autarchic in the first instance, and then look for All-Indian co-ordination, centralization or federalization according to requirements. He emphasized that in order to avoid duplication and wastes as well as to promote rationalization All-India Boards ought to be instituted in all spheres and function permanently.

Economic Autarchy in Theory and Practice (1939)

At the *Bangiya Dhana-Vijnan Parishat* (Bengali Institute of Economics) economic autarchy in theory and practice was discussed by Professor Sarkar on May 14, 1939.* The substance is given below.

Unconscious Autarchy

Three forms of autarchy were analyzed by Sarkar. From the pre-historic times for thousands of years down to the discovery of America, nay, to the end of the eighteenth century, exports and imports between different countries of the world and even of the same continent were very little in quantity and variety and confined mostly to what might be described as the luxuries of life. Both in East and West every country, sometimes every village and every town was economically self-sufficient. Autarchy was an actual fact of the economic conditions prevailing among the diverse tribes, races or nations. That old-world, millennium-long autarchy may be described as unconscious autarchy.

* Reported in *Advance* and the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (24 May 1939), and the *Hindusthan Standard* (26 May 1939), *Calcutta Review*, August 1939.

Mercantilist, Protectionist and Swadeshi Autarchies

International trade, as we understand it to-day, is barely a fact of a century or a century and a half. Exports and imports between countries or between continents and between the two Hemispheres have grown immensely since the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. The commercial tendency of mankind has been moving towards the establishment of a world-economy, i.e. interdependence of regions, states or peoples in the requirements of daily life. But during this same period the theory and policy of autarchy has been no less prominent than the fact of unconscious autarchy during the primitive, ancient and medieval epochs. Autarchic ideology has been embodied, first, in the mercantilist concept of promoting exports with the object of importing gold, and secondly, in the protectionist tariff activities of Napoleon, Hamilton and List and others in Eur-America down to the *Swadeshi* movement of Bengal and other parts of India since 1905.

The autarchistic ideas associated with the *swadeshi* or national industry complex have been the most prominent features of the tariff policy of every country, old and new, since the end of the Great War (1914-18). Autarchy has been the ideology as much of the Gosplans in Soviet Russia as of the non-Sovietic plans in other countries comprising the protective and preferential customs duties of the British Empire-economy and the French Colonial Empire.

The third phase of autarchy, which may really be described as a continuation of the second, is to be seen in the Italian economy since the Abyssinian War. Under the pressure of the "sanctions" or boycott exercised by the League of Nations Italy has been compelled to develop her economic possibilities to the furthest limit.

Another instance of the latest form of autarchistic ideology and policy is furnished by Germany. Because of the high protective tariffs of the industrial nations, large, medium and small, which restrict the importation of German manufactured goods Germany has been forced (on account especially of currency and exchange considerations) to restrict the purchase or importation of foreign goods to the extent of her exports abroad. For instance, Germany can afford to buy more cotton from India in case India cares to buy more manufactured goods from Germany.

The new autarchy, as observed especially in Germany, does not base itself specifically on protectionism and high tariffs. Nor,

of course, does it seek the splendid isolation such as was preached by the German philosopher Fichte in his *Der Geschlossene Handelsstaat* (Closed Commercial State) in 1800. It attempts on the other hand to foster foreign trade by all means, bilateral agreements, barter systems, different kinds of currency and what not.

Autarchy an Impossibility

Autarchy as an ideal or as a fact is then almost eternal, no matter in what form. But in spite of mercantilism, protective tariffs, boycott movements, preferential treatments and restrictions on imports, every country has imported more and more goods from foreign countries. The volume and value of exports and imports have been growing tremendously from decade to decade during the last four or five generations. Commercial internationalism and world-economy have not been killed by the *swadeshi* movements of the nations. In other words, autarchy as a socio-economic fact has been becoming more and more of an impossibility under modern conditions.

Autarchy Desirable as a Slogan for India

The reasons are not far to seek. The values created by the trade between nations are quite substantial and are enjoyed by both the partners to the commercial transaction, although not always to the same extent. The mutuality of the benefits rendered and the furtherance of the development of undeveloped areas are two of the greatest consequences of international trade. They are well calculated to keep it going and to lead mankind further and further towards the solider ties of world-economy. But "Buy *swadeshi*," "Buy Indian," "Buy Bengali" ought by all means to be encouraged as a slogan, as an economic war-cry. The economic statesmen of India must know, however, how to adapt this autarchic idealism and nationalistic inspiration to the pressing demands of understanding between nations and agreements between regions in regard to finance, labour and goods.

Statistical Analysis in Economic Statesmanship

The method of statistical analysis as adopted by Benoy Sarkar has been described as follows by Professor Henninger in the *Allgemeines Statistisches Archiv* of Jena (January 1933) while commenting on *Applied Economics* (known later as *Economic Development* Vol. II.):

"The studies lying before me embody mostly the results of the economic investigations in Central, Southern and Eastern Europe which brought the author into contact, among others, with the representatives of national and international, official, academic and private statistics. In Germany he became known not only because of his public lectures and publications but specially because of the regular Guest-lectures at the *Technische Hochschule* (Technological University) of Munich.

"These essays on diverse fields of European and Indian economic life are mixed up in kaleidoscopic succession, being held together by the thought of promoting Indian economic policy. This is attempted in the study of the manner in which foreign insurance societies are controlled in Europe as well as of the currency and banking theories of the *Reichsbank* and the *Banque de France*. The latter investigations are of special interest because of the proposed establishment of a Reserve Bank of India.

"In other chapters are described the economic developments in India mirrored forth in the general trade and railway traffic as well as in the bank capitalism of Young Bengal. They show that India finds herself to-day in the conditions of the 'first industrial revolution' such as consummated itself in England about 1785-1848 and in Germany and France about 1830-75. Consequently, as another chapter indicates, there are to be found in India nothing more than the traces of rationalization, which, according to Sarkar, is the important characteristic of the 'second industrial revolution.'

"Finally the author deals with the relations between the regions of the first and the second industrial revolutions' in the world crisis of 1929-32. The export of capital and instruments of production from industrial adults to undeveloped regions is considered by him to be the foundation of a real world-economy. In his theory that the industrialization of the undeveloped is likely but to compel the adults to embark upon the specialization in quality-goods and re-organization of their industrial structure we find Zahn's idea corroborated.

"Plenty of statistical data are utilized by the author with the object of furnishing secure foundations for Indian economic statesmanship. His observations and conclusions in regard to the comparability of international statistics (p. 199), American statistics (p. 154), commercial (p. 293), railway (p. 168) and unemployment (p. 263) statistics, the interpretation of statistical data (pp. 158,

209) etc. show that the author before making use of the figures has taken care to examine their dependability and significance. It is because of this caution coupled with an international and synthetic survey of economic events that he has been able to offer a judgment on the topics in question that is faultless both in theory and economic policy."

APPENDIX V

Economic Planning for Bengal

By Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar

Benoy Sarkar's "Economic Planning for Bengal" was published as an interview with him by the *Insurance and Finance Review* (Calcutta) for March 1933. It is substantially different in items from his "Scheme of Economic Development for Young India" published from Bolzano (Italy) in the *Modern Review* (Calcutta) for July 1925.*

These two "planning" schemes are good instances of Sarkarism in economics and may be read in the perspective of the "planning" ideas that have become popular in India in 1939 under the auspices of the National Planning Committee. The Scheme of 1933 is being reproduced below.

The Mofussil Industralised

Q. Supposing some sort of economic planning were to be adopted for Bengal how do you think we should proceed to work?

A. Economic planning indicates some conscious effort in a more or less concerted manner. But much work has been done and is being done in what may roughly be called an unconcerted and unconscious manner.

To begin with, it is necessary to have our eyes open in regard to the progress that has been achieved in recent years. The industrialization of our *Mofussil* (districts), however partial and halting it be, is an outstanding fact which nobody can ignore.

* See "The Economic and Financial Creed" (July, 1934) in S. N. Das-Gupta's *Some Economic Teachings of Benoy Sarkar, Supra*, pp. 93-97, as well as the *Seven Creeds of Benoy Sarkar* by Mrs. Ida Sarkar, *Infra*

While one watches the expansion and improvements of Calcutta it should be reasonable to be conscious also of the economic and social changes that have come upon Jalpaiguri, Serajganj, Narayanganj, Kharagpur, Chittagong and other areas. During the last twenty-five years or so all these places have grown considerably, first, as "ports," secondly, as industrial centres, and thirdly, as commercial emporia for agricultural produce and manufactured goods. This growth has made itself felt in the houses, roads, repair stations, etc. of our *Mofussil*. These items do not fail to indicate that there is a slight but perceptible rise in the standard of living of the Bengali people. The district, subdivisional and rural centres embody economic complexes such as may be regarded as some of the indices to Bengal's material and social progress since the *Swadeshi* revolution of 1905.

JUTE RESPONSIBLE FOR INDUSTRIALIZATION

Q. How is it possible to believe that Bengal is getting more industrialized while all the time we are feeling, especially in these days of depression, that we are so fatally dependent on jute?

A. Curiously enough it is just this jute that, among other things, is raising Bengal up to an industrial level.

The most important, nay, the greatest single factor in the prosperity of Bengal, still continues, indeed, to be not modern industry but agriculture such as has developed as an adjunct to modern industry, especially agriculture in jute. But it should be observed, at the same time, that jute is responsible in the main for the industrialization of Bengal both indirectly as well as in a direct manner. This paradox will be patent to everybody who watches carefully the relations between the agriculture and the industry of Bengal.

This expansion of acreage in cultivation has gone hand in hand with the expansion in industrialization so far as jute manufacture is concerned. Rather, the rate of industrialization has invariably been higher than that of expansion in cultivation. In quinquennial average the area under jute rose from 2,999,000 acres during 1893-97 to 3,093,000 acres during 1903-07.* Between these two

* *The Investors' India Year Book* 1930-31 (Calcutta) pp. 184-186.

five-year periods the jute mills of Calcutta increased their consumption from 1,746,000 bales (400 lbs each) to 3,348,000 bales. The manufacture rose 191·7 per cent while cultivation rose 136·0 per cent only.

It will be easy to visualize the comparative situation in the following equations:

(1) Jute acreage (1907) = 1·360 jute acreage (1893).

(2) Jute manufacture (1907) = 1·917 jute manufacture (1893).

By 1923 the figure for cultivation was 2,788,000 acres and that for bales in mill consumption at Calcutta 5,147,000. There has been a steady rise along both these lines since that date. In 1929, the last pre-depression year, the acreage for jute cultivation was estimated at 2,224,000 and the actual consumption of jute in mills was registered at 6,235,000 bales. In seven years the expansion in cultivation was 115·6 per cent as the background of progress in manufacture to the extent of 193·3 per cent.

The following equations embody the relative change as consummated in recent years:

(1) Jute acreage (1929) = 1·156 jute acreage (1923)

(2) Jute manufacture (1929) = 1·933 jute manufacture (1923).

For the entire period of 37 years the relations between cultivation and manufacture in jute yield the equations as given below:

(1) Acreage (1929) = 1·466 acreage (1893).

(2) Manufacture (1929) = 3·513 manufacture (1893).

So far as jute is concerned, Bengal has not grown exclusively as an agricultural country. Bengal's growth in industry also, although mainly under non-Bengali auspices, is eminently noteworthy, being more than 3 1/2 times while that in cultivation somewhat less than 1 1/2 time. Jute has thus served to industrialize the country to a considerable extent.

Economically speaking, it would be an error to suppose that Bengal is merely a supplier of raw produce to the rest of the world. The story of jute is well calculated to dispel this illusion. The exports of raw jute to foreign countries have indeed grown, but they have not grown in the same proportion as the manufacture of jute within the country itself. To take the same periods as above, the actual exports of raw jute rose from 3,423,000 bales during 1893-1897 to 4,042,000 bales during 1903-07 while from 1923 to 1929 the rise was from 3,771,000 bales to 4,630,000 bales. The equation is as follows:

(1) Exports of raw jute (1907) = 1·180 exports (1893)
(2) Exports of raw jute (1929) = 1·227 exports (1923)
= 1·352 exports (1893)

In 1929 jute manufacture in Bengal was 1 933 times that in 1923 and 3 513 times that in 1893. But the export of raw jute from Bengal in 1929 was 1·227 times that in 1923 and 1 352 times that in 1893. Down to about 1910 the amount exported was larger than that manufactured but since then has become less in absolute figures. Besides, although expansion is noticeable on both fronts, that in manufacture has been proceeding steadily at a higher rate than in exports. But we shall notice presently that in the field of exports also jute goes out of India less as raw than as manufactured.

BENGALI ECONOMY AND WORLD-FORCES

Q. Do you think, then, that in the interest of industrialization and the promotion of our economic interests it is advisable to forbid the exports of raw jute?

A. Such a programme does not necessarily follow from my analysis. It appears to me that more jute will have to be grown in Bengal and more yarn, twist, sacking, hessian and bags will have to be turned out of the mills. That is, there is room for more jute mills in Bengal, or, at any rate for more spindles and looms.

But for quite a long time yet not all the jute to be grown can be consumed in the Indian mills. Besides, jute, not only raw but also manufactured, will have to play a leading part on the credit side of India in adjusting the balance of accounts with foreign countries. A considerable portion of the price of our imports, e.g., those of machineries and other "instruments of production" will have to be met by jute.

One but not the only connecting link between *Mofussil* Bengal and the world-forces is jute, both raw and manufactured. As exporter Bengal is known to the outside world not only as an agricultural region but also as an industrial power. Rather, both in volume and value Bengal is known in international commerce more as a manufacturing country than as a land of cultivators, so far, at any rate, as jute is concerned.

The export of manufactured jute (bags, cloth, twist, yarn etc) rose from 640,793 tons in 1921-22 to 911,504 tons in 1928-29, while that of raw jute from 467,685 to 897,863, the total being from 1,108,388 to 1,809,367. In value the rise in manufactures was from

Rs. 299,900,000 to Rs. 569,000,000 and in raw jute from Rs. 140,500,000 to Rs. 233,500,000 the total being from Rs. 440,400,000 to Rs. 892,500,000.

The geographical distribution of raw jute exports shows that new countries in different parts of the world have been slowly but steadily increasing their dependence on Bengal. From 1893 to 1929 the exports of jute (including rejections and cuttings) rose from 3,423,000 bales to 5,012,000 bales. But while the takings of Great Britain declined from 1,939,000 to 1,125,000 bales those of other territories rose as follows:

Territories	during 1893-97	in 1928-29
1. Continent	1,000,000	3,061,000
2. America	467,000	525,000
3. Other Regions	17,000	299,090
4 Total including Great Britain	3,423,000	5,012,000

The *Mofussil* centres of Bengal are today not mere river-stations or railway-stations or subdivisional centres or district head-quarters, lying as they do in rather unknown regions of India. The men and women of the Bengali *Mofussil* are economically and financially linked up with those of Dundee, Birmingham, Hamburg, Marseilles, Milan, New York, Osaka and Rio de Janeiro The peasants, *farias, beparis,* agents, school masters and lawyers of *Mofussil* Bengal no less than the working men, clerks, merchants and industrial heads of Calcutta have always to visualize Japanese competition, German trusts, American capital power, British "colonial" developments and what not in the international economic sphere The impact of the world-forces on the daily life and activities of our people in the hundreds of our *ganjes*, marts and commercial centres is a remarkable feature of our social economy. And for this cultural modernization and internationalization in the outlook we have to thank jute in great proportions.

The Future of Jute Hopeful*

Q. But don't you think that as a source of wealth and as a factor in industrialization the prospects of jute are going to be gloomy in the near furture?

* For a subsequent date see B. K. Sarkar: "The Jute Situation" (*Calcutta Review*) July, 1939.

A. Not yet by any means. It is quite in time that the Bengal Jute Committee has been constituted. But it is not reasonable to be unduly pessimistic in regard to the future of jute. Every shrewd businessman and statesman ought certainly to have an eye on the future, both remote and immediate. It is expedient to ascertain, first, what rivals to or substitutes for jute may become economic realities, and secondly, what is the possibility of countries, say, in Asia, Africa or South America producing jute in marketable proportions, thereby militating against the monopoly of Bengal. For the next half a generation, at any rate, paper bags such as I have seen used in the cement works of Germany are not likely to be formidable substitutes for jute products. And the Africans as well as South Americans will take quite a long time to solve the problems of "retting" in the manner which is a part of our national technique on this side of India. It should be proper to watch carefully the progress in inventions, mechanical as well as synthetic, and the mastery of new practices in this field. But the jute-growers of our country need not be too nervous about the situation at the present moment, in spite of the fact that *sisal*, a fine East Africa fibre, has been acclimatized on Javanese soil in German plantations and is being shopped also to Germany.

On the other hand, the prospects of jute are positively brighter than we imagine. The undeveloped and backward regions of the world, for instance, the Balkan states, Russia, Southern Italy, Spain, China, Siam, Persia, Afghanistan, and of course India and other territories in Eur-Asia as well as vast areas in Africa and America are getting industrialized and modernized in technique. Trade between country and country and continent and continent is tending to grow in bulk. The demand for jute is bound to grow during the next ten to fifteen years along with this growth of industrialization and expansion of exports and imports.

The trend since 1893 as well as in post-war years has been towards an increase in the consumption of jute, and this, as we have seen above, both within the country as well as abroad. The world's dependence on the Bengali cultivator bids, therefore, if anything, to increase. The present depression is to be treated as but a temporary, parenthetical phenomenon in the *digvijaya* (world-conquest) of industrialization.

The details* of this increased demand of the world for jute in (bales) may be analyzed in part as follows:

Countries	Pre-war Average (1909-14)	1928-29
1. Germany	920,000	1,457,000
2. France	428,000	616,000
3. Italy	213,000	340,000
4. Spain	122,000	240,000
5. Japan	17,000	67,000
6. Brazil	15,000	68,000
7. Unspecified Countries	86,000	271,000

The total increase was from 4,281,000 to 5,028,000 bales, during the half-generation comprised in the statistics.

In regard to the export of jute manufactures some of the countries may be singled out in regard to certain items. From 1916 to 1919 Java took on the average 21,300,000 bags of sacking but in 1929 her demand rose to 42,000,000. Similarly Cuba's demand rose from 21,000,000 to 33,400,000 The Argentine Republic's demand for hessian cloth was measured at 113,400,000 yards per year during 1916-1919, but in 1928-29 rose to 329,000,000 Uruguay's takings of the same item rose likewise from 4,200,000 to 14,400,000 yds.

From a pre-war average of 9,900,000 bags (hessian and sacking) the demand of East Africa (including Mauritius) rose to 24,500,000 in 1928-29, that of Central America and West Indies from 13,000,000 to 44,600,000, and of the Far East (including Japan and Java) from 39,300,000 to 79,800,000. Although the U.S.A. has reduced its demand for raw jute from 535,000 bales to 525,000 bales its takings of jute cloth (chiefly hessian) have risen from 663,900,000 yds. to 1,021,800,000 yards.

No Glut of Jute

Q. Don't you suspect that Bengal grows more jute than Bengal and the rest of the world can consume?

A. There are hardly any reasons for suspecting that jute is being grown in inordinately large quantities.

The total out-turn of jute appears to have up till now just sufficed to meet the requirements of home consumption (in raw

* *Review of the Trade of India in 1928-29* (Calcutta) pp. 205-207.

condition and manufactures) as well as of demand from abroad. The supply and demand in bales (400 lbs. each) may be indicated, as follows, from 1893 to 1929:

Supply and Demand	1893-97	1923	1929
1. Output (supply)	5,669,000	9,418,000	11,365,000
2. Consumption in Calcutta Mills (actual)	1,746,000	5,147,000	6,235,000
3. Consumption in India (estimated)	500,000	500,000	500,000
4 Exports (actual)	3,423,000	3,771,000	4,630,000

The figures do not indicate that the market was exceptionally glutted during any period. Overproduction cannot be proven down to the pre-depression year. I am ignoring the price-statistics for the present, because it is curious that the price-curves have not invariably followed the supply-curves.

No project of economic statesmanship can be described as sound and scientific which on the basis of this year's or the last few years' average output would go in for a restriction in acreage or even for its opposite. What is needed for jute is neither a policy of off-hand contraction nor one of indiscriminate expansion but a system of control, of rational determination from year to year, of rationalization. A permanent board of advice is therefore a desideratum for jute as much as for other articles, agricultural or industrial, in India or elsewhere.

The Problem of the Jute-Grower

Q. How is it possible, then, to elevate the economic condition of the Bengali cultivators?

A. This is a large question, virtually as large and comprehensive as that bearing on the entire economic problem of Bengal. But certain lines of enquiry may be indicated at once.

The problem of jute is by no means identical with that of the jute-grower. The one is essentially but a question of the quantity and quality of the raw material, the other a question of the economic condition of the people. It is possible to produce the same amount of jute through the agency of a larger or smaller number of jute-growers. And here we touch the question of the standard of living. No matter what be the total volume of jute required for the world market from year to year it should be the interest of the Bengali people to have it produced by a smaller number of cultivators.

That would imply agricultural efficiency as well as an increase per head in the cultivators' share of the produce (other circumstances remaining the same), therefore a rise in the purchasing power and a consequent decline in the indebtedness of the rural folk.

Those who intend to solve the jute question will therefore have to look away, to a certain extent, from jute itself. The problem consists in diverting a large slice of our agricultural classes from the cultivation of jute to other channels, say, sugar-cane, cotton, oil seeds or tobacco cultivation as well as to arts and crafts comprehended in the cottage industries, and last but not least, to mines, railways, workshops and factories as industrial wage-earners.

The economic uplift of the jute-grower as a class can take place only when jute-growing has ceased to appear as the sole or principal employment in the rural areas. The economics of jute is thus to be envisaged as an integral part of the larger problem of the industrialization of Bengal and the transformation of the occupational structure of the Bengali people. It is really to these larger aspects that economic planning worth the name will have to address itself.

World-Recovery in Sight

Q. Is it possible to think of an economic planning for Bengal while cultivators are getting no prices for their crops, Zamindars obtaining no rents, and retrenchments happen to be the order of the day?

A. Economic planning may be attempted even during periods of depression at home or abroad. The present world crisis has unnerved many of our financiers, industrialists and cultivators as also representatives of these classes in every other part of the world. But this depression is not the first of its kind and is not to be taken as a permanent feature of the world's economic structure. It appears to me that as soon as capital-lending countries feel confident enough to export capital to regions such as have been used to considerable doses of foreign capital for their normal agricultural and manufacturing operations much of the dislocation of to-day may be expected to disappear.*

* Sarkar: "The World-Crisis in its Bearings on the Regions of the Second and the First Industrial Revolutions" in the *Journal of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce* (June 1932), *Midland Bank Monthly Review*

The post-war story of the two biggest capital markets,—the American and the British,—will throw a special light on this question. Both American and British investments in foreign securities rose steadily from 1919 to 1922, the one from £73,000,000 to £139,000,000 and the other from £50,000,000 to £135,000,000. In 1923 there was a depression on the American market, the capital issues being registered at £59,000,000. But since then the curve had been continuously rising for five years of "prosperity" down to 1927 when the peak was reached, namely, at £323,000,000. In Great Britain the corresponding depression was felt two years later in 1925 with the level of foreign investments at £88,000,000. But it was temporary and replaced by a steady ascent in the curve which in 1928 reached £143,000,000, the highest in the post-war British issues for external purposes. It is noteworthy, *en passant*, that with rather negligible exceptions American investments abroad have since 1919 been invariably more voluminous than British, and also that the world is normally dependent on American and British finance for a substantial part of its undertakings. The American fall to £6,000,000 in 1932 from the zenith of 1927 or even the level at £272,000,000 in 1928 is then, like the British fall to £29,000,000 from the peak of 1928 extraordinary and catastrophal for the economic enterprises of the nations.

It is to be observed that U.S.A., Great Britain, France, Canada, Czechoslovakia and Sweden which together exported 2,174,000,000 dollars in 1928 could export so little as 891,000,000 dollars in 1929. Since then they have become more shy. On the other hand, Germany, Australia, Poland, Argentine, Hungary, India, Finland, and Norway which together borrowed abroad 1,736,000,000 dollars in 1928 could borrow barely 1,000,000,000 dollars in 1929. Our own country, for instance, was almost starved financially, foreign investments in India being reduced from 67 million to 36 million dollars. The removal of the friction that is hindering the smooth export and import of capital is perhaps depending to a considerable extent on the removal of international political suspicions and panic. Other circumstances remaining the same this aspect of the question is

(London), Jan. and Feb. 1933; *The Course and Phases of the World Economic Depression* (Geneva 1931), pp. 26, 35, 201, 203, *Compte rendu de la Banque de France* (Paris 1934), pp. 5-7; *Federal Reserve Bulletin* (Washington D.C. November 1932) p.

likely to be somewhat satisfactorily solved by the World Economic Conference to be held this summer in London. By the next autumn we may expect definite beginnings of a new situation, the world-recovery being in sight. It is within a year afterwards, i.e. about the *Pujah* (autumn) season of 1934 that the cultivators and Zamindars of Bengal may hope to experience the solid effects of recovery.

Technocracy and Finance

Q. Granted, then, that the world recovery is in sight, and even that economic planning may be attempted without reference to depressions or booms, what factors do you consider to be the most vital in the programme?

A. In regard to the economic modernization of Bengal certain considerations are of permanent value, and these will have to be considered even with a view to carrying out the most modest plans. It was in the summer of 1925 that my *Scheme of Economic Development for Young India* was published from Italy in Indian journals in order to awaken in our countrymen the desire for an "economic general staff," district by district, adapted to the diverse requirements of our peoples. Since then the subject has been discussed by me from varied view-points and on different occasions with an eye to focus attention on the realities of the economic situation and the highest consummations possible at the present stage of our growth. The analysis of details may be seen in my *Greetings to Young India* (1927), and *Ekaler Dhana-daulat O Arthashastra* (The Wealth and Economics of Our Own Times) Vol. I (1930) and *Studies in Applied Economics*, Vol. I (1932).

Now that "economic planning," "planned economy" and allied categories happen to be popular, it may perhaps be worth while to invite attention to some of the most fundamental considerations that must underlie every project of economic statesmanship for Bengal or other parts of India. It is desirable to be clear at the outset that simply because we have learnt to glibly talk of a bunch of new words and phrases *à la mode genevoise* we have not thereby acquired the power to create new capital, raise the purchasing power or standard of living and efficiency of our peoples, and invent or command new machines.

Capital, purchasing power and machineries cannot evidently be brought into being or developed exclusively or chiefly on the strength of statistical enquiries, essays on the economic resources of

India, or reports about the jute, cotton, coal or iron markets, no matter how well-documented and internationally oriented these publications be. Economic surveys need not, however, be disparaged. Rather, reliable facts and figures collected regularly from week to week will always have their place in every organized attempt at economic reconstruction on a large scale. But the most vital problem of economic planning for India as of the *Gosplan* in Russia is essentially one of technocracy and finance or of finance and technocracy. And finance and technocracy will have to operate in the Indian sphere as they have been in the Russian sub-continent subject to the conditions of the "Second Industrial Revolution" and world-economy.*

The Epoch of World Economy

Q. What is world-economy and how do you connect it with the economic planning for Bengal?

A. World-economy does not imply universal brotherhood in economic relations It is nothing but a system which facilitates the play of the two economic forces, namely, competition as well as co-operation, on a world-wide scale. The beginnings of world-economy are in part to be traced to the establishment of the British Chambers of Commerce in India during the period of the First Industrial Revolution in the early years of the 19th century But it is to the forces generated during the period from the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 to that of the Panama Canal in 1915 that we ought to ascribe the beginnings of the Second Industrial Revolution among the advanced nations and genuine world-economy in the two Hemispheres Not only precious metals, not only the currencies, not only the rates of discount, not only the gilt-edged securities but virtually every kind of goods and every kind of value may be described to-day as world-goods and world-values. Naturally Indian goods and values are likewise goods and values for the world market.

It is possible to connect India with almost every market in the world as well as to draw practical conclusions for her next stage in business organization. While examining economic India by the world standard we discover the means also of forwarding her

* Sarkar: "Trusts and Rationalization. Aspects of the New Industrial Revolution" (*Calcutta Review*, October, 1927).

interests by utilizing the world-forces. And this is an aspect of applied economics in the domain of world-economy.

Organised Workers and Liberal Professions

Q. Can you indicate some of the lines along which the scheme of economic planning for Bengal might derive a few practical hints from an examination of the world-economy?

A. The comparative occupational structure of the nations should demand our careful attention. A test of modern economic efficiency is furnished by the strength of trade unions in membership.* Some forty-eight million workingmen are to-day organized in the world's trade unions. More than eight millions belong to Germany and Russia each, nearly five millions to Great Britain, nearly three millions to Italy while the number of unionized workingmen in India is less than half a million. This is another way of saying that the number of unionized workingmen per 10,000 inhabitants is something more than two thousand in Germany, a little less than two thousand in Great Britain, nearly eight hundred in Italy, nearly seven hundred in France, nearly five hundred in the U.S.A. whereas in Japan it is forty-three and in India only sixteen. International statistics enables us to master at a glance the differences in the standard of living and growth of capitalism between the diverse peoples of the world and we feel automatically that for India to-day it is more reasonable to try to catch up to the Japanese standard in technocracy and industrialism than to anything higher. No matter whether we have to compete or co-operate with others this is the A.B C. of our economic organization and industrial strategy

India's poverty in technical efficiency as well as in avenues of employment is made manifest in another item of the occupational census of nations. In India in a population of 350 millions the number of persons employed in administration and the liberal professions is slightly above 3 millions whereas in the U.S.A. for less than a third of this population the number of "intellectual" workers is nearly 2¾ millions and in Germany for about a sixth of the population it is almost 2 millions.† In order that these propor-

* *Reichsarbeitsblatt*, 36. *Sonderheft* (Berlin), 1927.

† *Annuaire Statistique International* (Geneva), 1928, pp. 42-43, *Statistisches Jahrbuch fur das/deutsche Reich*, 1928, p. 26.*

tions may acquire a vital significance we should say that the number of intellectual workers in percentage of total population is something above 3 in France, Germany, Canada and Switzerland, 3 in Argentina and Belgium, nearly 3 in Austria, Holland and Great Britain, 2 in Italy and Spain, 1·4 in Russia, 1 in Portugal, 0·9 in India and Lithuania, nearly 0·5 in Mexico and Rumania. It is a fallacy to suppose that in the industrially and commercially advanced countries the number of service-seekers is small Besides, conditions more or less similar to or worse than India's are to be found in the two Hemispheres. Economic planning projects would be rendering positive service should they succeed in diverting the attention of Bengali businessmen and economists to a considerable extent from the survey of conditions among "industrial adults" to the investigation of data bearing on India's socio-economic comrades like Lithuania, Russia, Mexico, Spain and such other regions.

Consumption of Machines

Q. What is in your opinion the extent of industrialization achieved in India up till now?

A. The grade of industrialization achieved by a people can be measured, among other things, by the amount of its consumption of machines. More than half of the world's machineries are consumed in the U.S.A., something above 10% in Germany and Great Britain each, 2·5 per cent in France, 1·8 per cent in Italy, 1·5 per cent in Japan, whereas India is responsible for 1·0 per cent and China for 0·2.*

In terms of money the consumption for the U.S.A. per head of population being 100, that for Great Britain is 42, Germany 36, France 14, Italy 10, Japan 5, Russia 4, whereas for India it is 0·7 and for China 0·5. In this regard as in the two other items of economic structure mentioned above it is interesting to observe that Germany and Great Britain happen to be on a par. And India's peers are also to be found. In the interest of economic planning we should make it a point to watch the methods and policies of these modestly situated peoples rather than those of the "great powers," industrial or political.

* *Die wirtschaftlichen Kräfte der Welt* (Dresdner Bank, Berlin), 1927.

Wage-rates and Efficiency

Q. Don't you believe that low wage-rates constitute a handicap on the industrial efficiency of Bengal?

A. The question raises a complex of issues. But it may be analyzed in a somewhat pragmatic manner. I shall take the actual rates prevalent in certain countries.*

During a particular season in one of the recent normal years while the mason and bricklayer at Philadelphia earned 7·77 gold francs per hour, the one at Stockholm and London earned 2·22, at Berlin 1 55, at Paris 1 0, at Rome 0 89, at Tokyo 0.52, and at Bombay 0 33. The American earned 3 48 times as much as the Briton, the Canadian 2·34 times, the Dane 1 49 times. On the other hand, among those who earned less than the Briton, the Dutch earned 0·75 times, the German 0 70, the Frenchman 0 45, the Japanese 0·43, the Italian 0 40, the Czechoslovak 0 36, the Indian at Bombay 0·15 times.

It is necessary to pause a minute here while examining these wage-rates. The American earns nearly three times and a half but he is not necessarily so many times as efficient as the Briton. The German earns 0 70 of the Briton but he is not necessarily less efficient than the Briton to that extent. The comparative wage-rates should not be taken as indices to the comparative efficiency of peoples. In regard to India one need not therefore have to practise too great a pessimism on the score of relatively low wages while of course one is not being asked to rest content with the rates as they are.

Balkan Complex as Example

Q. Is it possible to find from a survey of world economy certain policies such as are likely to be useful to us in Bengal for our economic planning?

A. It appears to me that there is something instructive in the recent economic happenings in the Balkan states.

The Austro-Hungarian Empire was dismembered by the Treaties of the Versailles complex. That was a political action. But economically some of the new states created out of it could not afford to remain separated from one another. And so the *Petite Entente* was inaugurated comprising as it did Czechoslovakia, Rumania and

* *Report on the Standard of Living* (Geneva, 1926), pp. 8-9.

Jugoslavia. It has recently been solidified into an "alliance" (1933). Even this enlarged entity proved to be too inadequate to cope with the economic requirements. So in 1930 was brought into existence the "Balkan Conference" comprising the six states, Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Rumania, Turkey and Jugoslavia. In other words, the political ex-enemies had to come together in order to build up an economic platform. The same year the agrarian states of Central and Eastern Europe established a "Conference" and in it were represented the four Baltic states (Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania and Poland) as well as Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania and Jugoslavia. In this instance, also, people had to forget the war-politics in the interest of economic reconstruction. Finally, in 1932 was initiated the Danubian Conference and in it Austria, the ex-enemy of the new states, had necessarily to play a leading part.

The economic policy that has been developing itself in the Balkan and Baltic complexes leaves no doubt that political sentiments are being eclipsed by considerations of economic necessity. We are witnessing the growth of unions where unions are repugnant to political ideals. A great object-lesson for India is furnished by this economics of "realities" as distinguished from the economics of "pious wishes."

British Commercial Policy

Q. Which way do you think is the British commercial policy tending?

A. In 1922 the Colonial Development Act was passed in Great Britain in order to help forward in every possible manner the trades and industries in or bearing on any of the 40 colonies inhabited as they are by some fifty million men and women. And last year the British Parliament passed the Import Duties Act, first, to introduce thorough-going protection, and secondly, to establish preference for Empire goods.

The preference in exports that India has been enjoying since 1925 and that in imports that she has been granting since 1927 and 1930 have been now made into law on extensive fronts. The British Empire is thus going to function as an economic unit *vis-à-vis* the rest of the world. And yet Great Britain is dependent on non-Empire countries for the absorption of some 60 per cent

of her exports, i.e. it cannot be her policy to antagonise the rest of the world.

India's "Next Stage"

Q. In view of all the circumstances, technical, agricultural and commercial, what should be the policy for economic India at the present moment?

A. Neither America nor Japan nor Germany had been seeking to approach India with an offer of preference of some sort in any scheme of economic world-reconstruction. India's participation in the British preference does not, however, imply any prohibitive tariff regarding non-Empire countries. We may expect, therefore, mainly a change in the directions of India's foreign trade. There are likely to be a slight diminution in the prices of imports as well as some increase in the volume of exports. It may be possible for Great Britain to function as a re-exporter of Indian products to a much larger extent than before. And India's chances for competing with the colonies for British market and capital will tend to increase.

And all this is conducive to the promotion of our agriculture as well as the development of industrialization. Shrewd businessmen, whether they be interested in jute, coal, tea, hides or oilseeds, will not fail to utilise these new affiliations in India's interest. Much will depend on the existence of realistic sense in our economic statesmen such as may counsel them to "always do the duty that lies nearest thee" instead of being waylaid by the willow-the-wisp of far-off economic beatitudes. The economics of planning will have to bid a cruel good-bye to the politics of sentimentalities and sonorous phrases and specialize prosaically in the strategy of the "next stage" in regard to our requirements in capital, "instruments of production" as well as scientific and technocratic equipment.*

Co-operation with Foreign Capital

Q. How far is it possible to carry out this scheme of economic planning in Bengal on the strength of Bengali capital?

A. Here as in other items we must distinguish sharply what Bengali capital has accomplished up till now and is likely to accom-

* Sarkar: "Empire Development and World-Economy" (*Journal of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce*, 1927).

plish in the near future from what the Bengali people needs in the interest of its all-round and speedy economic elevation.

Neither the "cottage banks" of Bengal known as the Loan Offices nor the Insurance Companies under Bengali management have been making a worse show during the period of depression since 1929 than the corresponding institutions of financially and technically advanced countries including the U S.A. Modern industries on small scale are being attempted with success and projected by our countrymen along diverse lines, matches, glass, soaps, radio, etc. Cotton and jute mills are on the way to growing in number and importance. Engineering and chemical enterprises are likewise tending to become known more and more as Bengali institutions. Sugar and paper mills in Bengali hands may not remain rarities for long. We are, besides, on the eve perhaps of an era of electrification in municipal jurisdictions.

The record of Bengali finance is encouraging so far as it goes, and we may depend upon this record of what should be described as the Kindergarten stage in modern capitalism as an earnest for further progress. It is clear, however, that the dimensions of Bengali enterprise are anything but considerable It is within rather modest limits that Bengali finance may be expected as a rule to operate in the immediate future But in the interest of quick results, especially results affecting large sections of the people we cannot afford to depend exclusively on unaided Bengali bullion and brain. Even Government subsidies of one form or other are likely to be too inadequate because neither are the public revenues very prosperous nor is the taxpaying capacity of the people considerable. For theoretical considerations it is desirable to note, besides, that state socialism such as has become classical in Germany and is being practised with vengeance in Great Britain is an integral part of the Second Industrial Revolution and is but a reflex of advanced capitalism. It is inextricably bound up with high national wealth and can therefore hardly be attempted with any significance in zones of poverty and in regions such as find themselves in the earlier stages of the First Industrial Revolution, when, as is well known, *laissez faire* was the inevitable doctrine in state-craft and public finance.

For some long time we shall have to cultivate active co-operation with foreign capital. Everybody who brings capital and invests it in the material and human resources of Bengal is a friend of the

Bengali people. Capital does not know any nationality. It ought to be a part of our statesmanship to attract financiers from far and near,—British, American, Japanese, and even German, as well as of course Marwari,—to our villages and towns. It should be possible to higgle the terms of financial co-operation between the Bengalis and the foreigners on to a reasonable basis.

Those of our countrymen who watch with jealous eyes the dividends and profits earned by the foreign capitalists and perhaps in large doses as well as mainly if not wholly taken out of Bengal ought not to ignore the fact that it is in and through the same process that Bengali peasants are being transformed into technically equipped workingmen and women, and the intellectual classes of Bengal disciplined in the principles and practice of modern industry, commerce, insurance, banking, and business organization, although no doubt very often and mostly as mere second fiddles. We should not fail to realize, further, that it is in this school of practical experience as mere hands and second fiddles that a large part of the huge industrial and capitalistic army can ultimately be built up, i.e. men and women who during the next generation or so are destined to function as the pioneers of Bengali capitalism and industrial power. It is to be hoped that the budding capitalists and economic theorists of Young Bengal will be able to rise to the new concept of patriotism as involved in all these considerations.

THE POPULATION STUDIES OF BENOY SARKAR

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The demographic studies of Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar in the light of international vital statistics form the subject of this essay. The population trends of diverse climatic regions, of various ethnological groups and under different political forms have been statistically examined in these investigations He has arrived at the fundamental conclusion that population "behaviour" is not a function of climate or race or politics or religion. Among other important features of his studies are to be mentioned a critical estimate of Malthusianism and of the optimum theory of population. The logistic curve or the biological theory of population has also been incidentally referred to. His method of approach throughout is statistical, objective and inductive. Further, he has treated the problems not only economically but also as sociological questions.

The primary biological variables in the phenomenon of population are two :—the force of natality measured by the birth rate and the force of mortality measured by the death rate. In the case of human populations a third factor is added, viz migration. We may begin by analysing Sarkar's ideas in relation to these aspects.

Birth Rates

Sarkar connects Indian demographic zones with those of other countries. Indian birth rates are thereby placed in the perspective of the world standard on a very large scale.* We are presented with the following table :

* Sarkar. "The Trend of Indian Birth Rates in the Perspective of Comparative Demography" in the *Indian Journal of Economics*, Allahabad, April and July, 1934.

I Above 30 per thousand (1930)

(a) Above 40 per thousand

1.	Palestine (1 3 millions)	52 9	
2.	Egypt (14·7 mill.) . . .	44 4	(1929)
3.	Costa Rica (0·5 mill.) . .	44 2	
4.	Central Prov., India (15 5 mill) .. .	43 46	
5.	R.S.F.S.R. (82 0 mill.) . . .	42·7	(1928)
6.	Straits Settlements (1·1 mill.) .	40 6	

(b) Between 30 and 40 per thousand

1	Chile (4 2 mill.)	39 8	
2.	Ceylon (5·3 mill)	39 0	
3.	Punjab, Ind (23 5 mill.) .	38 91	
4.	Federated Malaya States (1 7 mill)	37·2	
5.	Porto Rico (1 5 mill)	37 1	(1929)
6.	Jamaica (1 0 mill.) .	37 0	
7.	White Russia (4 9 mill)	36 4	(1928)
8.	Madras, Ind (47 7 mill) .	36 17	
9.	Ukraine (29 0 mill.)	35 3	(1929)
10.	Rumania (18 0 mill.) .	35 0	
11.	Philippines (12 3 mill) .. .	35 0	
12.	United Prov . Ind (48 4 mill)	34 48	
13	Bombay, Ind (22 2 mill)	34 47	
14	British India (268 1 mill)	33 38	
15.	Bihar, Ind. (37 5 mill)	33 18	
16.	British India (352 3 mill)	32 9	
17.	Poland (32 1 mill)	32 4	
18.	Japan (64 7 mill) ..	32 4	
19	Greece (6 3 mill.)	30 9	
20	Bulgaria (5 9 mill.) . .	30 6	
21.	Portugal (6 1 mill)	30 6	
22.	Argentina (11·4 mill.) . . .	30.1	(1929)

II. Between 20 and 30 per thousand (1930)

(a) Between 25 and 30

1.	Assam, Ind. (8·6 mill.)	29 53	
2	Hawaii (0 3 mill)	29·3	
3.	Venezuela (3·1 mill.)	28 9	
4.	Spain (23·5 mill.)	28·2	
5.	Lithuania (2·3 mill.)	27·3	

6.	Burma, Ind. (14·6 mill.)	27·15
7.	Italy (41·1 mill.)	26 7
8.	Union of South Africa (8 0 mill.) .	26 6
9.	Bengal, Ind. (50 1 mill.)	25 86
10.	Hungary (8 6 mill.) . .	25·4
	(b) Between 20 and 25	
1.	Uruguay (1 9 mill.)	24 0
2	Canada (10 2 mill.)	23 9
3.	Netherlands (7 9 mill)	23 0
4.	Czechoslovakia (14 7 mill)	22 7
5	Finland (3 3 mill) . .	22 2
	III Under 20 per thousand (1930)	
1	Latvia (1 9 mill)	19 9
2	Australia (6 4 mill.) .	19 09
3.	Irish Free State (2 9 mill)	19 8
4.	U S.A (123 6 mill) . .	18 9
5	New Zealand (1 5 mill)	18 8
6	Belgium (8 0 mill.)	18 7
7	Denmark (3 5 mill.)	18 7
8.	France (41 8 mill) .	18 0
9.	Germany (64 4 mill) .	17 5
10.	Norway (2 8 mill.) ..	17 4
11.	Esthonia (1 1 mill) ..	17 4
12.	Switzerland (4 0 mill.)	17 2
13.	Austria (6·7 mill.)	16 8
14.	United Kingdom (45 9 mill)	16 8
15.	Sweden (6 1 mill)	15 4

Birth Rates Indifferent to Climate, Race, Religion, and Politics

Sarkar discusses the significance of the above figures in the following manner. In the high birth rate group (in Group I) there are some twenty eight items. In the sub-group (a) there are three regions in Asia, viz., Central Provinces, Straits Settlements and Palestine; one in Africa, viz., Egypt, one in Central America, viz., Costa Rica; and one in Europe, viz., R.S F.S.R. It is to be noted that there is hardly any affinity between these regions so far as climate is concerned. "In terms of latitude, longitude, heat, moisture, rivers, and mountain systems as well as currents of wind and proximity to the sea we have really in this group six hetero-

geneous zones. And yet they constitute but one zone from the standpoint of demography, viz., the zone of high or highest birth rates."

Sub-group (b) tells the same tale. In this group Japan, the Philippines, Ceylon, Malaya, and the five Indian Provinces belong to Asia; White Russia, Ukraine, Rumania, Poland, Greece, Portugal and Bulgaria to Europe; while Chile, Porto Rico, Jamaica, and Argentina to Central and South America. And yet from the standpoint of climate Japan certainly does not belong to the inland systems of U.P. and Bihar. Nor are the other countries climatologically similar though they belong to the same demographic group.

The significance of the second group, that of medium birth rate, is not less clear. In sub-group (a) we find that Italy is placed between Burma and Bengal; Burma between Lithuania and Italy, Bengal between Italy and Hungary, Czechoslovakia between the Netherlands and Finland. Thus three Indian regions belong to the group of medium birth rates and Italy's birth rate (26 7) is slightly higher than Bengal's (25·86). The zones of medium birth rates are thus like those of the high birth rates independent of geographical position and of the climatological complex.

The high and medium birth groups have then been examined by Sarkar from the standpoint of race. If we take the highest birth index group "we find it represented equally by the Slav and Slavo-Tartar and other hybrids of Northern and Eastern Europe, the Arab, Semitic, Arab-Copt and other hybrids of north-eastern Africa, the Latin (Spanish) and the Latin-American "Indian" and other hybrids of South America as well as the "Indo-Aryans," Aryo-Dravidians and other hybrids of Northern and Central India as well as the Malayan hybrids of the Straits." In sub-group (b) of Group I. the Mongolians of Japan, the Scytho-Dravidians of India, the Latins and Slavs of Europe, the Spanish-Americans, the Creols, the Malayans have met on a common platform. The Tamils and Andhras of Southern India are found to be demographic comrades of the Russians, Ukranians and Rumanians; the Beharis, Oriyas, Gujaratis and Marathas are close companions of the Japanese, Greeks, Poles, Portugese and Bulgars.

In the medium birth group (Group II.) we find that the Slavs, Latins, Magyars, and Teutons are bed-fellows of one another while the immediate demographic neighbours of the people of Bengal are the Latins of Spain and Italy, the Slavs of Lithuania and the Magyars of Hungary.

Nor is religion relevant, according to Sarkar, to the study of the birth index of nations. In Group I as also in Group II races of different religious denominations can be seen together. The Moslems of Egypt and Palestine, the Greek Catholics of Russia, the Roman Catholics of Central America, the Hindus and Moslems of certain regions in India, the Jews and Christians of Palestine all belong to the same demographic group. In Group II also all kinds of religions are represented,—the Roman Catholics of Spain and Italy, the Hindus of Assam and Bengal, the Buddhists of Burma and so forth.

Political considerations again are utterly irrelevant to the birth behaviour of nations. In the high birth group (Group I.) Palestine is a mandated area, Egypt is a semi-subject country, the five Indian provinces as well as the Straits, Ceylon, Malaya states, Jamaica and the Philippines are subject states; while the remaining twelve are independent countries. Diversity of political forms is also quite evident in Group II.

The low birth group (Group III) has been analyzed by Sarkar with due attention. Fifteen countries are comprised in this group. But they also differ from one another climatologically, ethnically and politically. "Continental" Germany, Austria, and Switzerland are essentially different from the "insular" British Isles, New Zealand and the Irish Free State. France, Belgium etc. are Latin (and Celtic), the U. K. Teutonic (and Celtic), Latvia and Esthonia Slav, Norway, Sweden and Germany Teutonic. Catholicism has its stronghold in France and Belgium while Protestantism in the U. K., Sweden and Germany. Some of these countries are republican in constitution, others ruled by kings.

The Dynamics of Birth Rates

A very important item in these studies is the changes in birth rates in every country from decade to decade. These birth-dynamics are of special importance in Sarkar's demographic theories.

Birth rate is not a fixed thing—it is dynamic. It has to be considered in relation to the historical process, the time element. Thus considered declining birth rate is found to be an established fact in Indian demography and in this respect the behaviour of the Indian people is parallel to that of the Westerners, subject in some cases to a chronological disparity of several years. Comparative

average annual birth rates for the quinquennial periods of 1905-09 and 1921-25 are given below from Sarkar's study :

Regions	1905-09	1921-25	Percentage Rates of Variation, — or +
1. Russia ...	45·5	44·1	— 3·0
2. India .	37·7	33 4	— 11·4
3. Italy ...	32 6	29·2	— 10 4
4. Germany .	32·3	22 1	— 31·5
5. Japan	31 9	34 6	+ 8·4
6 England and Wales .	26 7	19 9	25 4
7. France	20 1	19 3	— 3 0

With the exception of Japan birth rate shows a decline in all countries Declining birth rate may be said to be a world phenomenon and India appears to have her share in it.

This decline in birth rate in India was preceded by a period of rising birth rate and this was also the case in the West European countries although at different chronological points This parallelism with a chronological distance may be shown as follows* :

1. Birth-rate rising :—
   (a) 1841—1880 West-European Economy
   (b) 1881—1910 Indian Economy.
2. Birth rate falling :—
   (a) 1881—1930 West-European Economy
   (b) 1911—1930 Indian Economy.

Indian demography has thus been demonstrated to be similar, in the most important particulars, to the Eur-American so far as the birth-index is concerned. And this conclusion is entirely at variance with the notion generally prevalent among demographists, economists and sociologists. This, indeed, is a contribution of profound importance to the economics and sociology of population.

Death-Rates

The study of birth-rate alone is "nothing but the record of a biological phenomenon," says Sarkar. "The births acquire a meaning only in reference to death." Indian death rates have been compared by him with the death rates of other countries. The nations

* Sarkar: *Sociology of Population* (Calcutta, 1936) p. 18.

have been grouped as follows according to the number of deaths per thousand* :

I. Above 30 per 1000 inhabitants

1.	Central Provinces (Ind.)	32·74
2.	Punjab (Ind.)	31 31

II. Between 25 and 30 per 1000

1.	United Provinces (Ind.)	28 20
2.	Bihar and Orissa (Ind)	26 9
3.	British India (1926)	26 8
4	Bengal (Ind.)	26·3
5.	Bombay (Ind)	25 36
6	Assam (Ind)	25 34
7	Chile	25 3

III. Between 20 and 25 per 1000

1.	Egypt	24·5
2	Russia	22·7
3	Madras (Ind	22·5
4	Rumania	22·2
5.	Burma (Ind.)	20 97
6	Bulgaria	20 2

IV. Between 15 and 20 per 1000

1	Japan	19 8
2.	Portugal	19·7
3.	Spain	18·9
4.	Hungary	17·6
5.	Poland	17·4
6.	Lithuania	17·3
7.	France	16·3
8.	Czechoslovakia	16·0
9.	Italy	15·7

* Sarkar: "Comparative Birth, Death and Growth Rates" in the *Journal of the Indian Medical Association*, Calcutta, May, 1932

V. Under 15 per 1000

1.	Austria	14·9
2	Argentine	13 8
3.	Belgium	13 5
4.	Sweden	12 7
5	England and Wales	12 3
6.	Switzerland	12·3
7	United States	12 2
8.	Germany	12 0
9	Canada	11 1
10	Norway	11 0
11.	Holland	10 3
12.	Australia	9 5
13.	New Zealand	8 4

The Sociology of Death Rates

The death rate does indeed seem to be very high. "In comparative death statistics India should appear to be a veritable grave-yard of mankind." Group I with exceptionally high death-rate (i.e. above 30 per thousand) contains only two Indian regions. In Group II also the Indian Provinces have crowded together, and Chile is the only non-Indian region that has found a place here. Group III with a relatively high death rate consists predominantly of non-Indian regions, but two British Indian provinces have managed to secure a "corner" here. Madras (22 5) comes off a little better than Russia (22·7), while Burma (20·97) is beaten by Bulgaria (20 2) by a narrow margin.

Groups IV and V which have "medium" and "low" death rates appear to be completely reserved for non-Indian regions. In this view India is not a subcontinent of low or even medium death rates but of high death rates, or of relatively high death rates as in the cases of Madras and Burma. But one important fact is to be noted in this connexion :—"As in the case of births so in the case of deaths it has to be observed," says Sarkar, "that each of the groups is heterogeneous in its geographico-climatic, ethnologico-religious and political conditions." Indeed, with a high death co-efficient higher than that of Madras Russia can rank as a politically "great power," and Rumania can be politically independent with a mortality rate higher than that of Burma. The composi-

tions of groups IV and V also are not capable of explanation in terms of race, climate or politics.

Waste and Efficiency Equations

Why is a high death rate undesirable from the economic standpoint? "Death is essentially a waste of economic energy and economic resources" Higher death rate means more waste. Sarkar establishes the following equations of waste correlating death rate with waste :

Bengal (26·3) = 1·32 Japan (19·8)
= 1 59 France (16·5)
= 1 67 Italy (15·7)
= 2·19 Germany (12 0)

The above equations show that in Bengal economic wastes from deaths are 1 32 times as high as in Japan, 1 59 times as high as in France and so on.

The all-India average death co-efficient (26 8) is just a little higher than that of Bengal, so that the above equations are valid for India as a whole.

Waste means inefficiency, and therefore, inversely, the above equations may fairly be represented as equations of efficiency as well in the following manner :

1 German = 2 19 Bengalis (as well as average Indians)
1 Italian = 1 67 ,, ,,
1 Frenchman = 1 59 ,, ,,
1 Japanese = 1 32 ,, ,,

It is important to note however that the "great powers" themselves do not belong to the same group in matter of waste from death :

Japan (19 8) = 1 2 France (16 5)
= 1·26 Italy (15 7)
= 1·65 Germany (12·5)

From the standpoint of efficiency this signifies .

1 German = 1·65 Japanese
1 Italian = 1·26 Japanese
1 Frenchman = 1 2 Japanese.

As between Germany and Italy again, i.e., two European countries the waste equation is as follows :

Italy (15·7) = 1·30 Germany (12·0)

and the efficiency equation is:

1 German = 1·30 Italian.

These waste or efficiency equations are of course subject to "other circumstances remaining the same."

The Death Lines of Nations

Like the birth-rate the death-rate has been examined by Sarkar in relation to the time element. Indian death-rate has from this standpoint been compared with that of the "great powers" for two quinquennial periods 1905-09 and 1921-25 as follows:

		1905-09	1921-25	Rate of Change in Death-rate, + or −
1	India	35·4	24 9	− 29 6%
2.	Russia	29·4	24·1	− 18 0%
3.	Italy	21·7	17 0	− 21 5%
4.	Japan	20·9	21 8	+ 4 3%
5.	France	19 5	17 3	− 11 2%
6.	Germany	18·3	13 3	− 27 3%
7.	U. S. A	15 4	11 9	− 22 7%
8.	England and Wales	15·1	12 2	− 19 2%

The decline in death-rate is the sharpest in the case of India. The declining death-rate like declining birth-rate is almost a world phenomenon (Japan excepted) and India has her share in it. And in so far as declining death-rate is an index of increasing efficiency the efficiency of the people of India as of the other countries exhibiting this trend may be said to have increased, says Sarkar.

Indian death-rate is not unique but has its counterpart in the death-rates of the most advanced countries of the world, although at different chronological points. Thus in Sarkar's equations of death-rates,*—

India (1921-25)	24·9 = almost	Germany	(1881-90)	25·1
	= almost	Italy	(1891-1900)	24 2
Madras (1922-26)	22·5 = almost	England	(1881-90)	22 1
	= almost	Germany	(1891-1900)	22·2
	= almost	Italy	(1901-05)	22·0

* See the Chart IV, Comparative Demography: The Death Lines of Nations in Sarkar's paper in the *Journal of the Indian Medical Association* (Calcutta, May, 1932).

Comparative Growth Rates

Neither birth-rate taken by itself nor death-rate alone can furnish a proper index of the growth of population. It is the growth rate or "natural increment" rate, i.e. the excess of births over deaths that is the true criterion of population trends. The growth rate in India between 1880 and 1931 *vis-à-vis* the growth rates of Eur-America and Japan has been exhibited by Sarkar in the following tabl ·*

I Above 50 percent	
Burma	292·5
U S. A	186 0
Assam	79·2
Japan	74·1
Great Britain	54·1
Madras	51 6
II Between 30 and 50 percent	
Italy	46 8
Switzerland	43 5
Germany	42 2
Punjab	39·2
India	39 0
Bengal	37 9
Spain	36 8
Bombay	32 8
Czechoslovakia	32 8
III Below 30 percent	
Central Provinces	29 8
Bihar-Orissa	21 6
France	11·3
United Provinces	10 6

A glance at the figures shows that the rates of growth in India were not abnormal or exceptional. In every group we find Indian Provinces in the company of extra-Indian regions.

The lesson that emerges from the above comprehensive demographic studies is that the population trend in India, contrary to the generally held notion among statisticians and economists, is not unique. This formed the subject of Sarkar's paper in Italian at the

* Sarkar: *Sociology of Population* pp 16-18.

International Congress for Studies on Population held at Rome in 1931.

The statistics that we have dealt with so far clearly demonstrate :

(1) decline of birth-rate is a fact of Indian demography

(2) death-rate also is on the decline.

(3) The Indian growth rate is not abnormal or exceptional.

Parallelism between the population trends of India and those of Western European countries however was subject to a chronological distance of several years which we have already had occasion to note.

Emigration and Population Policy

Sarkar lays stress upon the following aspects of population policy.[1] First, better sanitary and health measures. He writes. "Should the Indian people happen to possess control over their public finance and be in a position to assume the direction of their health and sanitation, as well as education, industrial and technical departments it is reasonable to surmise that more funds will be placed at the disposal of the public for the improvement of mortality condition."[1] Secondly, economic development, that is the industrialization of India on an extensive and intensive scale. And thirdly, emigration. "India's claims to colonising and developing Africa, South America and Australia will naturally also begin to press upon the world-economy," says he On the subject of emigration Sarkar has strong views as expressed so early as 1919 in the paper on "Americanization" in the *Journal of International Relations* (U. S A.)[2]

Population policy would thus involve not merely the regulation of births or the improved sanitary and health measures, leading to the diminution of deaths Nor does it imply a mere control of the growth rate. It implies a great deal more— a policy of economic development and a policy of emigration. "It cannot be denied, historically speaking, that among the pioneering nations during the last two generations the rising or high growth rate has gone along with an actual rise in the standard of living and that both these

1 Sarkar "Comparative Birth, Death and Growth Rates" in the *Journal of the Indian Medical Association* (Calcutta May 1932)

2 See Sarkar *The Sociology of Races, Cultures and Human Progress* (Calcutta 1939). The first edition of this book was known as *The Futurism of Young Asia* (Berlin 1922).

factors have been associated with emigration and economic development as diverse limbs of one social complex."

Sarkar's demographic studies are thus not calculated to emphasize any single-track policies. In his population policy he has eschewed monism and has frankly adopted the pluralistic ideology so characteristic of his general economic and sociological standpoints It is to be observed that birth control has not been ruled out altogether in his formulation of policy.

Malthusianism as viewed by Sarkar

Sarkar does not seem to be anywhere in sympathy with the Malthusian dread of overpopulation. He draws pointed attention to the fact that in Europe the crucial problem to-day is underpopulation or depopulation and this has led to the large family movement. Relief from income tax for having a large number of children, family allowances etc which form important features of demographic legislation in France, Italy, Germany etc. are intended to counteract the forces of birth control [1]

The view of the Malthusians that birth rate increases with prosperity is true, according to Sarkar, up to a certain point The birth curve in his view can be divided into two parts,—to begin with, an ascending curve, then a declining curve Both these phases of population movement are in evidence in India as well as the European countries though at different dates

Malthusianism has come to be modified by Neo-Malthusianism which stands for contraceptive birth control on a national scale. Anti-Multhusianism also which emphasises that there is a fundamental conflict between culture and fecundity may be a factor in the declining birth rate though this position remains more or less a plausible hypothesis. Sarkar points out that "more than half of 531 American women who have place in *Who's Who* can be cited as instances of marriage without issue evidently without attempt at contraceptive measures." [2]

1. For a detailed account of this legislation see Sarkar, *Sociology of Population* (1936) p 37 See also his "New Moves in British Population Policy", "Kuczynski and the New Population Science" "Campaign against Birth Control in England" in the *Calcutta Review* for July 1937 and March 1939.

2 "The Trend of Indian Birth Rates" in the *Indian Journal of Economics*. Allahabad July 1934

As regards the dread of overpopulation in India Sarkar refers to the view of Oppenheimer that Malthusian fears of overpopulation from a possible disproportion between mouths to feed and food supply are comparable to the panicky fears about the calamity to mankind such as might after millenniums arise from the cooling or freezing of the sun or collision between the two planets. In his judgment "the scares of an absolute overpopulation in India belong to the sphere of such millennial world calamities." On the other hand, he admits the possibility of "relative overpopulation" such as may arise from a temporary balance between the present number of population and the food supply, e.g., from disproportion caused by complications in the societal organisation."* Further, he says: "The category, overpopulation, can have a meaning only with reference to its own food output as well as the food supply it can obtain from abroad " Overpopulation is to be studied with single classes and single regions. "The category, overpopulation, is to be used not in regard to large areas like states, provinces, etc., but in regard to small territorial jurisdictions or regions like districts and even parts of districts. That is, in one and the same country certain parts may be overpopulated and other parts may be underpopulated. For instance, in France the South-West and the West appear to be underpopulated while the North and North-East have a large number of unemployed. It is then intensive analysis—region by region and occupation by occupation—that is required with regard to India as to other countries in order to detect the traces of local optimum or otherwise "*

The Optimum in Sarkar's Analysis

The optimum theory of population has had much vogue in recent times since it was popularised by Cannan, Carr-Saunders and others. The optimum theory has been stated by Cannan as follows:—"At any given time, or which comes to the same thing, knowledge and circumstances remaining the same there is what may be called a point of maximum return, when the amount of labour is such that both an increase and decrease in it would diminish proportionate returns... .....If we suppose all the difficulties about the measurement of returns from all industries taken together to be somehow overcome, we can see that at any given time, knowledge

* *Sociology of Population* pp. 40-42

and circumstances remaining the same, just as there is a point of maximum return in each industry so there must be in all industries taken together.[1]

Regarding this theory, Sarkar holds that it may be correct in the abstract but in its practical application we are brought up against serious difficulties. He points out that "the optimum represents a theoretical or rather hypothetical number of men and women per square mile, i.e., a theoretical or hypothetical density at which the optimum or highest income (and therefore standard of living) is available to everybody in the area *per capita*. If the number is more, i.e. exceeds the optimum density leading thereby to overpopulation the income *per capita* becomes less. On the other hand, if the number is less, i.e., falls below the optimum density leading thereby to underpopulation the income *per capita* becomes less also "[2] In his analysis of the optimum population the important question is that of determining the density of population with reference to the standard of living *per capita*. Sarkar goes on to argue that "density by itself cannot be taken to be an index to overpopulation or underpopulation. It cannot be regarded as an economic category of substantial importance. It is a mere mathematical or rather arithmetical ratio showing in a crude manner the number of men and women per territorial unit. But overpopulation or underpopulation as well as poverty or deviation from optimum income and standard *per capita* are economic phenomena based on total earnings of the people." He proceeds to establish his thesis by reference to the following statistical data.

The densities of nine Indian provinces and several Eur-American countries as well China and Japan have been placed by him in the following five groups classified in two broad divisions (in terms of the number of inhabitants per square kilometer) :

I. High Density Group

A	
Very High	
Belgium (1930) ...	266
Bengal (India) ...	252
Holland (1930)	232
B	
Relatively High	
Great Britain	197
United Provinces (India) ...	177
Bihar-Orissa (India) ...	177
Japan (1930)	169
C	
High	
Germany (1925) ..	134
Italy (1931)	133
Madras (India)	128
Czechoslovakia ...	105
China (1930)	100

1 Cannan, *Wealth*, p. 68.

2 *Sociology of Population*, p. 26.

II Low Density Group

A Relatively Low		B Very Low	
Hungary ..	93	Central Provinces (India)	60
Punjab (India) . .	92	Bulgaria . .	59
Poland ...	83	Europe minus Russia ...	56
Austria ...	80	Greece . .	49
India . . .	76	Lithuania .	43
France	76	Europe . .	42
Bombay (India)	69	Russia .	26
Assam (India)	61	Burma (India) .	24
Rumania . .	61	U. S. A	16

The above densities have been placed in the perspective of the national incomes. Sarkar gives the following estimates of national income *per capita* for pre-war conditions (i.e. 1913-14) in £ sterling.

A		C	
1. U. S. A	72	1. Italy	23
2. Australia	54	2. Austria .	21
3. Great Britain and Ireland	50	3. Spain	11

B		D	
1. Canada ..	40	1. Japan . .	6
2. France . .	38	2. India .	4
3. Germany	30		

The figures for a later date have been given by Sarkar according to an American survey of national incomes *per capita* in 1922 (in dollars):

A		B	
1. U. S. A. .	282	1. Italy	85
2. Great Britain	213	2. Russia	42
3. France . .	179	3. Japan ..	35
4. Germany ...	114	4. India .. .	14

Sarkar proceeds to consider whether there is any correlation between the indices of density and the indices of income. In the High Density Group IA Bengal is placed between Belgium and Holland. And yet Bengal has a low national income *per capita*, while Belgium and Holland are high income countries. Thus very high density has no necessary relation to high or low income-scale.

Again in density group IC Germany, Italy, Madras and China are thrown together and yet in respect of national income *per capita* Madras and China cannot be regarded as equals of Germany and Italy.

Let us take again the relatively low density group IIA. Bombay and Punjab are found to be rubbing shoulders with France and yet in point of national income they are very far apart.

Sarkar's examination reveals that high density is not necessarily an index of poverty. Belgium, England and Germany are prosperous countries notwithstanding high density On the other hand low density and high income *per capita* are also found to exist side by side as in the cases of America and France.

A paper on these new orientations in optimum was presented by him in German at the International Congress of Population, Berlin, 1935

Sarkar and the Biological Theory of Population

The law of logistic growth of population is one of the latest contributions of biology to the theory of population. The law was first enunciated by the Belgian mathematician Verhulst in 1838. His pioneer work was however forgotten and overlooked by most subsequent students of the population problem. In 1920 Professors R. Pearl and L. S. Reed hit upon the same law independently and without any knowledge of Verhulst's prior work.*

According to this biological law, the growth of population exhibits a trend which is technically expressed by the logistic curve. This characteristic manner of population growth may be described as follows: The population at first grows slowly but gains impetus as it grows reaching a maximum level and then decreases till the end of measurable growth is reached. The growth of population thus comes to a standstill. Pearl points out that this "has been found in recent years to be the way in which populations of such a wide variety of organisms actually grow that it may now fairly be regarded as the characteristic normal mode of population." He further points out that "experimental populations of yeast, of bacteria and of the fly follow this characteristic curve in great precision in their growth." Lastly he says, "It has been demonstrated statisti-

* *"Biology of Population"* by Raymond Pearl at the World Population Conference, Geneva, 1927.

cally that populations of human beings have grown according to the same type of curve."

According to Sarkar the "biological concept underlying, as it does, the logistic curve in the growth of numbers"* has served to enrich the science of population with novel modes of thinking. He says also that "in so far as the logistic law of population growth may be said to represent a mechanical mode of expressing an empirical fact India was repeating the same logistic curve in the population cycle as most of the countries in Eur-America "† The truth of this statement is borne out by the wealth of statistical materials that we have already had occasion to present.

The implications of the logistic law have been discussed by Sarkar in several meetings of the Bengali Institute of Economics and the Bengali Institute of Sociology during 1939. In case this curve be acceptable for all mankind including the Indian population economists as well as statesmen would be relieved of the perpetual nightmare of populations increasing indefinitely and without limit, says Sarkar. The very idea that there is a maximum which no cycle or phase of population anywhere on earth can exceed is reassuring.

But even then Sarkar is not for counselling the sense of security among economists and statesmen from the standpoint of economic optimum. At every phase of population growth, no matter what be the number and how rich and well-resourced the region, the facts as well as risks of poverty, low standard of living and so forth are permanent considerations. The war against poverty, and consequently against overpopulation, is therefore treated by him as an eternal concern for theory as well as statesmanship The problem is eternal not only for poor countries like India but also for the prosperous ones like England, Germany etc., says he.

Identities Between East and West

It may be emphasized, in passing, that Sarkar's studies on population, showing as they do parallelism between population trends in East and west afford a concrete illustration of his important message that was delivered in the lecture on the "Futurism of Young Asia" at Clark University, U.S.A. in Feb-

* "Indian Birth Trends" in the *Indian Journal of Economics*, April 1934

† *Sociology of Population*, p. 17.

ruary 1917 to the effect that there is no vital and deep-seated difference between the historic culture systems. It is interesting to note that, as pointed out by Sarkar, for a very long time the view dominated the minds of men both in the East and in the West, that the Orient has a monopoly of spiritual culture whereas the Occident has to its credit a record of materialistic achievements The hard-and-fast differentiation that was thus made between the Orient and the Occident found a forceful expression in the couplet.

"East is East, and West is West
And never the twain shall meet."

Curiously enough, this doctrine of cultural dissimilarity between the East and the West was accepted equally by the Eastern and the Western scholars though for very different reasons, says Sarkar * The Westerners who studied the life and civilisation of the modern East found that it was so far behind the West of to-day in respect of secular and scientific achievements that they refused to believe that the East had ever any materialistic civilisation at all. Eastern scholars, on the other hand, seized on the idea of spiritual superiority because it suited their purpose to do so. Unable to retaliate by physical force against the Westerners who held them in bondage the peoples of the Orient began to develop a theory of spiritual greatness from the lofty heights of which they might, so they believed, look with disdain at the materialistic Occident. Needless to say, the so-called spiritual greatness of the Orient conveyed to the Western minds an idea of pessimism and defeatism which they thoroughly scorned in their hearts but which they, none the less, pretended to admire with a magnificent air of patronage.†

This view which flourished very much during the nineteenth century and which was popularized by the works of men like Max Mueller and others came in for severe criticism at the hands of Sarkar. In all his works beginning from the *Positive Background of Sociology* first published at Allahabad in 1913-14 down to the *Futurism of*

* The two different attitudes have been analyzed at length in Sarkar's *Varttaman Jagat* (Modern World) in twelve volumes (Calcutta 1914-1935) See especially *Duniyar Abhawa* (The Atmosphere of the World), 1926 (Chapter on *Vishakta Prachyami* or poisoned orientalism).

† Sarkar: *The Sociology of Races, Cultures and Human Progress* (Calcutta 1939), pp. 166-167.

Young Asia first published at Berlin in 1922, Sarkar attacked the theory and laid bare its inherent weakness. In his epoch-making book, *Futurism of Young Asia*, he has said, "Probably the most universally accepted postulate in the thought of Europe and America is that Occidental races are superior to the Oriental." "Generally speaking, however," says he, "Western scholars commit three fallacies in the application of the comparative method to the study of the race-questions

'In the first place, they do not take the same class of facts They compare the superstitions of the Orient with the rationalism of the Occident, while they ignore the rationalism of the Orient and suppress the superstitions of the Occident.

'Secondly, the Eur-American sociologists do not apply the same method of interpretation to the data of the Orient as to those of the Occident.

'In the third place, the Occidental scholars are not well grounded in comparative chronology. They do not proceed to the work of striking a balance between the claims of the East and the West age by age, and institution by institution in a time-series They compare the old conditions of the Orient with the latest achievements of the Occident and they ignore the fact that it is only in recent times that the same old conditions have disappeared from the West."

A front attack on contemporary social science and philosophy was thus delivered by Sarkar in and through this logic of Young Asia.

Sarkar's demographic studies constitute, as I have often remarked above, good specimens of the correct comparative methodology as demanded by him. The first formulation of Sarkar's equations in comparative demography was presented in Italian, be it noted, at the International Congress of Population, Rome (1931)

I should like to say that we are at the threshold of a new epoch. With the passing away of Asian passivity and the awakening of a new scientific spirit both among the Eastern and Western scholars the trans-valuation of values for which Sarkar so earnestly pleaded seems to have already begun. We look forward to the day when the equality of the East and the West upon which Sarkar has laid so much insistence in his scientific researches and investigations would become too patent and potent a reality to be ignored by anyone.

Relativities in Food, Nutrition and Efficiency Economics

In connection with population questions Sarkar has dealt with the problems of food, nutrition and economic efficiency. He refers to the deliberations of the Crop-Planning Conference held at Simla in June 1934 and points out that in regard to the rice and wheat resources of India there is no need for any scare. The subject was dealt with by him in French at the International Congress of Population Paris, 1937.*

As for the standard of living Sarkar draws attention to the diversities in the meat-ratio of European dietaries as revealed by the *International Labour Review* (Geneva, December 1933, pp. 873-75) The statistics are well calculated to convince us that we cannot afford to speak of a general European, or even Teutonic or Slavic standard. Nay, a general working class standard also is unthinkable even for a single country. The meat-index cannot be taken as a correlate of climate or national wealth or efficiency.

The so-called rice-standard of China, Japan and India is likewise analyzed by Sarkar. He agrees with the Japanese scholar Isoshi Asahi who maintains in *The Secret of Japan's Trade Expansion* (Tokyo 1934) that dietetically the rice-standard is not necessarily inferior to the beef-standard Besides, Sarkar examines the folk-dietaries as prevalent in Bengal and other rice-standard countries and stresses the fact that these are not exclusively starch-dietaries. Proteins, salts and vitamins of diverse orders are factually available in the articles generally consumed by the masses of Southern and Eastern Asia (including India) through millenniums although the relative smallness of meat is admitted as a reality. Another important point, which has a special economic bearing, is adduced, namely, that in Bengal and other semi-industrial or predominantly agricultural countries the natural and barter economies as contrasted with the market or price economy prevail. The masses in large proportions are not as a rule much affected by the high or low prices or ups and downs of prices. Although statistically not defined and undefinable the masses have therefore very often the chance to con-

* B. K Sarkar: *La Situation démographique de l'Inde vis-à-vis des récoltes des industries et des capitaux* (Congrès International de la Population Paris 1937), Vol. VII. pp 134-138.

sume large quantities of substantial food stuffs, no matter what be their income in terms of money.*

For the absence of adequate information the amount of calories and vitamins available in the actual food of the millions of India is an unknown quantity. Sarkar expects good results from the Nutrition Research Laboratories established by the Indian Research Fund Association at Coonoor. In the mean while he would favour schemes of "reconstruction in the articles or in cooking" He would, besides, ask India to profit by the example of Japan, which although a "low-standard country" by the Euro-American beef-standard has in certain particulars succeeded in rising upto the industrial might as sustained by it Sarkar is convinced that the calorie-vitamin complex is like everything else in economic and social affairs to be taken in a "relative" as contrasted with the absolute manner.

Sarkar's "food-planning" or calorie-planning for the teeming millions of India is accordingly a matter of degrees, doses or stages. As an exponent of relativity he would discard the "Anglo-American conceptions of national welfare" while discussing the improvement of the Indian standard or standards. He is interested just in those measures that are calculated to help forward the emergence of the "next stage in our socio-economic life." It is the relatively more modest programmes of uplift adapted to the age-long and primitive conditions obtaining in the country that should according to his findings belong to the statesmanship of food reform. In case the masses of the Indian people be traditionally used for long periods to the 1500, 1600 or 1800 calorie basis it would be sheer utopian Messianism to think of raising overnight the level upto the scientific physiological minimum of 2000, 2400 or 2800. Reform schemes in no field can reasonably contemplate increments of more than 10 or 15 per cent in the first instance, no matter what be the ideal minimum

In a meeting of the *Bangiya Dhana-Vijnan Parishat* (Bengali Institute of Economics) held on 21st January 1939 Sarkar dwelt at length on the problem of relativities," "next stages," etc. in food-planning, "calorie-vitamin-complex," nutritional minimum etc. The

* Sarkar. "Relativities in Food, Nutrition and Efficiency Economics" (*Calcutta Review*, September, 1936).

"London Standards" of "adequate diet" constituted the chief topic for discussion. He referred to the Technical Commission of the Health Committee of the League of Nations which had met in London in November 1935. The conclusions of Burnet and Aykroyd's paper on "Nutrition and Public Health" in the *Quarterly Bulletin of the Health Organisation of the League of Nations* (Geneva, June 1935) are known to have been accepted by the Technical Commission The "physiological bases of nutrition" as recommended by the Commission comprise the following items. (1) that in temperate regions the minimum for the health of the average man or woman not engaged in manual labour is 2,400 net calories, (2) that for light work 50 calories per hour, for moderate work 50-100 calories p.h., and for hard work 100-200 calories p.h. would be required, and so forth.

The first criticism of Sarkar about these so-called London standards is, as has been observed by the authors of *Workers' Nutrition and Social Policy* published by the International Labour Office (Geneva, 1936, p 6), that the standard contemplated here is primarily a Eur-American standard Neither India nor any of the major countries of Asia in the socio-economic conditions of India is taken cognizance of in this psysiological nutritional minimum. Indian demographists, economists, food-reformers or social servants should not, therefore, jump at these standards with a view to render them accessible to the Indian people over-night

Sarkar observes that the 2400 calorie-unit is not a very high standard when one recalls the many recommendations by previous experts of diverse countries. And yet so far as Eur-America is concerned, it is too high for very many countries as well as very many classes of men and women in each country.

Malnutrition is a world-reality and is not confined exclusively to the poorer countries,says he. "The lowest income groups, even in the United States and Germany, are insufficiently supplied with calories according to London standards." "In so far as proteins are concerned, only the richest countries and the highest income groups attain the London standards. The majority of the workers of the world can be assumed to fall short of this ideal." "The problem of the nutrition of agricultural workers is, even as regards the number of calories, below an adequate level in view of the trying work these workers have to perform, and the composition of

the diet is too unilateral to ensure the maintenance of the good standard of health throughout life.*

There are still other ideas about adequate calorie requirements, and to these also Sarkar invites attention. According to the findings of the *Reichsarbeitsgemeinschaft fuer Volksernaehrung* and the *Deutsche Gesellschaft fuer Ernaehrungsforschung*, as reported by J. Schwaibold of the German Institute for Research in the Chemistry of Foodstuffs (Munich) in 1937, a change over to proteins and fats (i.e. meat, butter etc.) from carbo-hydrates (potatoes, grain etc.) is not desirable. A change of nutrition in the opposite direction is considered to be a necessity. In this position we encounter a veritable revolution in nutritional physiology. The latest conclusions of German nutrition-experts prescribe an adequate diet as made up of the following items: (1) protein (80 grammes), (2) fat (70 grammes) and (3) carbo-hydrates (450g.). The total calories required for adequate nurition come up to the modest figure of 2800.

This is considerably lower than even the prescription of the "London standards," because they contemplate additions in calories according to the kinds and hours of work whereas the German standard does not contemplate such additions. Indeed, for the working adult engaged in ordinary work a daily consumption of 50 g. of albumen (protein) and a very modest amount of fat with a correspondingly greater consumption of carbo-hydrates is considered to be the desideratum.†

In case the 2800 calorie-unit be considered adequate for the average German the question for Indian as well as Chinese, Japanese and other Asians has to be solved according to the principles of relativity. Occupation, physique (weight, stature) and climate are important modifying factors. What percentage of the German unit should be regarded as fairly adequate for India? That is an important physiological problem which can and ought to be discussed in a dispassionate manner. Sarkar is convinced that the estimates of India's food resources or food shortage that have been made by demographists and economists on the 3000, 2800, 2400 or 2000 calorie basis are generally without scientific foundations. In regard to India an important modifying consideration is the fact that according to the occupational structure of 1931

* *Workers' Nutrition and Social Policy* (Geneva 1936) pp. 76-79.

† *Germany and You* (Berlin 1937), No. 8.

not more than 44 per cent of the total population is gainfully employed or economically active and therefore requires the full Indian ration in calories. (Sarkar: *Social Insurance*, Calcutta, 1936, p. 334).

Uncertainties in Indian Demography

The trend of population growth in India is rendered difficult of investigation according to Sarkar on account of two circumstances. In the first place, "births escape registration more easily than deaths".* While exactness is not the virtue either of the birth or of the mortality statistics, the birth statistics are more inexact than the mortality. In other words, there are greater under-estimates in births than in deaths. In the second place, statistics relating to the fertility of women are defective.

Modesty of an equal if not greater degree is to be claimed likewise for the statistics relating to the standard of living of the people, i e concerning the indices of poverty or prosperity of the general masses of population. In the first place, "data relating to food production are incomplete". "Estimates of food production in India are unreliable and in most cases underestimates". "Increases in production due to improved methods have not been taken into consideration in estimating the yield per acre". Secondly, "few accurate observations have so far been made of the existing standards of nutrition in different parts of the country and amongst different communities."

On account of the absence of adequacy and precision in regard as much to the demographic factor as to the economic the studies in Indian population questions are bound to be halting and somewhat indefinite in conclusions. According to Sarkar the position has been correctly described in the statement of the *Annual Report of the Public Health Commissioner with the Government of India for 1936* to the effect that it is not permissible to "judge whether the growth of population is outstripping available food resources." But in spite of this statement the scare of over-population is as a rule propagated in these *Annual Reports* from year to year, says Sarkar.

* *Annual Report of the Public Health Commissioner with the Government of India for 1936* (Delhi, 1938) pp 4-6.

Kuczynski's observation that, as matters stand, any prediction of the future population trend of the non-Eur-American races would be mere guess is likewise quoted by him with approval.

The Fallacies of Indian Demographists

Population questions were some of the items discussed by Sarkar in his Presidential Address at the All-Bengal Students' Conference, Economic Section, held at the University Institute Calcutta, on September 3, 1939. He called the attention of the audience to certain fallacies committed in general by Indian demographists and statisticians. K. C. K. E Raja in his paper on "Probable Trend of Population Growth in India" published in the *Indian Journal of Medical Research* (Calcutta, July 1935, p. 209), speaks of "a high rate of increase." According to Sarkar the article takes no cognizance of the trend as known since 1881. The trend of population increment from 1881 to 1931 has really been modest, only 39 or rather 35 per cent. Raja considers Soviet Russia's growth rate (38·6 per cent beside India's 10·6 during 1921-1931) as "exceptional." Sarkar observed that there were many regions in the world to-day which exhibited quite high growth rates, e.g. Argentina, Chile, Poland, Holland, Bulgaria, Portugal, Lithuania, Rumania, Hungary and so forth. It is fallacious according to Sarkar to cite the rates only from those countries whose growth is known to be rather low. In the selection of demographic zones one ought to be as comprehensive as possible in regard to climate, race and socio-economic conditions.

Another instance was furnished by Sarkar from the same journal for October 1935. In the paper on the "Population Problem in India" Russell and Raja quote the birth rates from 1901 to 1933 The figures indicate a fall from 38 to 35 (34). But yet they maintain that it has been "more or less stationary." Writing "A Forecast of Population in India at the Census of 1941" for the same Journal (April 1937) Raja observes, again, that "the birth rate has been more or less steady from the beginning of the century." Sarkar questioned the scientific attitude of the writers in persistently trying to ignore the statistical reality. In his way of looking at things the decline in birth rate is a solid fact of demographic India, however modest it be. According to Sarkar these and other authors were anxious to propagate the cult of birth control. Hence they were

naturally disinclined to mention or attach value to the statistically recorded decline in the birth rate.

Sarkar questioned likewise the accuracy of Carr-Saunders's statement in *World Population* (1936, p. 270) to the effect that in India "there is no sign whatever of a decline in the rate during recent years as in Japan." He observed that in regard to India the British demographist was likewise under the influence of over-population and birth control ideas Sarkar pointed out that in Carr-Saunders's judgment (1) "India, or in any case large areas of it, is overpopulated" (p 275) and (2) "family limitation is the only way of escape," (p. 277)—and suggested that the latter's indifference to the statistical reality might be due to the impact of his conclusions on the objective sense.

In the paper of July 1935 referred to above Raja observes that "as regards the age-distribution the 1931 Census is perhaps more favourable for growth of population than during three previous censuses." According to Sarkar the Tables IV and V furnished by Raja showed that in several groups the proportion of women had actually declined and not risen as maintained by the writer. Raja's statement was therefore somewhat fallacious and required to be modified According to Sarkar the statistical position is really such that instead of quarrelling with Enid Charles's statement in her *Twilight of Parenthood* that the population of India is "probably slowly increasing" Raja should have accepted it as a reasonable proposition.

In the paper for October 1935 Russell and Raja observe that the acreage in India under food crops is 0 79. Then they quote the results of "recent studies made in the U S A" on the strength of which they maintain that the amount of land required *per capita* per year in order to produce (1) a restricted diet is 1 2 acres and (2) a liberal diet is 2 1 acres The authors conclude that "judged by these figures it is clear that India is not producing sufficient food for its present population." According to Sarkar the procedure is fallacious. The acreage available discussed in the first statement has reference to India while the acreage required for different kinds of food refers to the U.S.A. He felt that there was no logical and necessary connection between the two orders of phenomena and questioned the reasonableness of the conclusion that "India is not producing sufficient food for its present population."

In the same paper Russell and Raja make use of Megaw's inquires into rural nutrition problems. "The dispensary doctors," we are told, "regard 39 per cent of the people as being well nourished, 4 per cent poorly nourished and 20 per cent very badly nourished." The conclusion is that "malnutrition is widespread among the inhabitants of rural India." Sarkar did not challenge this conclusion as an objective statement. But he thought that as the authors were discussing the problems of policy for India in regard to food and population it should be proper to point out at the same time that in practically every country a certain percentage of the population might be demonstrated to be under-nourished according to the customary standard prevailing there. The demonstration has indeed come, said Sarkar, from the investigations of the calorie experts published by the League of Nations (*Workers' Nutrition and Social Policy*, Geneva, 1936 pp. 76-78, 193).

On the strength of such evidences Russell and Raja conclude that "India is overpopulated." According to Sarkar there was no harm in drawing that conclusion provided the authors were prepared also to do the same in regard to all those regions of the world where malnutrition was demonstrated to exist by the physiologists and calorie-experts, for instance, even in England, Germany and other prosperous countries.*

* The paper on "The Population Studies of Benoy Sarkar" is based on a number of talks given by Mr. S. N. Dutt before libraries and clubs in Calcutta during 1939.

THE ALLEGED INFERIOR RACES AND CLASSES IN BENOY SARKAR'S SOCIAL EUGENICS

By Rabindra Nath Ghose, M A , B L , Author of *Taka-Kadi* (Money) and *Lok-bahulyer Atanka* (The Scare of Overpopulation)

In recent years sociologists and philosophers have been speaking about the decay of civilization and culture Spengler, Rolland, Gini, and others in Europe have been discussing the problem of the regression of Western civilization In our own country statistics show an increase in the birth-rate of the alleged lower classes. Certain sociologists and publicists, therefore, have become nervous and have been proclaiming that the Hindus of Bengal are doomed if some means are not devised to check the growth of the so-called lower class Hindus. The idea behind such theories is that a particular caste or race is superior to some other castes or races. In other words, Brahmans, Kayasthas and Baidyas of the Hindu community are postulated to be superior to Namasudras and others

Race-Mixture

Professor Benoy Sarkar refutes such theories To him it is the "replacements or absorptions of certain races by others that constitute the anatomical background of world-culture" Caste-fusion (*varna-sankara*) or race-intermixture, i e. miscegenation , is a millennium-old fact of India's social history according to Sarkar (*Creative India*, Lahore, 1937, pp 127-135). Equally profound have been the fusions between the Hindus and the Moslems through the ages. Even to-day, for instance, in Bengal, the aboriginals are gradually being Hinduized The aboriginals of yesterday are the depressed classes of to-day In forty years while Brahmans have grown 24 p.c., the Kayasthas have increased by 58 p.c. Differential fertility cannot alone account for this tremendous growth of the Kayasthas. Sarkar explains it thus: "A great deal is to be accounted for by invasions from castes whose upward trends have been manifest for a long time. In short, social stratification is not very rigid amongst the Hindus." Sarkar asserts that "neither in Bengal, nor indeed anywhere alse in the world can the rise of the alleged lower

races or alleged lower classes be treated as tantamount to regress or qualitative decline in Lapouge's sense, or uneugenic, anti-eugenic or dysgenic as Galton, Pearson and the biometricians of to-day would take it."

The Decline-Cult in Social Eugenics

The alleged lower race or class of to-day has turned out to be the superior race or class of to-morrow, so that the decline and fall of the high does not imply the decline and fall of civilization. Sarkar therefore says with emphasis that "even if all the people belonging to the higher castes were to be physically extinct the culture and wealth of Bengal would not be endangered but continue to flourish." This is a very salutary contribution to social thought at the present moment when the "Communal Award" is being vigourously discussed. Looking at the Communal Award problem thus "there should be no room for economic, political, social or cultural scares of any sort as regards the consequences of an eventual predominance of 'scheduled' and other depressed classes. It is utterly unscientific to assume a cagogenic or dysgenic predominance in the upheaval of the alleged 'lower' castes or classes." Individuals of the disfranchised classes of old have proved themselves to be at par with individuals of the privileged classes in brain, character and self-sacrifice. The social classes of a community are "fluid bodies incorporating diverse racial elements at every point of time. Culture is constantly being enriched or rejuvenated with new values." Sarkar's theory of cultural progress is a new land-mark in contemporary social thought.

The Inferiors as Creators of New Epochs

In Sarkar's sociology, the "rising" races and classes are important categories. He makes a distinction between those races and classes that have already contributed to the civilization of mankind and those that are just commencing their careers. It is to these latter that he invites the special attention of eugenicists.

A question of considerable importance in the sociological studies of Sarkar is that relating to the re-making of history or the creation of new epochs in human development. The last chapter of his *Sociology of Population* (1936) is given over to the discussion of this topic. Sarkar stresses the fact that as a rule those races or classes which by the standard of the dominant races or classes

of the day are known to be low, inferior or inefficient happen to be the pioneers of new phases, stages or epochs of civilization. The following statement describes his position in regard to the eugenic potentialities of the alleged inferior races *vis-à-vis* the starting of new ages.

In material culture, arts and sciences as well as religious inspiration the rise of the Bengalis in recent times is, like that of the Japanese, but another testimony to the possibilities of world-progress being accomplished by races or peoples which are comparatively young and traditionless. In regard to the Bengalis as to the Japanese it is worth observing that their achievements in the past were not characterized by palpable creative influences on the life and thought of their neighbouring races or peoples. From the Mohenjo Daro epochs (c. 3500 B.C) down to the beginnings of the nineteenth century it was the rôle of the Bengali people mainly but to assimilate the creations of the non-Bengali races and peoples. The instances of the Bengali people as having left the solid mark of their own creations on the culture of Northern, Western and Southern India, as well as of "Greater India," i.e., in areas uninhabited by the Bengalis, during six thousand years were very few and far between. Emperor Dharmapala (c. 800 A.C.) with his exploits at Kanauj, Atisa, the scholar-saint of Tibetan fame (c. 1100), and Chaitanya (c. 1530), the apostle of Vaishnava faith, with influences in Assam and Orissa may perhaps be considered to be some of the Bengali creative forces such as happened to possess extra-Bengal dominion of one form or other.

In the nineteenth century, then, the Bengalis were at bottom one of the youngest races of India. The Ramakrishna-Vivekananda movement (1836-1902) represents a very significant landmark in Indian culture, in as much as it started the Bengali people virtually for the first time on to what may be regarded as a career of *charaiveti* (march on) and world-conquests. A Bengali period of culture-history was thus seen to be in the making It is in the *Swadeshi* movement of 1905 that the new social forces engendered by the Bengali people got recognized as a power among the powers in the world of culture. An interesting chronological coincidence, but which points to the same sociological agencies as the birth of Young Bengal is the simultaneous recognition of Japan as a world power in the political and military fields. For the qualitative and racial investigations into population questions the students of

demography and eugenics will then discover in the emergence of the "unhistoric," "traditionless" and "unknown" Japanese and Bengali peoples, as associated with the "ideas of 1905,"* profound "world-disturbers" such as are calculated to unsettle the settled dogmas and pioneer more fruitful doctrines in the problems of human progress and race-betterment. Present-day Bengal, like modern Japan, furnishes us with the sociological data bearing on new epochs or the beginnings of fresh epochs in world-culture.

The beginnings of new epochs such as can be seen in the Japan and Bengal of "our own times" are but paralleled by such phenomena in the socio-cultural conditions of the German people during the period (1744-1835), say, from Herder to Humboldt. It was then that for the first time German culture, still relatively "young" and "unknown" as it was, commenced its career of "world-conquests." The sociology of such beginnings deserves intensive research from demographists as well as eugenicists with a view to throwing more light on the problem of progress.

New epochs have very often been started by races or classes which from the platform of the dominant races or classes, i.e., the *élites* of the age, were declared in so many words to be "inferior," worthless, semi-civilized, "cacogenic" or "dysgenic," "unfit" or incompetent. It is in such beginnings of new epochs in world-culture among the alleged "inferior" races or classes of the day that we find objectively and historically disproved the chauvinistic contention of Lapouge in his paper on *La Race chez les populations mélangées* presented at the Second International Congress of Eugenics (New York 1921). In his judgment *les blancs* (the whites) and *les riches* (the rich) were pronounced to be identical with *les elements intellectuellement supérieurs* (the intellectually superior elements) and their work with *la civilisation elle-même* (civilization itself).

* B. K. Sarkar: *Futurism of Young Asia* (Berlin 1922), E. Spranger: "Das Wesen der deutschen Universität" in *Das akademische Deutschland* (Berlin 1930) Vol. III; "Wilhelm von Humboldt" in *Research and Progress* (Berlin) July 1935.

See also P. Ponoe: "Eugenics and Islam"; A. B. Wolfe: "Eugenics and Social Attitudes", L. I. Dublin: "The Higher Education of Women and Race Betterment" in *Eugenics in Race and State*, Vol. II. (Baltimore 1923), being the Scientific Papers of the Second International Congress of Eugenics (New York 1921).

It is time for the sciences of population and sociology to get emancipated from the unthinking proneness to establishing such equations between cacogenic (or dysgenic) factors and the "untried" (or "unhistorical") races on the one hand and the poorer and "lower" classes on the other. The scare propagated by Lapouge, Leonard Darwin and other eugenicists to the effect that the age of the rise of the "races" that are known to be "inferior" and of the poorer "classes" is tantamount to the epoch of *la barbarie des contemporains du mammouth* (the barbarism of the contemporaries of the mammoth) or that "the nation as a whole is slowly and steadily deteriorating as regards its average inborn qualities" ought to have no place in positive or speculative science. For, neither the poor nor the young (or the unknown) can be postulated to be dysgenic. Eugenic "fitnesses" or good stocks and strains are 'widely distributed" among the diverse races and classes. The possibilities of progress may then be taken to be assured for mankind.*

The ideas about the sociology of new epochs in world-culture as contained in the above statement evidently go against the views generally held by social thinkers, especially by eugenicists. The different schools of eugenics, biological as well as social (and political), have been dealt with by Sarkar in the *Political Philosophies Since* 1905, Vol. I. (Madras 1928), Vol. II. (Lahore 1939). Perhaps his own position in social eugenics as manifest in the above statement may be considered to be in general sympathy with the standpoints of Hobhouse in *Social Evolution and Political Theory* (New York 1911), Hankins in *The Racial Basis of Civilization* (New York 1924) and Haldane in *Heredity and Politics* (London 1938).

The Illiterates as No Less Creative than the School-going Classes

Closely allied to this doctrine about the creation of new epochs in world-culture by the alleged inferior races is Sarkar's conception of the creative power of the illiterate classes. The intellectual ability and moral worth of these classes are to be found among

* For two conflicting views see A. Loria: *The Psycho-physical Elite and the Economic Elite* a paper for the First International Eugenics Congress, London, 1912, and L. Darwin: *The Need for Eugenic Reform* (London 1926), pp. 318, 327 (Is the race deteriorating?) See also Sarkar: *Science of History and the Hope of Mankind* (London 1912)

the most fundamental conclusions of Sarkar's social thought. From the standpoint of social eugenics Sarkar has thereby made a valuable contribution. It is well known that the mass of Bengali population consisting of the peasants, coolies, labourers, factory workers, etc. can neither read nor write. Yet if a comparison of intelligence, character, sense of duty etc. be made it would be found, says Sarkar, that they compare favourably with school-masters, lawyers, deputy magistrates, doctors, journalists or political leaders—the *élites* of the society. In his appraisal the *mistri*, the *coolie*, the peasant are as educated and cultured, although unable to read and write, as are the lawyers, doctors and members of other higher professions. Hence Sarkar concludes that "the illiterate is not a person who deserves to be differentiated from the so-called educated as an intellectual and moral being. Our observations entitle us to the creed that political suffrage should have nothing to do with literacy."

The chapter on "Eugenic Forces among the Alleged Inferior Races and Classes" in his *Sociology of Population* contains the following statement about the illiterates as no less creative, educated and cultured than the school-going classes.

It is time for us to examine objectively some of the experiences that Indian educationists and social workers have picked up during the last generation in the course of contacts with the different racial, linguistic and religious elements in the population. Those nationalists who have been serving the working classes as promoters or organizers of trade-unions can certainly help us with the results of some of their discoveries in this regard. The inspectors who are officially connected with the co-operative credit movement among the peasant classes are also in a position to enrich us with reports about what they have discovered in the character and aptitude of the families with which they had come into contact. The activities of the Ramakrishna-Vivekananda Mission and other social service propagandists who in one way or other are connected with the untouchables will also serve to throw light on the personal qualifications of those men and women whose lives as a rule have lain beyond the grasp and imagination of literary men, journalists and patriots. It should appear that the railway coolies, plantation labourers, mine-workers, factory labourers, peasants, in other words, those occupational classes which constitute the majority of the "gainfully employed" population,—the

"masses,"—who have so long remained submerged in Indian society do not necessarily possess an intelligence and moral character inferior to those of the persons, who academically, professionally and economically belong to the upper ten thousands

From the standpoints of demographic larithmics and eugenics this is one of the greatest discoveries in regard to the social make-up of the Indian people. Let us be perfectly clear. We are speaking here of those men and women who happen to be "unlettered" (90 6%). It is to be noted that we are not using the word "uneducated." By the word "unlettered" is to be understood a person who cannot read and write. The distinction that we make here is of profound significance in regard to the appraisal of human "values." A man who is unable to read and write is not necessarily uneducated or uncultured. Literacy is an essentially modern phenomenon, but culture and education have been going on in the human race for thousands of years. There were millions of cultured and educated men and women during the primitive, ancient and mediaeval epochs of history even in those regions and among those races where reading and writing were unknown. In other words, human intelligence is not as a rule dependent very much on book-learning and school-going. The natural intelligence as well as practical experience of the teeming millions among the illiterates of India are, therefore, very valuable intellectual assets. The cultivators, the blacksmiths, the spinners, the weavers, the potters, the basket-makers, the *mistris* (mechanicians), the cottage builders, the boatmen, and sailors etc. of India possess an intelligence which has been sharpened by the practice and traditional experience of ages, and in this intelligence and experience they are equal to the Japanese, Italians, Frenchmen, Germans, English, and Americans. Class for class, the Indian *mistris*, carpenters and other hand-workers as well as the cultivators of India can challenge competition with their comrades of any nationality on the surface of the earth in regard to natural intelligence and mother-wit independent of machinery and tools.

We may now institute a comparison of these illiterates with those who have acquired "education" in schools and colleges. In other words let us compare the peasants and mechanicians of India with the school-masters, lawyers, deputy-magistrates, doctors, journalists and political leaders. There is hardly anybody among the so-called educated classes who would venture to assert

that as intelligent persons, that is, as men and women of common sense, the cultivators and *mistris* do not understand the problems of their daily life, their family requirements, their village surroundings in the same way as do the school-masters, lawyers, *Swadeshi*-preachers and so on. Those who know the illiterates intimately admit, as a rule, that the fact of being ignorant in regard to reading and writing does not render them incapable of comprehending the interests of themselves, their families as well as their neighbours. On the other hand, it is also necessary to observe that a school-master, a lawyer or a doctor is after all an expert in one, two or three things of life. These alleged "educated" persons can claim proficiency only in a very limited sphere of interests. The doctor is not an authority in problems connected with engineering, the engineer in questions involving a knowledge of botany, the chemist in questions of astronomy, and so on The highest that one can possibly claim for these intellectual classes is that some one is a specialist in a particular line and a certain person in another.

Now, agriculture is also a profession of very great importance. The men and women therefore who are experts in agriculture, that is, the illiterate cultivators, therefore deserve the same consideration from the other members of the community as a lawyer does from the engineer and an astronomer from the chemist. Professions are to be respected as professions. The agricultural profession does not demand less intelligence, less dexterity, less shrewdness, less commonsense, less organizing ability than do the so-called learned professions. The same remarks hold good in regard to the profession of the blacksmith, weaver, potter and so on. The *mistri*, the cultivator and others in the so-called manual professions are as educated and cultured, although unable to read and write, as are the lawyers, doctors and the professors.

We are prepared to go a step beyond and assert that as a "moral person," that is, as one who as a free agent discharges the duty of his life in regard to himself, his family and his neighbours, the lawyer, the doctor or the professor is not necessarily superior to the *kishan*, coolie, *majur*, *mistri*, and all other manual workers. Let the members of the so-called "educated class" place their hands on their breasts and compare their character as sons and daughters, as parents, as uncles or aunts, as guardians, as nephews and nieces with those of the cultivators, independent handicraftsmen, etc. It is possible to assert that the peasant as a class in his

moral obligations and sense of duty towards relatives and kinsfolk as well as to the neighbours, lives on a lower plane than members of the so-called educated class. In regard to other functions of moral life also we can institute a comparison and we shall come to the conclusion that in regard to the activities involving money matters, the engineer, the contractor, the school-master, the land-owner, the factory director and others do not as a rule enjoy an enviable position such as might give points to the members of the unlettered classes. We can take other items of private and public morality and we shall find that in criminal statistics, the *kishan*, the *mistri* and the *majur* do not figure oftener and in larger numbers, proportionally speaking, than do men and women of the so-called superior classes.

These discoveries, based on the experience of a very large number of public workers and scholars lead us inevitably to the proposition that the illiterate is not a person who deserves to be differentiated from the so-called educated as an intellectual and moral being. And on the strength of such discoveries we are prepared to formulate a doctrine which should counteract the superstition that has been propagated in Eur-America and later in Asia as well as of course in India to the effect that literacy should be the basis of political suffrage. Our observations entitle us to the creed that political suffrage should have nothing to do with literacy. The illiterate has a right to political life and privilege simply because of the sheer fact that as a normal human being he has factually demonstrated his intellectual strength and moral or civic sense. The rights of the illiterate ought to constitute in social psychology the foundation of a new democracy. A universal suffrage independent of all considerations as to school-going, ability to read and write, or other tests should be the very first postulate of social economics. Those of our countrymen who are equipping themselves for the task of conducting the movements of the Indian people have been somewhat disabusing their minds of the pretentions of schools and colleges in regard to their contributions to political preparedness. It is because the claims of the intellectual ability as well as of the moral worth of the millions of unlettered men and women of India are being objectively considered and appraised in a proper manner that the Indian people has been successful in opening a new creative chapter in the history of its social energism.

THE SEVEN CREEDS OF BENOY SARKAR

By Mrs. Ida Sarkar *née* Stieler
Author of *Edelweiss and Alprose* (New York)

From time to time Benoy Sarkar has published his generalizations on education, morality, culture, progress, economic development, religion, and national welfare in the form of *sutras* or concise statements of principles.* These principles are based inductively on his investigations or studies incorporated in the books as well as derived from contacts with men and things.

I. The Educational Creed (1910)

The first statement of Sarkar's *sutras* is to be found in the *Sikshanusasana* (Educational Creed). It was published first in Bengali and then in English and Hindi in 1910. This creed is being reproduced below:

"A. General

I. Aim and criterion of education twofold: the pupil must grow up to be (i) intellectually, a discoverer of truths and a pioneer of learning; (ii) morally, an organizer of institutions and a leader of men.

II. Moral training to be imparted not through lessons culled from moral and religious text books, but through arrangements by which the student is actually made to develop habits of self-sacrifice and devotion to the interests of others by undertaking work of philanthropy and social service.

III. To build up character and determine the aim or mission of life, (i) the "design," plan, and personal responsibility of a single guide-philosopher-friend, and (ii) the control of the whole life and career of the student are indispensable. These circumstances provide the precondition for true spiritual education.

IV. Educational institutions and movements must not be made planks in political, industrial, social or religious agitations and pro-

* See Dr. L. M. Basu's "Publishers' Preface" to Sarkar: *Introduction to Hindu Positivism,* which is Vol. I. of the second edition of the *Positive Background of Hindu Sociology* (Allahabad, 1937).

pagandas, but controlled and governed by the science of education based on the rational grounds of sociology.

"B. Tutorial

I. Even the most elementary course must have a multiplicity of subjects with due inter-relation and co-ordination. Up to a certain stage the training must be encyclopaedic and as comprehensive as possible.

II. The mother-tongue must be the medium of instruction in all subjects and through all standards. And if in India the provincial languages are really inadequate and poor, the educationist must make it a point to develop and enrich them within the shortest possible time by a system of patronage and endowments on the "protective principle."

III. The sentence, not word, must be the basis of language-training, whether in inflexional or analytical tongues, even in Sanskrit; and the Inductive Method of proceeding from the known to the unknown, concrete to the abstract, facts and phenomena to general principles, is to be the tutorial method in all branches of learning.

IV. Two foreign languages besides English and at least two provincial vernaculars must be made compulsory for all higher culture in India.

"C. Organizational

I. Examinations must be daily. The day's work must be finished and tested during the day. And terms of academic life as well as the system of giving credit should be not by years or months but according to subjects or portions of subjects studied Steady and constant discipline, both intellectual and moral, are possible only under these conditions.

II. The laboratory and environment of student-life must be the whole world of men and things. The day's routine must therefore provide opportunities for self-sacrifice, devotion, recreations, physical culture, sports, excursions, etc. as well as pure intellectual work. There should consequently be no long holidays or periodical vacations except when necessitated by pedagogic interests."

II. The Creed of Life (1914)

The second creed issued by Benoy Sarkar is known as *The Creed of Life*. It was prepared in English early in 1914 before his departure for the foreign countries. These *sutras* are stated below :

A. The Conflict Eternal

1. Consider yourself to be *sacred*. Never allow others to exploit you for their ends.
2. Your soul is pure, majestic, free. Always remember this and try to *be yourself*.
3. It is easy to be misled by circumstances. Through God's *grace* you may be placed on your own path. Follow it up when you get it.
4. Life's *struggle* does not end anywhere. It continues for ever. Equip yourself accordingly.

B. Ways and Means

1. Respect yourself and have *confidence* in your strength. You will then be able to help yourself
2. You will have to be constantly on the alert to *create* your own opportunities to raise yourself up. Opportunities may not present themselves before you without your seeking.
3. By always *contemplating* on the great and the good you will grow into the great and the good.

C. The Power of Will

1. There is greater future before you than you can imagine at present. Never fear that you may fall down but always *hope* for the higher.
2. The more you *persevere* in your new life, the stronger and more powerful you will grow. The struggle itself will increase your moral and spiritual resources.
3. Yourself is your *best friend* and helper.

III. The Postulates of Young India (1916)

Benoy Sarkar's third statement of *sutras* or general principles is known as *The Postulates of Young India*. It was published at Shanghai (China) in 1916 during the second year of the Great War (1914-18). It runs as follows:

A. Statical

1. Humanity is fundamentally one,—in psychology, logic, ethics, aesthetics and metaphysics—(i) inspite of physical and physiognomic varieties, and (ii) inspite of age-long historic prejudices.

2. There are no race-types or race-geniuses—no Oriental or Occidental ideals of existence—no national characteristics (e.g. Hindu, Saracen, Chinese, German, English, Greek, Egyptian etc.) —(i) inspite of local, geographical and linguistic modifications, and (ii) inspite of the so-called 'social minds' or group-units brought about by the conditions of political homogeneity. Besides, types are in perpetual flux.

3. Differences are essentially individual. Personalities of men and women do not depend on the world's latitudes and longitudes. The same personality, the same character, the same idiosyncracy, the same genius, the same 'gift' are found to exist in individuals who live as the poles asunder, and do not necessarily exist as a mark of *esprit de corps* among a group of men and women inhabiting a common area of the earth's surface.

4 Human life is never governed by religion which is everywhere a brilliant superstition consisting in the vain effort to understand the nature of God, but by the desire and power to live and flourish by responding to the thousand and one stimuli of the universe and utilizing the innumerable *vishva-shakti* (world-forces). This desire and power is the basis of civilization, culture, *Kultur* or *dharma*, and is spiritual in its very nature, if anything spiritual there be. So-called materialism has never existed in any epoch of civilization or in any phase of *dharma*.

B. Dynamic

I. Political Development

1. The territorial limits of nationality, or political boundaries, i e., state-areas have changed almost every generation. They have never been co-extensive with the so-called racial, cultural, religious, natural or even linguistic areas. They have been the results of the conjuncture of circumstances in each instance, which could not be exactly foreseen by statesmen. And this both in the East and in the West.

2. The so-called cultural unities have not necessarily led to national or political unities, nor have the so-called nation-states ever been the embodiment of single-homogeneous culture-types. Political unity inspite of cultural diversity, and political disunion inspite of cultural uniformity have been the verdict of universal history.

II. Cultural Development

1. The progress of the nineteenth century and the sixteen years of the twentieth in discoveries and inventions is a unique phenomenon in the history of six millenniums. But Eur-America, which is mainly responsible for this the latest and recent phase of culture, and Asia, which has contributed almost nothing to it, had been equally "primitive" or pre-"scientific" and pre-"industrial" down to nearly the end of the eighteenth century, if judged by the standard of to-day. Neither politically nor culturally was there East or West till then. It is the subordination of the East to the West in recent times both in politics and culture that has inspired the bombastic Jingo fallacy: "East is East, and West is West." The Jingo need remember that the history of the Middle Ages was really the history of the Expansion of Asia towards Southern and Eastern Europe. The "superior races" of those times (A.C. 600-1600) were the Islamites and Buddhist-Hindu Tartars of Asia.

2. The new ideas, aspirations, movements, etc. engendered by the steam-and-machine age are revolutionary not only to Asians but also to Eur-Americans. The economic, political, military, social and domestic polities of the West prior to these epoch-making triumphs of the human intellect did not differ, except superficially and in a few trifling incidents, from the contemporary institutions obtaining in Asia. The institutions and ideals, the achievements and experiments, the motives and inspirations, the theories and hypotheses, the fads and hobbies prevailing to-day in England, Germany, France and America should not consequently be regarded by unbiased investigators of facts as any thing (i) peculiarly occidental or (ii) non-oriental or (iii) unsuited to oriental "genius" or (iv) antagonistic to the "spirit" of the Orient or (v) materialistic. Scientifically speaking, all these are to be honestly known (i) as modern, constituting one of the phases of the world's evolution, and (ii) as spiritual to the same extent and in the same sense as anything in previous epochs of human culture since the Pharaonic and Vedic ages. These can, therefore, be availed of by, and assimilated to, any system of human polity according to the stage and requirements of its growth (e.g. as has been done by Japan without practically changing any of her old-Asian institutions, ideals, prejudices and superstitions).

C. Practical

1. India and the World.—India was never shunted off from the main track of humanity's progress, but has always grown in contact with, by giving to and taking from, the moving currents of world's life and thought. India had no epoch of "splended isolation" but, like every other country, had its values tested by the universal standard of merit-measurement. So-called Hindu ideals there are none; there is nothing exclusively Indian in Hindu culture; any idea, fact or truth alleged to be the essential characteristic of the "spirit of Hindusthan" is at the same time the essential feature of the genius of other lands. Young India of to-day is, therefore, not to approach culture or *dharma* in terms of geographical limits or indigenous, i e. national race-ideals but drink of it and add to it as a growing stream of universal life-promoting truths;—thereby compelling the world's recognition of its powers and services as a living member of the human race.

The modern world has thrown out the following challenge to Young India with its three hundred and fifteen million souls: "The number of first-class men and women in the arts and sciences, liberal and applied, and in every walk of life, which India can exhibit to-day must be six times that of those in England or Germany or France or Japan or three times that of those in the U.S.A. before you can have a legitimate claim to world's respect. The world does not care to take note of your difficulties and hindrances and to meet you half-way. It is your own look-out to solve them by devising adequate ways and means." The sole mission of Young India is to ponder over this challenge, accept it boldly if possible, and make the necessary preparations to meet the world's demand in defiance of all apathies and antipathies.

2. India is not one, but many. The motto of Young India is to be not unity at any cost, but efficiency. Emphasis should be laid not so much on solidarity as on the acquisition of strength by all means.

IV. A Scheme of Economic Development for Young India (1924-1925)*

While Benoy Sarkar was at Bolzano in Italy he issued in 1924 a comprehensive *Scheme of Economic Development for Young*

* See Appendix V. *Economic Planning for Bengal* (March 1933); and

India. This is his fourth creed and was published in *extenso* in many of the dailies, weeklies and monthlies of India during 1925, for example, in the *Modern Review* (Calcutta, July 1925). The main provisions of this "economic planning," all-embracing as it is, are as follows:

A. Fundamental Considerations

1. Indian poverty is in reality unemployment on a continental scale.
2. Industrialism is the cure for poverty in so far as it can create employment in diverse fields.
3. Foreign capital is to be treated as a God-send, so far as larger schemes of industrialization are concerned.
4. At the present moment Indian capital should be considered as somewhat adequate for modest enterprises only.

B The Programme: Economic Enterprises, Class by Class

I. Peasants
   1. Larger holdings wanted.
   2. New employments for peasants to be opened in the "cottage industries."
   3. Co-operative societies not only for credit but also for marketing, irrigation etc.
   4. Combines for sale.

II. Artisans
   1. Improved appliances to be introduced.
   2. Schools for handicrafts a technical necessity.
   3. Banks for handicrafts or cottage industries a financial desideratum.

III. Retail Traders
   1. Schools for petty merchants (in combination with the schools for artisans).
   2. Banks for shopkeepers.

Economic and Financial Creed (July 1934) in S. N. Das-Gupta's "Some Economic Teachings of Benoy Sarkar", *Supra*, pp. 93-97.

These three economic programmes of 1925, 1933 and 1934 are to be read together.

IV. Industrial Workers
1. Trade unions to be promoted.
2. Right to strike and other demands to be conceded.
3. Co-operative stores in order that workingmen may lower the cost of living.

V. Landowners of the Richer Categories
1. Large scale farming to be undertaken by them.
2. Modern industries to be started with their capital resources.
3. Export-Import business to be conducted.
4. Insurance companies to be established.
5. Banks of all denominations to be organized.

VI. Exporters and Importers
1. Banks for foreign trade to be created for them.
2. Overseas insurance to be started.
3. Commercial News Bureaus to be organized by them.
4. Foreign language and commercial geography classes to be established.
5. Indian commercial agencies in foreign countries.

VII. Moneyed Classes
1. Modern industries of three categories, (a) small, (b) medium and (c) large or giant, to be established by these classes in the same manner as by the richer landowners.
2. Export and Import.
3. Insurance societies.
4. Banks.
5. Legislation against usury a social necessity.

VIII. Intellectuals
1. New professions as technical or other assistants and directors in the new industries and trades.
2. Existing services in Government offices to be Indianized.
3. Co-operative stores and housing societies.
4. Handicrafts and Trades Schools for the children of the intellectual classes.
5. Pioneers of economic development,—"economic general staff"—to be trained for every district by sending competent scholars to foreign countries.

V. National Welfare Policies (1932-33)

A programme of policies for *Deshonnati* (national welfare) was formulated by Benoy Sarkar at Calcutta during 1932-33.* The policies are indicated below:

I. Rural Welfare Policy

1. Utilization of the existing "developmental" institutions (sanitary, co-operative, economic, administrative, technical and educational) with a view to better the condition of the villages and raise the material and cultural status of the peasant, artisan and allied classes.

2. Protecting the landowning (*Zamindar*) and money-lending (*Mahajan*) classes with a view to enable them to use their financial resources in the interest of agriculture, land-reclamation and rural industries.

II. Economic Policy

1. Promoting the industrialization of Bengal: (a) by mobilizing (i) *Zamindari* capital, (ii) *Mahajan* capital, and (iii) *Chashi* capital (through co-operative societies and savings banks), as well as (b) by (i) state aid and (ii) import of foreign capital.

2. Compulsory sickness insurance among all wage-earners and salaried persons.

3. Legislation (i) to reform the Hindu and Mussalman laws of inheritance and partition in regard to land, (ii) to introduce the principle of "selected heirs" such as can be authorized to buy out the co-sharers, and (iii) to facilitate the consolidation of holdings.

4. Appointment of a permanent Bureau of Economic Development for investigations, research and counsel on current problems.

III. Sanitary Policy

Enactment of Public Health Act.

IV. Social Policy

1. Expansion of opportunities for Mussalmans, the depressed classes, and aboriginals in every sphere of life's interests.

2. Appointment of a permanent Bureau of Social Development (Races, Castes and Religions) as an organ of public administration.

* For instance, in *Forward* (Calcutta) for March 15, 1932.

V. International Policy

1. Establishment of Bengali trade agencies in foreign countries in order to promote the sale of India's agricultural produce.

2. Appointment of Economic Commissions in foreign countries to facilitate the import of machineries and capital on favourable terms.

3. Utilization of the Empire Development and allied schemes (tariff, currency, etc.) in India's interest.

VI. Religion, Society and the Individual (1937)*

The sixth creed of Benoy Sarkar is that bearing on the expansion of humanism and toleration in religion as a conspicuous fact of modern civilization. He believes that this expansion has been brought about by the transformation of the society and past tradition on account of the creative activities of the individual. This creed was formulated by him at the International Parliament of Religions held at Calcutta under the auspices of the Ramakrishna Centenary Committee in March 1937. The creed is reproduced below:

I. Growth of Humanism in Religion

While discussing the problems and methods of futuristic reconstruction in the domain of religion it would be quite worth while to orient ourselves to some of the factual and objective realities in the modern religions of the world. The most outstanding fact of the present day is to be found in the remarkable progress of mankind in religious consciousness. The growth and expansion of liberalism, wide-awakeness, toleration, and humanism have to be recognized as some of the profoundest ingredients in the actual religious behaviour and sentiments of nations. Mankind is to-day more religious, more appreciative, more tolerant, more humane, and more spiritual than it ever was.

II. Mutual Conversion Advancing in East and West

Even half a century ago, say, about the time that the Parliament of Religions was convened at Chicago (1893), the Christian was almost exclusively a Christian and hardly anything else. During

* See *The Religions of the World*, Vol. II. (Remakrishna Mission Institute of Culture, Calcutta, 1938), pp. 983-85.

those days the Moslem was likewise merely a Moslem and a Moslem only. It was difficult, nay, impossible for him to be at the same time something other than Moslem. The psychological attitudes of the Hindu were similar. The Hindu was as a rule almost nothing but Hindu.

But in the course of the last fifty years or so the religious ideologies and orientations of men and women in East and West have undergone a considerable transformation. To-day the Christian Bible is quoted in season and out of season by the Buddhists, the Zoroastrians, the Moslems and the Hindus. The Chinese *Tao-te-ching* and the Indian *Gita,* on the other hand, constitute the daily food of hundreds of thousands of Germans, French, Italians, Englishmen and Americans. And the Hindus are likewise inclined to cite verses from the *Koran* or other Islamic texts in the interest of their day-to-day moral life. The appreciation of other peoples' faiths, sacred books and inspiring messages constitutes the most abiding fact in the psycho-social *milieu* of the recent generations. The religious and moral *rapprochement* may be described generally as a sort of mutual conversion on an international or world-wide scale. The Hindu has grown into the Christian and the Moslem, just as the Christian and the Moslem have grown into the Hindu. Without formal conversion or even consciousness as to the fact of the change the silent absorption of other faiths by men and women in the different corners of the globe is a stupendous reality of the modern religions.

III. Transformation of Tradition

The second great reality is to be observed in the methods by which this tremendous transformation—this mutual conversion on an international scale—has been consummated. The Christian has deliberately and self-consciously chosen to translate and assimilate the non-Christian texts for his own moral and spiritual expansion. The attempts of the Hindu to imbibe life-building forces from the non-Hindu world are no less deliberate and purposive. And so on with the Confucianists, Mussalmans, Buddhists, Zoroastrians and others.

The process seems to be confined formally to the literary, aesthetic, nay, archaeological, philological, and anthropological fields. But the impact of these innocent intellectual and scientific interests on the religious and deeply spiritual foundations of the

investigators, researchers and scientists and on large groups of their "lay" countrymen has been revolutionary. The Christian has been trying in a conscious manner to change his tradition, modify his society and transform his past, and add something new to his inheritances. In the Hindu world also the efforts to improve upon the past, the society, and the tradition and to re create the moral and social surroundings, are equally patent.

IV. The Individual as the Re-creator of his Heritage

During all these years mankind has been functioning both in East and West as the re-creator of its heritage. It is the purposive, goalful and self-determined initiative of individual men and women, endowed as they are with creative intelligence and will, that has been prominent in the psycho-social remakings of recent years. Man has been rising to the full stature of his spiritual being by refusing to allow the society and the tradition, embodying as they do the past, to shape the destiny of the present generation. On the other hand, man has been trying to demolish the tradition, the society and the past and shatter them to pieces or rather enrich them with the new creations of his self-conscious personality. The region, the climate, the race, the historic legacy, the custom and the tradition have therefore been retiring more and more into the background of religious institutions and conduct and are being replaced by the experiments, or adventures in futurism, assimilations, absorptions, discoveries and inventions of to-day. It is the enormous expansion of man's individuality, creativeness and futuristic might that is responsible for the transformation of the society and the tradition in Christendom as much as in Hindustan, China and the rest of the world. And in the interest of further progress in matters religious we should have to build on these demonstrable realities of the expansion in liberalism and toleration consummated up till now.

V. A New Epoch of Rejuvenation

At the present moment we have to start with a conviction about these recent triumphs of the human spirit. The fact that even in the epoch of technocracy and industrialism mankind has known how to assert its creative might and rise above the region, the social bonds and the racial limitations should furnish us with tremen-

dous incentives in regard to the socio-religious planning of the world and the spiritual remaking of humanity for to-day and to-morrow. The new forms that the human psyche has assumed in modern times entitle us to the hope that the world is now in for an epoch of rejuvenation in humanism.

VII. Progress Planning as a Scheme of Emancipation on Five Fronts (1939)*

Benoy Sarkar's seventh creed deals with "five freedoms" and is entitled *Progress Planning as a Scheme of Emancipation on Five Fronts*. It was first published in *India To-morrow* (Calcutta) for March 1939, and runs as follows:

1. Emancipation from Calcutta

The cultural, economic and political life of Bengal is dominated by Calcutta. The emancipation of the *Mofussil* (interior) is one of the pressing needs of the Bengali people at the present time. Among the despotisms that young Bengal should take upon itself to combat with all the force it can command is the despotism of Calcutta. The twenty-eight districts of Bengal should each one try to develop for itself its own political leaders, industrial pioneers and cultural experts. These *Mofussil* leaders ought to be efficient and powerful enough to go on without being bossed by Calcutta leaders.

2. Emancipation from Richer Classes

No less prejudicial to the progress of the Bengali as well as entire Indian people is the dominance of the richer classes in the cultural, economic and political activities of the country. The poorer classes are not getting adequate chances for asserting themselves in any field. Progress-planning would require the creation of opportunities such as may enable the poorer classes to contribute political leaders, cultural re-makers and industrial experts.

3. Emancipation from Translations and Commentaries in Philosophy

A most serious handicap of the Bengali as indeed of the entire Indian people at the present moment is the absence of an original

* Announced in a lecture at Canning Hostel (Bangabasi College), Calcutta on 11 February, 1939.

and creative philosophy among its scholars and men of letters. The Indian *intelligentsia* has failed to produce in modern times and even in the 20th century a set of thinkers who may be described as philosophers in the strictest sense of the term. Most of the publications of Indian scholars in the field of philosophy are mere translations from old Sanskrit, Pali, Arabic or Persian texts. Very often they are paraphrases or commentaries. At times these works are chiefly of an antiquarian or philological character dealing with the dates of ancient Indian philosophers and the meanings of some of the technical terms in ancient and mediaeval books of the Hindus and Mussalmans. At best most of the so-called philosophical writings of the modern and contemporary Indian authors are researches into the past history of Indian thought and culture. Such researches are to be appreciated in the main as historical contributions. They should by no means be treated as genuine contributions to philosophy.

One can offer illustrations from Eur-America where no scholar would be regarded as a philosopher solely on the strength of writing essays or books on the history of philosophy in ancient Greece or history of mediaeval European philosophy or modern thought from Kant to Dilthey, Croce, Bergson, Russell and Dewey. The thought leaders of Young India, while appreciating translations as translations and the history of thought as history of thought, should at the same time take immediate steps by which the Indian intellectuals may be emancipated from the despotism of the past, the despotism of translations, the despotism of paraphrases and commentaries, as well as the despotism of history.

4. Emancipation form Birth Despotism

The fourth despotism against which Young India will have to struggle seriously is the despotism of birth. The millions of men and women who do not belong to the so-called higher castes and superior races are being deprived of the chances to contribute to the cultural, economic and political leadership of the country. Adequate opportunities are to be created for the alleged inferior races, classes and castes in order that their creative faculties may be harnessed in the remaking of Indian manhood.

The despotism of birth creates a scandalous situation not only among the Hindus but also among the Mussalmans. There is a great deal of social injustice perpetrated among the Mussalmans by

their so-called higher castes in their dealings with the Momin classes throughout India. Then there are a few handfuls of Mussalmans whose ancestors came from Baghdad or Bokhara and on the strength of this ancestry they terrorise socially the crores of full-blooded Indian Mussalmans. In Bengal, for instance, the Mussalmans born of Bengali ancestors from both sides, who constitute the real children of the soil, have to suffer tremendous indignities from the few non-Bengali Mussalman families who may have come into Bengal from Bihar or the U.P. It is against this kind of blood-oligarchy or race-chauvinism or birth-despotism that the patriots among the Hindus and Mussalmans will have to rise in the interest of a progressive and powerful Bengali people.

5. Emancipation from the Literate Classes

The fifth great need of the hour is the emancipation of the illiterates from the tyranny of the literate (i.e. school-going) classes. In Bengal as in All-India there is the superstition prevalent that the literate classes are the only educated people on earth. But neither in general intelligence nor in moral character can the persons who are unable to read and write be proven to be inferior to those who have gone to school and can read or write.

The agricultural activities, the arts and crafts, etc. are no less instrumental in sharpening a person's intelligence and developing his creative powers than school-going and book-reading. The illiterates are not uneducated. Further, in neighbourly duties, social habits and moral qualities the illiterates are quite decent persons by any standard. In the statistics of criminals the literates (i e. school-goers) are relatively more in evidence than the illiterates in proportion to the total population of the country.

Political suffrage should not therefore be made dependent upon literacy. Universal suffrage should be the slogan of the hour and Young India should carry on an agitation with the object of declaring the rights of the illiterates as intellectual and moral persons.

THE NATIONAL SCHOOLS OF BENOY SARKAR*

By Birendra Nath Das-Gupta, B.S.E.E. (Purdue, Lafayette, U.S.A.), Managing Director, Indo-Europa Trading Co., Calcutta, Bombay, Rangoon, London, etc.

The Maldaha Jatiya Shiksha-Samiti (District Council of National Education, Malda) was established by Professor Benoy Sarkar at Malda on June 6, 1907 with Sj. Prankrishna Bhaduri, B.L., Pleader, as president, Sj. Radhes Chandra Seth, B.L., Pleader, and Maulavi Md. Nur Bux, Muktear, as Vice-Presidents and Sj. Bipin Bihari Ghosh, B.L., Pleader, as Secretary.

National Education and the Bengali Nation

The theoretical foundation of Sarkar's national schools is to be found in the manifesto he issued in Bengali and English in 1906 In July and August of that year his paper relating to the National Council of Education, Bengal was published by the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of Calcutta. This is reproduced as an Appendix in this work as *National Education and the Bengali Nation.*[1]

Administration Reports

The following extract from the *Report of the National Council of Education, Bengal* for 1911 furnishes an account of the national schools established by Professor Sarkar and conducted according to his ideas:[2]

"The District Council of National Education, Malda, has sent in a report of its work during 1911 from which it appears that the

* For the compilation of this report I have derived much help from Major B. D. Basu's Preface to Sarkar's *Introduction to the Science of Education* (London, 1913), Professor Banesvar Dass's Preface to Sarkar's *Badtir Pathe Bangali* (Bengalis in Progress, Calcutta 1934), Dr. L. M. Basu's Preface to Sarkar's *Introduction to Hindu Positivism* (Allahabad, 1937), as well as the *Annual Reports of the National Council of Education, Bengal* (Calcutta, 1907-1914) and the back numbers of *Gambhira* (1914-15).

1 See Shib Chandra Dutt's contribution in this book, p. 2, footnote 2. *National Education and the Bengali Nation* by Benoy Sarkar is printed in this work as an Appendix to Banesvar Dass's "Works of Benoy Sarkar."

2 See Appendix VI, *Shiksha-Sopan* (Steps to a University) by Benoy Sarkar, as well as M. N. Sarkar's contribution, pp. 43-48.

District Council has made fair progress all round. The following extracts from the report will be found interesting:

"Better arrangements have been made for the teaching of botany, physiology, physics, and chemistry. The Primary and Secondary schools managed and controlled by it have justified their existence by securing the sympathy of the public. There has also been an increase in the number of students and patrons.

"The Literary Research Department has been able to bring out several publications of historical, linguistic and educational importance. An account of the work done during the last five years in this section has been published separately in Bengali. Systematic attempts are being made to promote research and original investigations, and scholars and fellows have been appointed to carry on the work throughout the year.

"As notified in last year's report four student-teachers of the schools under the District Council have been sent to America to complete their education in the University of Wisconsin.

"The Fifth Standard National School at Sanihati in the District of Dacca which is controlled by the District Council of Malda is specially strong in its Carpentry Section and has made a name by supplying to customers from distant villages articles manufactured in its workshop. There has been a steady rise in the number of pupils, and the free school for girls in connection with this Institution has also done satisfactory work.

"Through all its Institutions the Malda Council has been imparting scientific, technical and ordinary instruction to something over 1000 students. It holds annually two public examinations at the primary fourth year and secondary second year standards on the results of which it offers certificates, prizes and monthly scholarships for higher education. It maintains a boarding house where a good many poor but deserving pupils live free of charge."

The *Report of the National Council of Education, Bengal* for 1912 has the following statement about the same schools:

"The Secretary of the District Council of National Education, Malda has sent an interesting account of the work of the District Council for 1912 from which we make the following extract:

"The Council has proceeded on the conviction that no individual should be left without the knowledge of a little arithmetic, a little practical science, a little literature and a little national history and that education in technology and applied sciences should

be so planned as to utilise the local resources and to meet the local needs. And to make education accessible to every home, the Council commenced the movement for the establishment of night schools.

"The following is a list of Educational Institutions controlled by the Council during the year 1912:

	Place.	Standard.	Distance from headquarters	No. of pupils on 31.12.12	Year of Foundation.
	Malda	Secondary 5th Standard		120	1907
2.	Malda	Night School		20	1908
3.	Kaligram	Secondary Third Standard	40 miles North	125	1908
4.	Kaligram	Girls' School	,,	40	1909
5.	Dharampur	Secondary 2nd Year	7 miles South	158	1908
6.	Dharampur	Girls' School			1912
7.	Dharampur	Night School		15	1912
8.	Malatipur	Secondary 2nd Year	35 miles North	45	1908
9.	Paranpur		18 miles N. W.	80	1908
10.	Jadupur		12 miles West	50	1908
11.	Narottampur	Secondary 1st Year	15 miles S. W.	70	1909
				731	

"The District Council is a purely educational body and has never lost sight of its mission as such. It has always considered its sole function to be that of carrying out as many as possible of the aims and objects enumerated in the Memorandum of Association registered by the National Council of Education. Besides the main education-work according to national lines as laid down in the Memorandum, the Council has, in the very beginning of its existence, founded a literary research department for the study of the antiquities, culture, and social and economic institutions of the district. The work of this department during the year under review has been quite stupendous.

"The District Council made special arrangements for the higher education of the advanced students of the schools in the district. Towards the end of the year 1911 four students who had passed the 7th Standard Examination of the National Council of Education, Bengal were sent to America with scholarships tenable there. Many other students have been sent to different parts of India to receive education in the middle of the year under review.

"In order to test the progress of pupils and to unify the standard followed in the schools the Council has held annual public examinations of the primary students of the district, and scholarships were awarded on the results of the examinations tenable in the school at headquarters.

"During the year under review, the instructive staff comprised 10 teachers in the literary and scientific departments of the *Adarsha Vidyalaya* and men working in the carpentry and smithy departments besides the Technical Superintendent and his Assistant. The Mofussil schools are reported to have no Technical Department but most of them had arrangements and teachers for elementary sciences. There were 10 teachers at Kaligram, 4 teachers at Malatipur, 4 teachers at Paranpur, 2 at Jadupur, 4 at Dharampur, and 2 at Narottampur.

"During the year under review, the laboratory and workshop of the *Adarsha Jatiya Vidyalaya* were tolerably equipped and several appliances were purchased and valuable additions made to the library.

"There is a boarding house attached to the *Adarsha Jatiya Vidyalaya* under the direct supervision of the authorities from the very beginning of its existence. There was a boarding house in 1912 at Paranpur also. Kaligram has a hostel from the day of its foundation.

"The central *Adarsha Vidyalaya* and the Boarding House attached to it are located from the very outset in rented buildings.

"The Schools in the Mofussil have their own houses and lands all along. Kaligram has had a *pucca* building since the very day of its birth.

"It would appear from the above account that the responsibility of the District Council is immense. The outlay, both initial and recurring, has necessarily been considerable. The following

schedule gives an idea of the expenditure incurred by the District Council during the year under review :

1.	Yearly establishment . . .	Rs. 7,850
2.	Buildings	660
3.	Hostels	300
4.	Scholarships	275
5.	Prizes	225
6.	Library, Laboratory and Workshop .	300
7.	Aids to Mofussil schools .	300
8.	Tours and inspection .	1,801
9.	Research Department ...	550
10	Training of teachers and maintenance of poor boys	3,000
	Total Rs	15,261

"Thus the grand total of the expenditure during the year under review amounted to Rs. 15,261.

"The Council records with pleasure that it was in receipt of a grant-in-aid of Rs. 50 per month from the National Council of Education, Bengal, during the year under review."

In the *Report of the National Council of Education, Bengal* for 1913 we find the following statement about the District Council, Malda :

" The aim of the Council is to make education accessible to every home. The Council has tired to give a new impetus to the movement for the establishment of night schools.

"The following is a list of the educational institutions affiliated to and controlled by District Council :

No.	Place	Standard
1.	Malda	Fifth Standard
2.	Kaligram	Secondary 3rd Year
3.	Kaligram	Girls' School
4.	Kaligram	Night Scool
5.	Dharampur	Secondary 2nd Year
6.	Malatipur	Primary 4th Year
7.	Paranpur	Secondary 2nd Year
8.	Jadupur	Secondary 1st Year
9.	Narottampur	Primary 4th Year
10.	Sanihati (Vikrampur, Dacca)	Fifth Standard
11.	Sanihati	Girls' School

"Training of Teachers. The Council has, from time to time, suffered much from the lamentable lack of men who may take to the work as teachers or organisers. So it felt a responsibility for training up a number of teachers. It has made a special arrangement for the higher education of the students of the schools affiliated to it. The scheme of training included, beside a comprehensive intellectual culture at home and school, regular practical education through taking part in the organisation of village education and tutorial work in schools. It may not be quite out of place here to mention that some of the student-teachers have been enjoying scholarships tenable in America.

"Inspection. The schools in Mofussil have been inspected more than once by the members of the Council and by the teaching staff of the central school. Care has throughout been taken to control the general policy on a uniform system, and to superintend both morals and studies.

"Help to poor students. The Council has tried to mitigate the evils of chill penury by coming forward to help the deserving students with free-studentship, living expenses and other aids."

"The following schedule gives an idea of the expenditure incurred by the District Council during the year under review

		Rs.
1.	Yearly Establishment	9,780
2.	Buildings	700
3.	Hostels	350
4.	Scholarships	275
5.	Prizes	280
6.	Library, Laboratory, Workshops .	240
7	Aids to the Mofussil schools .	300
8.	Tours and inspections	842
9	Research department . . .	650
10.	Training of teachers and maintenance of poor boys	4,000
	Total Rs.	17,410

The following account of the District Council of National Education, Malda, for 1914 was published in the *Report of the National Council of Education, Bengal* for 1914 (the first year of the Great War):

"Some of the Institutions affiliated to and controlled by the Council having closed, their number was reduced to 8.

"The following is a list of the recognized Institutions :

Place	*Standard*	*Number of pupils*
Malda . .	Fifth Standard .	52
,,	Night School ..	17
Kaligram .	Fifth Standard ...	93
,,	Girls' School .	22
Sanihati (Dacca)	Fifth Standard .	70
,,	Girls' School	27
Dharampur	Secondary 2nd Standard	52
Paranpur . .	,, ..	68
	Total	401

"Literary Research Department As a result of the work of this department during the year under review the Council expects to publish at an early date several books which are already in the press "

"Library and Workshop. There is a good Library of about 1,100 books at *Adarsha Jatiya Vidyalaya*, the laboratory and work shop are also tolerably well equipped Kaligram has a small Library and Laboratory Sanihati (Dacca) has a tolerably equipped Library of about 800 books and a small laboratory and a workshop. The other schools have small collections of books and appliances for daily use.

Inspection. The schools in the Mofussil have been inspected more than once by the members of the Council and by the teaching staff of the Central School. Care has been throughout taken to control the general policy on a uniform system and to superintend both morals and studies.

Help to poor Students. The Council has during the year under report helped several poor and deserving students with free studentships, boarding expenses and other aids.

"The District Council acknowledges with thanks the increment of its monthly grant-in-aid from Rs. 75 to Rs. 100 from the National Council of Education, Bengal."

Research Department

In addition to the schools maintained by the District Council of National Education, Malda there was conducted under this

organization a Research Department with which the following scholars were associated:

1. Sj. Radhes Chandra Seth, B.L. (Malda).
2. Professor Radha Kumud Mookerji, M.A., P.R.S. *Vidya-Vaibhava* (Benares), (Calcutta).
3. Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar, M.A *Vidya Vaibhava* (Benares), (Calcutta).
4. Sj. Bipin Bihari Ghosh, B.L. (Malda).
5. Professor Vidhu Sekhar Sastri (Malda)
6. Sj Aditya Nath Maitra (Malda).
7. Sj. Haridas Palit (Malda)
8. Professor Pramatha Nath Mukherji (Calcutta).
9. Sj. Kumud Nath Lahiri (Malda).
10. Sj. Nagendra Nath Chaudhury (Kaligram, Malda)
11. Sj. Monindra Mohan Bose, B A. (Kaligram, Malda)
12. Sj. Krishna Charan Sarkar (Kaligram, Malda).
13. Sj. Atul Chandra Gupta, M A., B L., Pleader (Rangpur)
14. Professor Radha Kamal Mukherjee, M.A. (Berhampore).
15. Kumar Narendra Nath Law, M.A., B.L (Calcutta)
16. Professor Nripendra Nath Dey, Editor, *The Collegian* (Calcutta).
17. Sj. Nalini Ranjan Pandit (Calcutta).
18. Prof. Nagendra Nath Rakshit, mechanical engineer, Bengal National College (Calcutta)
19. Prof. Bhim Chandra Chatterji, electrical engineer, Bengal National College, Calcutta.

In 1913 the *Maldaha Jatiya Shiksha-Samiti* was described by the *Collegian* (Calcutta), an All-India Journal of Education, University and Technical, as follows:—"The Council was inaugurated by Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, M.A., of the National Council of Education, Bengal, whose work regarding educational organization on this part of India is too well known. The District Council is an educational organization imparting manual, scientific, and literary training to about one thousand pupils, and carrying on original investigations in Indian philosophy, Sanskrit literature, archaeology, literary criticism, history and sociology. The Literary Research Department has been during the last few years able to bring out several publications of historical, linguistic, and educational importance. Systematic attempts are being made to promote research, and scholars and fellows have been appointed to carry on the

work throughout the year Several student-teachers of the schools under the District Council have been sent to America to complete their education."

The following is another extract from the same source: "Professor Radha Kumud Mookerji, the author of the *History of Indian Shipping*, and Prof. B. K. Sarkar, the author of numerous educational and historical works in Bengali and English, who has devised the method of teaching Sanskrit without the use of Grammar, are the Directors of the Research Section. Among permanent workers have been men like the late Mr. Radhes Seth, B.L., who by his laborious researches created the interest of Bengali men of letters in the antiquities of Gauda, the ancient capital of Bengal, Pandit Vidhusekhar Sastri, whose investigations in Buddhistic philosophy and Pali literature have been duly appreciated by specialists in those subjects, and Mr. Haridas Palit, the indefatigable collector of manuscripts, traditions, folksongs, and other historical materials, whose learned work on *Gambhira*, as a history of one most important socio-religious institutions of Bengal, has opened up an altogether new field for Indian research scholars. Among the publications of this literary and educational association we notice the contributions on *The Lines of Industrial Advance in India: Small Industries, The Collection of Indian Economic Data, The Economic Botany of India, The Propagation of Hindu Literature, A Scheme for Fostering Indian Vernacular Literature, The Life and Works of Rajani Kanta (the poet of Northern Bengal), Bhikshu Pratimoksha*, translation of *Saundarananda* (Buddhist Sanskrit Work) into Bengali, a review of *Kapalkundala* (Bankim Chatterji's novel), *History of Scepticism and Positivism in Ancient Hindu Philosophy, Shipping Industry at Gauda, Rama-vati—the Capital of the Pala Kings of Bengal*, and *The Hindu University—What It Means*. We may also point out the geographical, scientific, educational and historical contributions of their scholars in American Universities."

Advisers

Among the advisers of the Research Department, who were consulted by Professor Sarkar from time to time, were the following scholars, authors and publicists:

1. Professor Satis Chandra Mukerjee, M.A., B.L., Founder of the Dawn Society, Editor, *The Dawn and the Dawn*

Society's Magazine, Superintendent, Bengal National College and School, Calcutta.

2. Prof. Ambika Charan Ukil, M.A., Founder and Organizer of the Hindusthan Co-operative Bank Ltd., and the Hindusthan Co-operative Insurance Society Ltd., Calcutta.
3. Principal Ramendra Sundar Trivedi, M.A., P.R.S., *Bangiya Sahitya Parishat* (Bengali Academy of Literature), Calcutta
4. Sj. Rakhal Das Banerji, M.A., numismatologist and antiquarian, Indian Museum, Calcutta.
5. Sj. Nagendra Nath Vasu, Editor, *Vishwa-Kosha* (Bengali Encyclopaedia), Calcutta.
6. Sj. Dines Chandra Sen, B.A., author of *Bangabhasha O Sahitya* (Bengali Language and Literature), Calcutta.
7. Sj. Hirendra Nath Datta, M.A., B.L., P.R.S., Attorney at law, author of *Gitay Ishwara-vada* (The Doctrine of God in the *Gita*), Secretary, National Council of Education, Bengal.
8. Mr. Pramatha Nath Bose, B.Sc. (London), Fellow of the Geological Society (London), Deputy-Superintendent, Geological Survey of India, Calcutta
9. Dr. Brajendra Nath Seal, M.A., Ph D., Calcutta.
10. Sj. Rabindra Nath Tagore, Calcutta.
11. Major Baman Das Basu, I.M.S. (Retd.), Editor, *The Sacred Books of the Hindus*, Allahabad
12. Dr. Sir Gooroodas Banerjee, Ex-Justice, High Court, Calcutta.
13. Dr. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, Justice, High Court, Calcutta.
14. Sj. Akshay Kumar Sarkar, *Littérateur*, Chinsurah.
15. Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Allahabad
16. Sj. Askhay Kumar Maitra, author of *Gauda-lekha-mala*, Rajsahi.
17. Rai Bahadur Sris Chandra Vasu, M.A., B.L., District and Sessions Judge, Benares, Translator of the *Ashtadhyayi* of Panini.
18. Mahamahopadhyaya Professor Adityaram Bhattacharya, M.A., Allahabad.
19. Professor Dr. Sir Prafulla Chandra Ray, D.Sc., Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works Ltd., Calcutta.
20. Professor Dr. Sir Jagadis Chunder Bose, D.Sc., Calcutta.

21. Sir Asutosh Chaudhuri, M.A. (Cantab), Bar-at-law, Jutice, High Court, Calcutta.
22. Swami Vijnanananda, Ramakrishna Math, Allahabad.
23. Mr. Barada Charan Mitra, M.A., C.S., District and Sessions Judge, Calcutta.
24. Dr. Devaprasad Sarvadhikari, M.A., L.L.D., Attorney-at-law, Calcutta.
25. Sj. Bipin Chandra Pal, Calcutta.
26. Mr. Chitta Ranjan Das, Bar-at-law, Calcutta.
27. Sj. Surendra Nath Banerji, Editor, *The Bengalee*, Calcutta.
28. Sj. Motilal Ghosh, Editor, *The Amrita Bazar Patrika*, Calcutta.
29. Sj. Ramananda Chatterjee, Editor, *The Modern Review* and *Prabasi*, Calcutta.
30. Sj. Dwijendra Lal Roy, Poet and Dramatist, Calcutta.
31. Professor Jadu Nath Sarkar, Calcutta and Patna.
32. Mahamahopadhyaya Professor Hara Prasad Sastri.
33. Professor Haran Chandra Chakladar, M.A., Bengal National College (Calcutta).
34. Professor Rabindra Narayan Ghose, M.A., Bengal National College (Calcutta).

Friends

Among the friends of the *Maldaha Jatiya Shiksha Samiti* may be mentioned the following persons:

1. Maharaja Sir Manindra Chandra Nandy Bahadur, Cossimbazar.
2. Raja Jagat Kishore Acharya-Chowdhury, Muktagacha, Mymensingh.
3. Sj. Brajendra Kishore Roy-Chowdhury, Zamindar, Gauripur, Mymensingh.
4. Raja Reshee Case Law, Calcutta
5. Dr. Sir Rash Behari Ghosh, M.A., D.L., C.S.I., C.I.E, Calcutta.
6. Dr. Satis Chandra Banerji, M.A., L.L.D., Advocate, Allahabad.
7. Sj. Shivaprasad Gupta, Zamindar and Banker, Benares.

Scholars in America

In order to provide Bengal with a number of exponents of modern educational methods and pioneers of modern industry,

some of the young men associated with the District Council of National Education, Malda, as teachers or otherwise were sent by Professor Sarkar with the support of his friends to the Universities of the U.S.A. for higher education in the sciences, industries and arts. The following list gives the names of the scholars, the districts of Bengal to which they belong, their subjects of study as well as the American Universities to which they went :

1. Jatindra Nath Seth (Calcutta), Physics, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
2. Hiralal Roy (Dacca), Chemistry, Harvard University.
3. Narendra Nath Sen-Gupta (Rangpur), Experimental Psychology, Harvard University.
4. Bejoy Kumar Sarkar (Malda), Economics, Harvard University.

*5 Hem Chandra Das-Gupta (Barisal), Mechanical Engineering, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

*6. Dhirendra Kumar Sarkar (Malda), Applied Chemistry, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

7. Surendra Nath Bal (Dacca), Pharmacology, Michigan State University, Ann Arbor, Mich.
8. Banesvar Dass (Malda), Chemical Engineering, Illinois State University, Urbana, Ill.
9. Rajendra Narayan Chowdhury (Malda), Agriculture, Ohio State University, Columbus, O.
10. Khagendra Narayan Mitra (Malda), Biology, Wisconsin State University, Madison, Wis.
11. Nabin Chandra Das (Malda), Sociology and Pedagogics, Wisconsin State University, Madison, Wis.
12. Birendra Nath Das-Gupta (Jalpaiguri), Electrical Engineering, Purdue University, Lafayette, Indiana.
13. Hemendra Kishore Rakshit (Dacca), Economics, Wisconsin State University, Madison, Wis.
14. Jnanada Charan Das-Gupta (Barisal), Pharmacology Michigan State University, Ann Arbor, Mich.
15. Narendra Nath Sen (Faridpur), Mechanical Engineering Purdue University, Lafayette, Indiana.
16. Nagendra Nath Chaudhury (Dacca), Economics and Sociology, Northwestern University, Chicago.

* Transferred subsequently to the Michigan State University.

Nos. 1-7 left India in 1910, Nos. 8-15 in 1911 and No. 16 in 1920. The subjects of study as well as the Universities were selected for all but No. 16 by Professor Sarkar.

These scholars used to send reports about their studies and examinations to Professor Sarkar several times a year. The reports contained details about the books and chapters gone through, the experiments in the laboratory done by them, home-studies as well as the marks obtained by them at the periodical tests. Most of these reports were published *in extenso* by the *Collegian* (Calcutta) during 1912-1914. In those days American educational methods were not much known or talked of in India. The publication of these reports of the Malda scholars in the *Collegian* served to a certain extent to bring American Universities and other seats of learning in the U.S.A. home to the Indian educational experts and administrators.

In 1913 No. 6 left America after graduation and went to Germany to join the *Pharmazeutisches Institut* of the University of Berlin. In 1922 as Professor of the College of Engineering and Technology, Jadavpur, Calcutta (National Council of Education, Bengal), No. 2 went to Germany for Doctorate in Engineering at the *Technische Hochschule* of Berlin.

On his return to India No. 14 established the Great Asiatic Chemical Works at Calcutta. But unfortunately he died in 1929.

No. 12 established the Indo-Swiss Trading Co. Ltd. in Calcutta in 1921 and the *Indoeuropäische Handelsgesellschaft* (Indo-Europa Trading Co.) in Berlin in 1922 and has been carrying on export-import business between India and Switzerland, Germany, England, Italy, and America since then. No. 6 is in England in business co-operation with No. 12.

Nos. 11 and 13 are doing independent business in the U.S.A. No. 9 is looking after his own farm at home. No. 10 was for some time the Head of the Department of Zoology in the Calcutta University.

No. 16 is employed in journalism, No. 15 with the Tatas (Iron and Steel Works) at Jamshedpur, Nos. 3 and 4 in University teaching at Lucknow and Calcutta, Nos. 2, 5 and 8 in teaching at the College of Engineering and Technology, Jadavpur, Calcutta, and Nos. 1 and 7 in Government service.

Reorganization

The *Maldaha Jatiya Shiksha Samiti* was reconstituted in June, 1934, as follows:

Founder: Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar, Calcutta.

President: Sj. Kali Ranjan Lahiri, B.L., Pleader, Malda.

Vice-Presidents: Dr. Khaliluddin Ahmad, Calcutta, Professor Vidhusekhar Sastri, Calcutta.

Director: Prof. Banesvar Dass, B.S.Ch.E. (Illinois, U.S.A.) Calcutta.

Educational Adviser: Dr. Debendra Chandra Das-Gupta, M.A., Ed. D (Calif. U.S.A.), Research Fellow, "International-Bengal" Institute, Calcutta (1934-38).

Treasurer: Sj. Satis Chandra Agarwala, Merchant and Banker, Malda.

Superintendent: Sj. Bhupendra Nath Jha (Malda).

Members: Sj. Amarendra Krishna Bhaduri, M.A., B.L., Pleader, (Malda), Sj. Asutosh Chowdhury, Zamindar (Malda), Sj. Krishna Charan Sarkar, Zamindar (Kaligram, Malda), Mr. Khabiruddin Ahmed, Bar-at-law, M.L.A. (Central), Calcutta, Mr. Johur Ahmad Chowdhury, Zamindar (Malda), Sj. Narayan Das Behani, Merchant (Malda), Sj. Atul Kumar, B.A. (Araidanga, Malda), M.L.A. (Bengal), Sj. Nagendra Nath Chaudhury, M.A. (North-Western University, Chicago) (Calcutta), Sj. Pramatha Nath Misra, Pleader (Malda), Sj. Birendra Nath Das-Gupta, B.S.E.E. (Purdue, U.S.A.), Calcutta, Dr. Baishnab Das (Malda), Sj. Jatindra Nath Misra, Zamindar (Bhaluka, Malda), Dr. Jatindra Nath Sinha (Malda), Sj. Ramesh Chandra Ghose, Nawabganj (Malda), Sj. Rajendra Narayan Chowdhury, B.A. (Ohio), President, Union Board, Chandpur (Malda), Dr. Sarasi Lal Sarkar, Rtd. Civil Surgeon, Calcutta, Sj. Haridas Palit, *Vidyavinod* (Calcutta), Professor Nripendra Nath Dey, M.A., B.Sc. (Benares).

The *Maldaha Jatiya Shiksha Samiti* in its reconstituted form pursues two main programmes:

(1) Campaign against illiteracy.

(2) Publication of brochures and books.

Publications

Bangla O Sanskrita Dhatur Goda Ek (The Common Foundations of Bengali and Sanskrit Roots) by Haridas Palit, *Vidyavinod* (Murshidabad) was published in 1937.

This work of Mr. Palit's has been described by Mr. Nagendra Nath Chaudhury M.A. (North-Western University, Chicago) and Advocate Pankaj Kumar Mukherjee M.A., B.L. as follows:

This is a short introduction to a large work. Mr. Palit has discussed some seventy roots like *bhu, edha, ata, tradi, aki, chaka* etc. in 55 pages. In each instance he furnishes, first, the Sanskrit and secondly, the Bengali forms in which those roots are to be found in actual use.

The preface has 38 pages. The author says that the Bengali language has its own method of word-formation which is different from that in Sanskrit. He maintains that Bengali is not derived from Sanskrit. The two are independent of each other, although the roots are identical. Every root is really a basic word of the original Prakrit languages of India.

Sanskrit is but a formation out of an original Indian Prakrit. It is a creation of grammarians. Bengali is an original language and a Prakrit. Bengali language is uncontrolled like a freely flowing river, whereas Sanskrit is a language fettered in chains and is similar to a stagnant well. But still Bengali has its rules precise and definite.

The linguistic researches of Mr. Palit have grown in intimate contact with his explorations of the manners and customs of the rural folk in the diverse districts of North and West Bengal as well as the border-lands between Bengal and Bihar. In the course of his investigations he has bestowed attention also on archæological finds and the sites of historical importance. He was associated for some time with Rakhal Das Banerji, the historian of Bengal and Orissa, and the discoverer of the Mohenjo Daro ruins.

Mr. Palit's publications are numerous. Under the directions of Principal Ramendra Sundar Trivedi the *Patrikā* (Journal) of the *Bangiya Sāhitya Parishat* (Bengali Academy of Literature) published one of his first works in 1909. Since then Mr. Palit has contributed a large number of papers on the castes and races of Bengal as well as their economic, social and religious transformations to the same journal as well as to *Sāhitya* (Literature), *Āryāvartta*, the *Patrikā* of the *Sāhitya Parishat* at Rangpur, *Ārthik Unnati* (Economic Progress), *Kāyastha Samāj*, *Desh* (Country) and so forth. He has made some

substantial contributions also to the *Bangīya Mahākosha* (Encyclopaedia Bengalica) edited by Professor Amulya Charan Vidyabhusan.

Some of his papers deal with the life and institutions of the Mussalmans, Santals, and Mundas. About the aborigines of West Bengal he delivered several lectures before the Sociological Division of "*Āntarjātik Banga*" *Parishat* ("International Bengal" Institute).

Mr. Palit's researches and publications attracted the attention of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, founder of the Post-Graduate Department of the Calcutta University. Sir Asutosh intended to make use of Mr. Palit's work in the Bengali manuscripts for the University. This was prevented on account of his untimely death (1924). But under the directions of Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee Mr. Palit has been connected with the Bengali Manuscripts Department of the Calcutta University of which the head is Professor Khagendra Nath Mitra.

Mr. Palit is generally known among anthropologists and sociologists as the author of the Bengali book *Ādyer Gambhīrā* (1912, 350 pages), published by the *Māldaha Jātiya Sikshā Samiti* (District Council of National Education, Malda) It is chiefly on the basis of this work of Mr. Palit's that Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar prepared his *Folk-Element in Hindu Culture*, A Socio-religious Study in Hindu Folk-Institutions (Longmans Green & Co., London, 1917).

The present publication on Bengali and Sanskrit roots bears a preface by Prof. Banesvar Dass of the College of Engineering and Technology, Jadabpur, Calcutta, who is the Director of the District Council of National Education, Malda, with which Mr. Palit has been associated for thirty years.

It is worth while to recall that a bi-monthly journal, named *Gambhira* used to be edited by the Research Scholars and teaching staff of the District Council of National Education, Malda under the management of Sj. Krishna Charan Sarkar of Kaligram from 1913 to 1916. A Bengali Literary Conference was invited to Kaligram in 1913 at which Professor Amulya Charan Vidyabhushan of Calcutta was the Chairman.

The same year a volume was published under the title of *Anusandhan* (Research). It contains papers by various authors, all belonging to the Research Department of the District Council.

APPENDIX VI.

SHIKSHA-SOPAN*

(Steps to a University)

A COURSE OF MODERN INTELLECTUAL CULTURE

(Adapted to the Requirements of Bengal)

By Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar

The Educational Creed

A. General

I. *Aim* and *Criterion* of Education twofold. the pupil must grow up to be (i) intellectually, discoverer of truths and a pioneer of learning, (ii) morally, an organiser of institutions and a leader of men.

II. *Moral Training* to be imparted not through lessons culled from moral and religious text-books, but through arrangements by which the student is actually made to develop *habits* of self-sacrifice and devotion to the interests of others by undertaking the work of philanthropy and social service.

III. To build up character and determine the aim or mission of life (i) the 'design', plan and personal responsibility of a single guide-philosopher-friend, and (ii) the control of the whole life and career of the student are indispensable. These circumstances provide the pre-condition for true *spiritual education.*

IV. Educational institutions and movements must not be made planks in political, industrial, social or religious agitations and propagandas, but controlled and governed by the Science of Education based on the rational grounds of *Sociology.*

* First published in Calcutta, 1912. Second edition, 1913 See M N Sarkar's contribution on "Educational Ref rm in Benoy Sarkar's Steps to a University", *Supra* pp. 43-48.

B. Tutorial

I. Even the most elementary course must have a *multiplicity* of subjects with due inter-relation and co-ordination. Up to a certain stage the training must be encyclopædic and as comprehensive as possible.

II. The mother-tongue must be the *medium* of instruction in all subjects and through all standards. And if in India the provincial languages are really inadequate and poor the educationists must make it a point to develop and enrich them within the shortest possible time by a system of patronage and endowments on the 'protective principle.'

III. The *sentence,* not word, must be the basis of language training, whether in inflexional or analytical tongues—even in Sanskrit; and the *inductive method* of proceeding from the known to the unknown, concrete to the abstract, facts and phenomena to general principles, is to be the tutorial method in all branches of learning.

IV. Two foreign languages besides English and at least two provincial vernaculars must be made compulsory for all *higher culture* in India.

C. Organisational

I. *Examinations* must be daily. The day's work must be finished and tested during the day. And terms of academic life as well as the system of giving credit should be not by years or months but according to subjects or portions of subjects studied. Steady and constant discipline, both intellectual and moral, is possible only under these conditions.

II. The *Laboratory* and Environment of student-life must be the whole world of men and things. The day's routine must therefore provide opportunities for self-sacrifice, music, devotion, recreation, excursions, etc., as well as pure intellectual work. There should consequently be no long holidays or periodical vacations except when necessitated by pedagogic interests.

General Features

STUDENTS

1. *They are to use as few books as possible.*

2. The only compulsory text-books are the Literature-Readers in Bengali, Sanskrit and English.

TEACHERS

1. There must be frequent changes and transfers of teachers for their own culture.

2. Each teacher must equip himself for all the subjects to be taught up to the Matriculation stage, and must keep himself in touch with the progress of the pupils in all subjects.

3. Each teacher must daily write down in the *Record Book* kept by the School a short account of the lessons given in the class. This will indicate in the case of the teacher's illness, absence or transfer, the progress of the students as well as the lines to be followed by the successor.

4. *Teaching of details to be avoided as far as possible.*

EXAMINATIONS

1. Written Examinations to be avoided as far as possible.

2. Oral Examinations at all stages and in all subjects.

3. Written Examinations compulsory only where the capacity for writing is to be tested, *e.g.*, Essays in Bengali, Sanskrit and English.

THE ELEMENTARY STAGE

Time required—3 years under Home System
Or 5 years under School System.

FIRST YEAR

Pupil's Age—7 years.

1. *BENGALI LANGUAGE.*

Names of objects and things with which the student is familiar. Construction of short and simple sentences with the words picked up. No text-book. (*Five periods a week*).

2. *ARITHMETIC*—Numeration, Notation, Simple Addition, Simple Subtraction, Multiplication. (*Five periods a week*).

3. *COMPREHENSIVE SCIENCE READER*—Object Lessons calculated to direct the student's attention to facts and things of the physical, external world.

Use of tapes, chains, watches, &c., to indicate amounts of space, time, etc.

Names of Plants, Animals, Minerals, &c., to be learnt from gardens, pictures, charts, maps, museums, art-galleries, magic lanterns.

Shape, size, colour, sound, smell, taste, &c., of objects, to be distinguished.

Comparative weight and comparative temperature of objects, comparisons of heights and distances by eye.

Handling of toys and raw materials used in carpentry, smithy, weaving, agriculture, dyeing, gardening, etc. (*Five periods a week.*) Books to be used by Teachers:

1. Murche's *Object Lessons in Elementary Science*
2. Longmans' *Object Lessons.*
3. N G Mookerji's *Handbook of Indian Agriculture*
4. Gregory and Simmons' *Manual of Elementary Science*
5. Rajendra Narayan Chaudhuri's *Vastu-Parichay O Indriya-Pariksha*

Lessons on Science according to Inductive Method.

4. *DRAWING*—Botanical, mechanical, geometrical etc. Drawing of lines, Bisection, Trisection, Parallel lines, etc. (*Five periods a week.*)

SECOND YEAR

Pupil's Age—8 years.

A. Literary

1. *BENGALI LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE*—Lessons on the plants, animals, physical features, topography, historic incidents, great deeds, personalities, &c., that the child is familiar with in ordinary daily life and in the other classes. Construction of sentences with words picked up from the text-book used and about

the subjects learnt. Para-writing not to be practised. Handwriting. (*Six periods a week.*)

2. *HISTORY (STORY-TELLING)*—Indian history in tales. In the 2nd and 3rd years of the elementary stage the student is to be taught through stories and anecdotes the whole march of Indian History from the earliest times. The stories are to familiarise him with the principal men, institutions and movements that have made India through the ages. The object is to ground the student well in the people's traditions, train his sentiments, and impart ideals of character. The *whole* of Indian history is to be thus finished in two years. (*Three periods a week.*)

Books of Reference:

Bharatvarsher Itihas—By Prof. Khagendranath Mitra.

Saptakanda Rajasthan—By Bipin Bihari Nandi.

Early History of the Dekkan—By Bhandarkar.

Sikh Itihas—By Sarat Ch. Ray.

Adyer Gambhira—By Haridas Palit.

Arya Kirti—By Rajani Kanta Gupta.

Ganda Lekhamala—By Akshay Kumar Maitra.

History of Indian Shipping—By Radha Kumud Mookerji.

Nawabi Amal—By Kaliprasanna Banerji.

Maratha History—By M. G. Ranade.

History of Sanskrit Literature—By Macdonell.

History of Fine Arts in India and the Far East—By V. Smith.

3. *GEOGRAPHY*—Commercial and Physical Geography of the locality. Places of interest in the neighbourhood of the school. Industrial, agricultural and commercial resources and organisations. Topography, physical features, character of soils, seasons &c., in connection with economic condition. Excursions to shops, markets, *hâts*, fairs, melas. Study of the carpenters', weavers', and smiths' arts, and roads, canals, post offices, conveyances, communications, &c. (*Three periods a week.*) Books of Reference:—District Gazetteers, *Bhugol Shiksha Pranali*—Lessons on Geography (according to Inductive Method) Part I. By Rajendranarayan Chaudhuri.

B. Scientific and Technical

1. *ARITHMETIC*—Simple Multiplication and Division, Compound Addition and Subtraction (*Six periods a week.*)

2. *COMPREHENSIVE SCIENCE READER* (continued)—Object Lessons calculated to direct the student's attention to facts and objects of the physical, external world.

Use of tapes, chains, watches, &c., to indicate amounts of space, time, &c.

Names of plants, animals, minerals, &c., to be learnt from pictures, charts, maps, gardens, museums, art-galleries, magic lanterns, &c.

Comparative weight and comparative temperature of objects. Comparison of distances and heights by eye.

Paper-cutting, preparation of models in card board, and clay-moulding. Handling of toys and raw materials used in carpentry, smithy, weaving, agriculture, dyeing, gardening, house-building, &c. (*Three periods a week.*)

Books to be used by the Teacher:

1. Murche's *Object Lessons in Elementary Science.*
2. Longmans' *Object Lessons.*
3. N. G. Mookerji's *Handbook of Indian Agriculture.*
4. Gregory and Simmons' *Manual of Elementary Science.*
5. Rajendra Narayan Chaudhuri's *Vastuparicaya O Indriyapariksha* (Lessons on Science according to Inductive Method).

3. *DRAWING.*—Botanical, Mechanical, Anatomical, Geographical. Straight lines, Right angles, Triangles, and other Geometrical figures. (*Three periods a week.*)

THIRD YEAR

Pupil's Age—9 years.

A. Literary

1. *BENGALI POETRY: RAMAYANA* and *MAHABHARATA IN VERSE*—The student is expected (i) to construct sentences illustrating the use of the more important words and similes

occurring in the books, and (ii) to compose short paragraphs on the incidents in each *kanda* or *parva*. The teacher should, in the course of his daily lessons, ask the pupils to note down the difficult words and similes and illustrate their uses, and secondly to give in an analytical form the principal actions in each scene. (*Four periods a week.*)

The two books *Saral Krittivasa* and *Saral Kashiram* are too big to be finished by students. So the teacher should select only certain chapters to be read by the pupils themselves. In the case of those chapters that are left out, the teachers should first tell the stories in simple prose, then give a few words and similes occurring in the portions passed by; and finally, ask the pupils to say orally what they have heard and write short sentences to illustrate those words and similes.

The teacher should also ask the pupils to draw a map for each *kanda* or *parva*, and point out the topographical features of the country. The modern names and sites of the regions mentioned in the two epics are to be remembered in this way. Each *kanda* or *parva* has to be studied with reference to (i) the places described in each, (ii) the men who are the actors, (iii) the actions.

It is specially desirable that the whole geography of India should be mastered through those books.

2. *ENGLISH LANGUAGE.*—Acquisition of English words about subjects learnt in other classes through Language-Drill. Spelling not required for the first four months. Pronunciation. The course is meant to supply the student with the English *names* of things and objects with which he is familiar in daily life and in the other classes. The student to use no text-book. The teacher to use Sarkar's *Primer* I. He should *select* certain words from each section, and, by repeated exercises, familiarise the pupil with the *sounds* which stand for the objects and things. All the words in the book must not be memorised. (*Four periods a week.*)

3. *HISTORY (STORY-TELLING)*—Indian History in' tales. At this stage the student is to be taught through stories and anecdotes the whole march of Indian History from the earliest times. The stories are to familiarise him with the principal men, institutions and movements that have made India through the ages. In the second

and third years of the elementary stage the *whole* of Indian history is to be finished in this way. The object is to ground the student well in the people's traditions, train his sentiments, and impart ideals of character. (*Two periods a week.*)

Books of Reference:—The same as in the second year.

4. *GEOGRAPHY.*—Commercial Geography of the District mainly, and of Bengal. The industrial, commercial, and agricultural resources and organisations, communications and conveyances. Excursions to centres of business activity, study of factories, workshops, offices, fairs, melas. *District Gazetteers, Bengal Gazetteer,* Mookerji's *Indian Agriculture,* Thacker's *Directory, The Cottage Industries and Rural Trade Organisations of India* by Professor Radhakamal Mookerji, Scientific, Industrial and Commercial Journals in Bengali, Railway Time-Tables and Guides. To be used by the teacher. Drawing of maps and charts to illustrate the number, percentage, relative proportion &c., of the various economic phenomena. *Bhugol Shiksha Pranali, Banglar Vaishayik Vivaran* or Lessons on Geography (Commercial Geography of Bengal) according to Inductive Method. Part II. by Binod Behari Chakravarti. (*Two periods a week.*)

B. Scientific and Technical

1. *ARITHMETIC*—Compound Multiplication, Division, Rule of Three by the Unitary Method, Practice. (*Six periods a week.*)

2. *BOTANY*—Uses of 12 Bengal Plants—their importance and utility to man's economic life. Each plant to be studied as a source of national wealth. The medical, industrial, agricultural, and other services rendered by each. *Udvid Vijnan Shiksha Pranali* (or *Lessons on Botany* according to Inductive Method), Part I. By Binod Behari Chakravarti and Girija Mohan Mallik. (*One period a week.*)

3. *ZOOLOGY*—Uses of 12 Bengal animals—their importance and utility to man's economic life. Each animal to be studied as a source of national wealth. The medical, industrial, domestic and other services rendered by each. *Pranivijnan Shiksha Pranali* or *Lessons on*

zoology according to Inductive Method, Part I. By Binod Behari Chakravarti and Girija Mohan Mallik (*One period a week.*)

4. *HUMAN PHYSIOLOGY* and Sanitary Science—Colton's *Physiology*, Barnett's *The Making of the Body*, Notter and Firth's *Domestic Hygiene*. Royal Portfolio of pictures and Diagrams to illustrate the organs of human body (Nelson). (*One period a week*).

5 *CHEMISTRY*. Study of minerals,—Salt, Sugar, Coal, Soda, Sal ammoniac, Sulphur, Alum, Saltpetre, Marble, Slate, Iron, Sandstone, Zinc, Lime, Chalk, Copper, Zinc Sulphate, Potassium Chlorate, Barium peroxide, Ammonium chloride. Their uses, distribution, &c., Gregory and Simmons' *Elementary Science*, Murche's *Object Lessons*. (*One period a week*).

6. *GENERAL PROPERTIES OF MATTER*—Shape, size, colour, sound, smell, taste, weight and motion of bodies. Gregory and Simmons' *Elementary Science*, Murche's *Object Lessons*. (*One period a week*).

7. *DRAWING*—Botanical, geographical, mechanical, anatomical, &c. (*Three periods a week*).

8. *WORKSHOP PRACTICE*—Paper-cutting, clay-modelling &c. (*Two periods a week*).

FOURTH YEAR

Pupil's Age—10 *years*

A. Literary

1. *BENGALI LITERATURE.*

PROSE—Mahabharat—by Surendranath Tagore.

POETRY—Saptakanda Rajasthan—by Bipin Bihari Nandi.

Exactly the same method to be followed as in the previous year The whole of the two books should not be read by the pupils themselves. They are to master the geography of India through these books and are to be familiar with the sites and sights described in each section. Map-drawing should be an essential part of the method of teaching. The pupils are to write down in their note books under separate headings—(1) words, (2)

similes, (3) geographical names, (4) persons mentioned. They are expected not only to write sentences and paragraphs with the words and similes occurring in the books, but also to describe in their own words the principal incidents, movements and actions of each scene Each chapter should, therefore, be specially studied with reference to (i) places, (ii) men, (iii) actions. (*Four periods a week*).

2. *SANSKRIT LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE*—Sarkar's *Sanskrit Primers without Grammar.* Handwriting in Deva-nagari character. (*Four periods a week*).

3. *ENGLISH LANGUAGE*—Construction of simple sentences describing domestic, social, physical, historical, religious and other facts. Familiarity with the ordinary rules of English Grammar through composition, conversation, questions and answers and correction of errors. Ideas acquired in other classes to be expressed in short English sentences. Sarkar's *Primer* II. Handwriting. (*Four periods a week*).

4. *HISTORY*—Men, Institutions and Movements in modern Bengal. The course is meant to give the student an idea of (1) the prominent persons that are influencing life and society in Bengal in modern times, (2) the social, economic, religious, educational and political organisations that are the centres of thought and activity in Bengal in modern times, and (3) the prominent enterprises, schemes, undertakings launched by Government and private citizens in Bengal in modern times. (*Two periods a week*).

Points to be noted.

Schools, Universities, Tols, Maths, Chatuspathis, Maktabs, Research Societies, Technical Institutes, Professors, Inspectors, Courts, Laws, Municipalities, Thanas, Viceroy, Governor, Indian States, Legislative Councils, Congress, Conference, Museums, Art-Galleries, Exhibitions, Banks, Firms, Insurance Companies, Loan Offices, Co-operative Credit Societies, Zamindaries, Takkavi Grants, Strikes, Unions, Mills, Newspapers, Journals, Joint Stock Companies, Mythology, Rites, Ceremonies, Pilgrimages, Churches, Temples, Preachers, Missionaries, Swadeshi Movement for the Development of Industries, Propagation of Hindu Literature, Mass Education, Social Service and Philanthropy, Social Reform, Promotion of Vernacular Literature, Education of Indian Scholars in foreign countries, Sea Voyage, Depressed Classes Mission, Hindu and Moslem Universities, National Education.

The student is thus to be in living touch with the leading currents of national life. At this stage, lessons in History are not so much training in History proper as in the basis or underlying forces of History.

Books of Reference:—*Peoples and Problems of India*—by Sir T. W. Holderness. *Imperial Gazetteer of India,* Descriptive—Hunter. *Indian Nation-Builders* and *Bengal Celebrities.* Appendix to *Ramtanu Lahiri* by Lethbridge. *Bharatvarshiya Upasak Sampradaya*—by Akshay Kumar Datta. *Bengal under Lieutenant-Governors* by Buckland, *Bharat Gaurav Granthavali. Bengal Gazetteer. Itihas Shiksha Pranali* (*Bangali Jati*) or Lessons on History according to Inductive method (Modern Bengal) by Surendra Nath Ghosh. Reports of educational, industrial, philanthropic and other institutions (*e.g.*, Ramakrishna-Vivekananda Mission, Aryya Samaj, Literary Conferences).

5. *GEOGRAPHY*—(a) Commercial Geography of Bengal (*continued*), (b) Physiography of Bengal—(1) the natural features, relief, mountain system, river system, (2) topography, forests, (3) soils, mineralogy, (4) seasons, climate, weather &c., of Bengal, (5) simple geological ideas about the formation and growth of Bengal. The course is to have some reference to the relation between physical environment and economic condition. Drawing of maps and charts to illustrate the various aspects of the physical character of the country (*Two periods a week.*)

Books of reference:—*Climate and Weather*—Dr. Dickson. *Lessons in Physical Geography*—Dyer (Geo. Philip and son). *Physical Geography*—Blanford. *Indian Empire*—Morison. *Commercial Geography*—Chisholm. *Applied Geography*—Keltie. *Imperial Gazetteer of India,* Descriptive and Economic—Hunter. *Bengal Gazetteer. Statistical Atlas of India, Geology and Geography of the Himalayas* (Published by the Government of India). *Dictionary of Indian Economic Products*—Watts. N. G. Mookerji's *Indian Agriculture.* Historical and Geographical works in Bengali relating to the districts of Bengal by Bengali scholars.

B. Scientific and Technical

1. *ARITHMETIC*—Measures and Multiples, Fractions, Vulgar and Decimal. (*Four periods a week.*)

2. *BOTANY*—Uses of 12 more Bengal plants—their importance and utility to man's economic life. Each plant to be studied as a source of national wealth. The medical, industrial, agricultural and other services rendered by each.

Books—Murche's *Object Lessons in Elementary Science.* Watt's *Dictionary of Economic Products of India. Botanical Dictionary.* Ewart's *Matriculation Botany Udvid Vijnan Shiksha Pranali*—By Binod Behari Chakravarti and Girija Mohan Mallik. Part I.

3. *ZOOLOGY*—Uses of 12 more Bengal animals—their importance and utility to man's economic life. Each animal to be studied as a source of national wealth. The industrial, medical, domestic and other services rendered by each.

Pranivijnan Shiksha Pranali—By Binod Behari Chakravarti and Girija Mohan Mallik. Part I.

4. *HUMAN PHYSIOLOGY AND SANITARY SCIENCE*—Colton, Notter and Firth, Barnett, Furneaux, Hill's *Manual of Physiology.*

[*Subjects 2, 3, 4 to be given two periods a week.*]

5. *ASTRONOMY*—Lockyer's Primer. Gregory and Simmons—*Manual of Elementary Science.*

6. *CHEMISTRY OF MINERALS*—Their uses, distribution, &c. (continued). Gregory and Simmons. Sarkar's *Lessons on Chemistry* according to Inductive Method, in preparation. Murche's *Object Lessons.* Macpherson and Henderson's *Elementary Study of Chemistry.*

7. *GENERAL PROPERTIES OF MATTER*—Volume, Weight, Density, Hardness, Malleability, Ductility, Centre of Gravity, &c. Gregory and Simmons. Murche's *Object Lessons.*

[*Subjects 5, 6, 7 to be given two periods a week.*]

8. *DRAWING*—Solids from models. Anatomical, Mechanical, Geographical, Botanical Drawing. Practice of Shade lines. (*Two periods a week.*)

9. *WORKSHOP PRACTICE.* (*Two periods a week.*)

FIFTH YEAR—ELEMENTARY FINAL

Pupil's age—11 *years.*

(The Pupils who have to leave School at the final year of the elementary stage will be able to (1) express their thoughts in English, (2) follow intelligently the movements in modern India, (3) have some practical knowledge of the physical, objective world, (4) draw inspiration from the makers of Indian civilisation and (5) appreciate Sanskrit Learning)

A. LITERARY

1. *BENGALI LITERATURE* (*Four periods a week.*)

PROSE—(*a*) Adaptations and Translations from Sanskrit and Pali Literature, 40 Pages, (b) Original writings of modern Bengali authors, 60 Pages. The course is meant to give the student in Bengali an idea of what the master-minds of Bengal have done in modern times as well as what the Indian mind has done through the ages. (Sarkar and Lahiri's *Selections,* Part I. in preparation.)

POETRY—Modern Poetical Literature in Bengali, 50 Pages. The course is meant to give the student, through verse, an idea of the plants, animals, physical features, topography, historic incidents, great deeds, personalities, &c., that he is familiar with in Science, History and other classes. Handwriting. (Sarkar and Lahiri's *Selections* in preparation.)

2. *SANSKRIT LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE*—Sarkar's *Sanskrit Primers without Grammar.* Handwriting in Devanagari character. (*Four periods a week.*)

3. *ENGLISH LANGUAGE*—Familiarity with the remaining rules of Grammar through Composition: (1) Direct and Indirect Forms of Narration, (2) Change of Voice, (3) Use of a few English

idioms and phrases in common use. Writing of simple paragraphs on the topics learnt in the Science, History and other classes and to illustrate the various rules of English Syntax. Sarkar's *Lessons on English,* Part III. Handwriting. (*Four periods a week.*)

(At this stage the student is expected to express the commonest ideas in simple English. He has mastered the ordinary rules through exercises in translation, composition, correction of errors and conversation. Literary Readers need not be introduced to him)

4. *HISTORY.*—Men, institutions, and movements in Modern India. The course is meant to give the student an idea of (1) the prominent persons that are influencing life in India (including Indian States) (outside Bengal) in modern times, (2) the social, economic, religious, educational, and political organisations that are the centres of thought and activity in India (including Indian States) (outside Bengal) in modern times, and (3) the prominent enterprises, schemes, agitations, undertakings launched by Government or private citizens in India (outside Bengal) in modern times. The student is thus to be in living touch with the leading currents of national life. Constant reference to, and comparison with, Bengal conditions that have been already studied.

In the last two years of the elementary stages lessons in history are not so much training in History Proper as in the basis or underlying forces of History. (*Two periods a week.*).

Books of Reference:—*The Citizen of India* (Warner). *Indian Year Book and Annual*—Published from Nayadupeta (Madras). *Indian Nation-Builders. Bharatvarshiya Upasaksampradaya* by Akshay Kumar Datta. *Imperial Gazetteer of India,* I, III. *Peoples and Problems of India. England's Work in India* (Ghosh). Aitchison—*Treaties. Gazetteers* of principal Indian States. Reports of Educational, Industrial, Philanthropic and other Institutions (e.g. Vivekananda Mission, Aryya Samaj, Literary Conference). *Itihas Shiksha Pranali* (*Hindusthani Jati*) or Lessons on History according to Inductive Method (Modern Hindusthan) By Braja Gopal Das. *Itihas Shiksha Pranali* (*Marathi Jati*) By Amulya Kumar Basu. Similar Primers

about the Dravidian, Ooriya, Punjabee, and Assamese communities of modern India in preparation.

Points to be noted—as in the previous year with Bengal.

5. *GEOGRAPHY*—Physiography of India: (1) The natural features, relief, mountain system, river system, (2) topography, forests, (13) soils, mineralogy, (4) meteorology, seasons, climate, weather, &c. of India outside Bengal, (5) simple geological ideas about the formation and growth of the Indian continent to be introduced. But these are to be studied with reference to, and in comparison with, Bengal conditions. Drawing of maps and charts to illustrate the various aspects of the physical character of the country. (*Two periods a week*)

Books of Reference—as in the previous year

B. Scientific and Technical

1. *ARITHMETIC*.—Approximate Decimal Operations, Square and Cubic Measure. (*Four periods a week.*)

(The New method of teaching to be introduced as soon as practicable. Text Book in Preparation)

2. *BOTANY*—Life-history of 24 Bengal Plants studied up to date—growth, habits, habitats, cultivation, diseases and food of each plant.

Lessons on Botany according to Inductive Method Part II, in press Ewart's *Matriculation Botany*

3. *ZOOLOGY*.—Life-history of 24 Bengal animals studied up to date—growth, habitats, breeding, diseases, and food of each animal.

(*Lessons on Zoology* according to Inductive Method Part II, in preparation)

4. *HUMAN ANATOMY AND PHYSIOLOGY*.—Sanitary Science rules about health, food, &c. Notter and Firth, Colton, Barnett.

[Subjects 2, 3, 4 to be given two periods a week]

5. *CHEMISTRY*—(*a*) Study of Minerals—their uses, distribution, &c. continued. (*b*) Chemical processes and operations described, solution, filtration &c. (*One period a week.*)

Gregory and Simmons, Sarkar's *Lessons on Chemistry* according to In-

ductive Method in preparation, Macpherson and Henderson's *Elementary Study of Chemistry*. Murche's *Object Lessons*.

6. *ASTRONOMY*—Lockyer, Gregory and Simmons, Parker, Ball's *Astronomy Primer*. (*One period a week.*)

7. *DRAWING*—Anatomical, Botanical, Mechanical, Geographical, Letter Printing, Projection (*Two periods a week*).

8. *WORKSHOP PRACTICE AND AGRICULTURAL OPERATIONS* (*Two periods a week*)

ELEMENTARY FINAL EXAMINATION

Full Marks—1100.

(*The student must pass in each subject.*)

A. ORAL. (Full Marks in each 100, Pass Marks—50).

1. Bengali Language and Literature—Prose and verse.
2. Sanskrit Language and Literature.
3. English Language and Literature.
4. History and Geography.
5. Botany, Zoology, Physiology [Zoology optional].
6. Chemistry, Physics, Astronomy [Astronomy optional]
7. Arithmetic.
8. Drawing and Workshop.

B. WRITTEN. (Full Marks in each 100, Pass Marks—30).

1. *BENGALI COMPOSITION*—(*a*) Construction of sentences, to illustrate the use of words and similes, (*b*) Essay-writing on scientific and historical subjects, (*c*) Correction of errors in spelling, grammar and idiom, (*d*) Summaries of text-books, (*e*) Handwriting.

2. *SANSKRIT COMPOSITION*—(*a*) Construction of sentences to illustrate the use of words, (*b*) Para-writing on scientific and historical subjects, (c) Correction of errors in grammar and spelling, (*d*) Translation, (*e*) Handwriting in Devanagari character.

3. *ENGLISH COMPOSITION*—(*a*) Construction of short sentences to illustrate the use of words, (b) Composition of small paragraphs on scientific and historical subjects, (*c*) Correction of errors in grammar and spelling, (*d*) Handwriting, (*e*) Translation.

THE PREPARATORY STAGE

Time required—2 years under Home System or 3 years under School.

[*The method of teaching—for the Preparatory classes to be exactly the same as that for the Elementary*]

FIRST YEAR

Pupil's age—12 years.

A. Literary.

1. *BENGALI LITERATURE* (*Four periods a week*)

PROSE—Sarkar and Lahiri's *Selections* (described above) Part II. (*a*) Translations Pages 40, (*b*) Original 60 Pages.

POETRY—Sarkar and Lahiri's *Selections* (described above) Part II. 50 Pages.

2. *SANSKRIT* Language and Literature—Sarkar's *Sanskrit Primers without Grammar. AMARKOSHA*—Only the words of common use in Classical Sanskrit. (*Four periods a week.*)

3. *ENGLISH LITERATURE*

PROSE—Sarkar's *Selections* in preparation, Part I. Indian topics through English language. Pages 60. *Folk-tales of Bengal, Cradle-tales for the Young*—By Nivedita. *Folk-tales of Hindusthan* by Sheikh Chilli.

POETRY—Sarkar's *Selections*, in preparation Part I. (*a*) Indian. 10 pages. (*b*) Foreign, 5 pages. Selections from Griffith's *Ramayanam* and *Children's Treasury of Songs and Lyrics*, Cowper's *Alexander Selkirk*, Montgomery's *Home.*

ENGLISH COMPOSITION AND TRANSLATION—on subjects learnt in Science, History and other classes.

USE OF IDIOMS—McMordie's *Idioms and How to use them.* (*Four periods a week.*)

4. *HISTORY*—The Epoch of Bengali Greatness (9th, 10th 11th centuries). The last phase of Hindu Imperialism in India—The hegemony of Bengal. The Empire of the Palas—Intercourse with Nepal,

Tibet, China, Java, Japan, Siam, Cambodia. (*Two periods a week.*) Books of reference: —

Gauda Rajamala—Rama Prosad Chanda.

Adyer Gambhira—Hari Das Palit.

Bangabhasa O Sahitya—Dines Chandra Sen.

Banger Jatiya Itihas—Nagendra Nath Vasu.

Gauder Itihas—Rajani Kanta Chakravarti.

Banglar Samajik Itihas—Durga Ch. Sanyal.

History of Hindu Chemistry—Prafulla Chandra Roy.

Indian Shipping—Radhakumud Mookerji.

H. P. Sastri's Introduction to Nagendra Nath Vasu's *Modern Buddhism.*

5. *GEOGRAPHY*—(*a*) Physical Geography of India continued. (*b*) Commercial Geography of India—the industrial, commercial and agricultural resources and organisations, communications and conveyances of Modern India—These to be studied with reference to the physical, geological, meteorological and topographical conditions studied under Physical Geography. The course is meant to give the student an idea of the relation between physical environment and economic condition with reference to Indian facts and phenomena. (*Two periods a week.*) Watts—Economic Products of India. Railway Time-tables and Guides. Thacker's Directory. *The Cottage Industries of India* by Radha Kamal Mookerji (in preparation), *Imperial Gazetteer of India* (Economic Volume), Jadunath Sarkar's *Economics of British India,* Mookerji's *Indian Agriculture,* Keatinge's *Rural Economy in the Bombay Deccan.* Latifi's *Industrial Punjab,* Reports of Indian Industrial Conference; Scientific, Industrial and Commercial Journals in Bengali, Hindi and English.

B. Scientific and Technical.

1. *MATHEMATICS.* (*Four periods a week*).

ARITHMETIC—Proportion, Interest, Stocks, Square Root. The new method of teaching to be introduced as soon as practicable. Text-book in preparation.

GEOMETRY—Modern method.

2. *BOTANY*—Study of 12 Bengal plants—Rice, Pea, Mango, Arum, Jackfruit, Neem, Red Pepper, Lemon, Uchchhe (Monordica cherata), Karamcha (Carissa carindas), Datura, Vata, &c. How to identify. Morphology. External and internal characteristics of each. In treating the successive plants, the student is to get an idea of the resemblances and differences in part between the several plants, and thus an insight into varieties Natural Orders, etc.

Sarkar and Bal's *Lessons on Botany* according to the Inductive Method Part III, in the press. Ewart's *Matriculation Botany* H. N. Mitra's *Structural Botany*, Pfleidderer's *Glimpses into the Life of Indian Plants* (Mangalore, Mission Book Depot)

3. *ZOOLOGY*—Study of 12 Bengal animals—Morphology external and internal characteristics of each. How to identify. In treating the successive animals, the student is to get an idea of the resemblances and differences in organs between the several animals, and thus an insight into the varieties, epecies, etc.

[Sarkar and Bal's *Lessons on Zoology* according to the Inductive Method Part III, in preparation.]

4. *HUMAN PHYSIOLOGY AND SANITARY SCIENCE* —More details.

Books of Reference: Colton, Barnett, Notter and Firth, Furneaux, Hill.

[*Subjects 2, 3, and 4 to be given 2 periods a week.*]

5. *CHEMISTRY*—Chemical study of 6 minerals. Ferrous Sulphide, Antimonius Sulphide, Copper, Sulphur, Potassium Carbonate, Potassium Chloride &c. Each mineral to be subjected to various experiments. The course is meant to give the student an idea that the minerals of the world may be analysed into various substances; and that when treated with other substances, they may be changed into altogether new objects. (*One period a week*).

Sarkar's *Lessons on Chemistry* according to the Inductive Method, in preparation, Macpherson and Henderson's *Elementary Study of Chemistry* P C. Ray's Inorganic Chemistry. Murche's *object Lessons*, Gregory and Simmons.

N.B.—The student is to study the processes and products of the action of Sulphuric and Hydrochloric acids on Ferrous Sulphide, action of Hydrochloric acid on antimonius sulphide, action of sulphuric acid on copper, action of Nitric acid on Sulphur, combination of Potassium Chlorate and Hydrochloric acid, Mixture of Solutions of Potassum Carbonate and Quicklime, action of Sulphuric Acid on Potassium chloride, action of heat on Limestone, action of Steam passed over or through charcoal heated to bright redness, heating of Pottassium Ferrocyanide, heating mercury in contact with air, Solutions of mercury chloride and Potassium chloride thrown together &c. &c.

The experiments need not be undertaken in any systematic or definite order. The student should be made to feel that he is observing the *changes which the substance undergoes* when treated with other substances. He should not be made to think of the properties or preparations of a gas or of an element as is the usual practice.

In studying the physical and chemical changes undergone by each substance in the course of the various experiments performed by him, the pupil should observe and note particularly the following points:

I. The Substance (e.g. Quicklime): Its properties (1) physical (colour, size, shape, taste, touch etc.), (2) agricultural, (3) technological, (4) medical. These properties have already been mastered by the pupil in his Elementary third year, fourth year and fifth year courses. These things have therefore to be simply alluded to at this stage.

II. Requisites for each experiment: (1) articles, (2) apparatus.

III. Experiment:—(1)Fitting the apparatus, (2) Changes ensuing, (3) Ultimate results— new substances produced. To prove that these are new i.e., not the substances with which the work was begun the student is to find out their properties by re-agents etc.

Thus, for example, if the student has to study the chemistry of Potassium Carbonate ($K_2 CO_3$), the lesson should be given in the following manner:

I. Substance:—$K_2 CO_3$ (Potassium carbonate) white, soluble, deliquescent, alkaline, detergent &c.

II. Requisites:—(1) HCl, (2) Test-tube, holder, delivery-tube, cork, (3) Bunsen, (4) Lime water, (5) Blue litmus, (6) Filter-stand, paper, (7) Silver nitrate, (8) Porcelain basin in which to prepare crystals.

III. Observation:—(1) On the application of heat action begins, (2) lime water turns milky.

IV. Results:—(1) Gas; which turns lime water milky, is acid and turns blue litmus red, is thus a new substance which did not exist before experiment. (2) Residue in the test tube;—Is this new *i.e.* quite different from $K_2 CO_3$ and HCl (the two principal substances with which the work was begun)? To prove this:—(*a*) The residue has to be distinguished from HCl. This Residue neutral to litmus, but HCl turns blue litmus red. (*b*) Residue to be distinguished from $K_2 CO_3$: make a solution of the residue, filter it and evaporate it. It crystallises, Crystal (Residue) + Acid = no action; But in $K_2 CO_3$ + Acid there is an action as in the main experiment, and $K_2 CO_3$ turns red litmus blue.

V. Lesson from the study of this substance: (1) $K_2 CO_3$ can be broken up *i.e.* analysed into parts. (2) There is a case of Synthesis or preparation of a third substance out of two substances. (3) Substances and Properties have changed totally. (4) Heat produces a decomposition. (5) A gas and a new solid have been prepared from a solid and liquid.

6. *ASTRONOMY*—More details. (*One period a week.*)
Books of reference—Lockyer, Gregory and Simmons, Ball, Parker.

7. *DRAWING*—Botanical, Anatomical, Geographical, Drawing of models. Map-drawing. (*Two periods a week.*)

8. *WORKSHOP PRACTICE AND AGRICULTURAL OPERATIONS.* (*Two periods a week.*)

SECOND YEAR.

Pupil's age—13 years.

A. LITERARY.

1. *BENGALI LITERATURE—(Four Periods a week.)*

PROSE—Sarkar and Lahiri's Selections (described above), Part III. (*a*) Translations 60 pages, (*b*) Original 80 pages.

POETRY—Sarkar and Lahiri's *Selections* (described above) Part III. 60 Pages.

2. *SANSKRIT LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE. (Four periods a week).* Sarkar's *Sanskrit Primers without Grammar. AMAR-KOSHA*—only the words of common use in classical Sanskrit Literature.

3. *ENGLISH LITERATURE (Four periods a week.)*

PROSE—Sarkar's *Selections*. Part II. Pages 75. The course is meant to familiarise the student with the thoughts and ideas of best European writers in Modern English. Translations and adaptations from Homer, Dante, Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespeare, Goethe, Irving, Lowell, Tolstoy, &c. The student is thus to be supplied with incidents and ideals of non-Indian life and society through the medium of English Language. History lessons have to be co-ordinated with lessons in English Literature.

POETRY—Sarkar's *Selections,* Part II. in preparation

(*a*) Indian topics in English verse 40 Pages.—*Lays of Ancient India* by R. C. Dutt. &c.

(*b*) Descriptive, Historical and Narrative English Poetry from the writings of the best English authors. 10 Pages.

COMPOSITION, TRANSLATION &c.—on subjects learnt in History, Science, and other classes.

4. *HISTORY (Two periods a week.)*

The Modern World from the Capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453 to the Fall of Port Arthur in 1905. The Stages in the

expansion of England—History of India as a British Province. The Awakening of the East.

Books of Reference:

European History—Adams.

Europe-Primer—Freeman.

Historical Geography of Europe Freeman.

Historical Atlas of Europe—Freeman

General Sketch—Freeman.

Foundations of Modern Europe -Emil Reich.

History of British Empire—Anderson and Marsden.

Nawabi Amal—Kaliprasanna Banerjee.

Expansion of England—Seeley.

World-Politics—Paul Reinsh.

Historical and Geographical works relating to the districts of Bengal—By Bengali Scholars. Imperial Gazetteer of India (Historical Volume)—Hunter. India under Aurangzib—J. N. Sarkar. Chaitanya (His Pilgrimages and teachings)—J. N. Sarkar. History of Bengali Literature—D. C. Sen. History of Indian Shipping—R. K. Mookerji. Treaties—Aitchison. England's Work in India—N. Ghosh. Native States of India—Warner. Maratha Power—Ranade. Akbar—Malleson. Indian Polity—Chesney. Economic History of British India (2 vols.)—Romesh Dutt, Bengal under Lt.-Governors—Buckland.

Syllabus of History

Book I. *THE NEW THOUGHT MOVEMENT AND THE BIRTH OF MODERN NATIONS IN INDIA* (Sixteenth Century).

Section 1. The Great Thinkers (Nanak, Kabir, Tukaram, Chaitanya).

Section 2. The Renaissance (i) Religious reform, (ii) New moral tone, (iii) Social renovation, (iv) New language, (v) New literature.

Book II. *FOUNDATION OF THE MOGHUL MONARCHY IN INDIA* (Sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, 1556—1707).

Section 1. The Great Moghuls—Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzib.

Section 2. National (Political) unity: (i) India under one rule, (ii) Codification of Laws, (iii) Land Revenue settlement, (iv) Uniformity in standards of weights and measurements, (v) Roads, communications.

Book III. *EAST AND WEST IN INDIA* (18th century 1707-1818.)

Chapter 1. *THE HINDU-MOSLEM CONTROVERSY*— the Hindu powers:

(*a*) Rajputs—(i) an ancient race, (ii) pacified by Akbar, (iii) alienated by Aurangzib, (iv) played out.

(*b*) Sikhs—(i) religious origin, (ii) converted into a military aristocracy (17th century) through persecution (iii) Sikhism militant and triumphant (18th century).

(*c*) Marathas—(i) a very old race, (ii) held high posts under Mussalmans, (iii) organised into a Military State by Sivaji (17th century), (iv) rivals of the Great Moghuls (17th & 18th centuries).

Chapter 2. *INDIA, A BRITISH PROVINCE* (1707-1818).

Section 1. The East India Companies—17th century.

(*a*) Trade between Asia and Europe in the Middle Ages—Genoa and Venice, the intermediaries between Arab traders and Europeans—Mediterranean the route.

(*b*) Seizure of Constantinople by the Turks (1453) necessitates the discovery of fresh routes.

(*c*) Expedition and Discoveries—Portuguese E.I. Company, English E.I. Company, Dutch E.I. Company and French E.I. Company.

(*d*) Fortunes of the English E.I. Company—Elizabeth. James I, Charles II and William III.

Section 2. The English East India Company a power in India (up to 1772).

(*a*) *EUROPEAN POLITICS.*

(i) Decay of the Austro-Spanish Hapsburgs. Ruin of the Spanish Empire and consequent decay of the Spanish (Portuguese) E.I. Company—17th Century.

(ii) Rivalry between England and France—Spanish Succession, Austrian Succession and Seven Years Wars. The Age of Louis XIV and Frederick the Great.

(iii) Failure of France in the contest—Beginning of England as a World Power (Treaty of Paris, 1763).

(*b*) *INDIAN POLITICS.*

(i) Civil Wars: Contests between decaying Moghul Empire, and independent Mussalman kingdoms and the rising Maratha power.

(ii) The parties apply for help to the rival English and French East India Companies—their interference introduces complexity and leads India into the whirlpool of European Politics.

(iii) England *vs.* France in Southern India (Treaty of Wandewash, 1761). England master of Bengal (1744-61).

(iv) The question of 1761—India for whom? (The Moghul Monarchy extinct, Maratha Power at its zenith, lesser Mussalman principalities in Oudh, Hyderabad and Mysore. English—in Southern India neighbours of Mysore, Nizam and Maratha; in Northern India virtual masters of Bengal).

(v) England a recognised Power in India—like the Hindu and Mussalman—French East India Company vanquished (1761-72). [Northern-India:—War with Mir Kasim. The Dewani (1765). The Double Government. Southern India:—Nizam bought off (1761), War with Hyder Ali and the Marathas. The Regulating Act (1772).

Section 3. England the Paramount Power in India—and the first Power of the World (1772-1818).

(*a*) *EUROPEAN POLITICS.*

(i) The second stage of the tug-of-war between England and France.

(ii) Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars (1789-1815).

(iii) Waterloo and the Congress of Vienna, 1815.

(*b*) *INDIAN POLITICS.*

(i) Founding of British Administration in India.

(ii) In spite of the repeated prohibition of the Court of Directors in England the men on the spot had to undertake wars.

(iii) Gradual reduction of independent Mussalman States.

(iv) Overthrow of the Marathas (Baji Rao II, 1818).

(v) England the sole power in India.

Book IV. *CONSOLIDATION OF BRITISH RULE IN INDIA* (1818-57).

Section 1. Foreign Wars (Afghan, Nepal, Burma).

Section 2. Internal Wars (Pindaris, Sikhs, the Sepoys).

Section 3. The Socio-Economic and Administrative Reforms.

Book V. *MODERN INDIA AND WORLD-CIVILISATION* (1858-1905)

Chapter 1. Modern Civilisation.

(*a*) *WORLD POLITICS.*

Section 1. The Advance of Russia.

Section 2. The Franco-German War.

Section 3. The French Republic.

Section 4. German nationality—Greater Germany.

Section 5. Italian unity and expansion.

Section 6. The New World—Monroe Doctrine, Real Union after Civil War, Panama Question, Latin States.

Section 7. The Awakening of the East, Opening up of China, Progress of Japan, the Russo-Japanese War.

(*b*) *MODERN CULTURE.*

Section 1. Physical Science.

Section 2. New Industry and Commerce.

Section 3. Democracy.

Chapter 2. *INDIAN AFFAIRS*—All-round progress.

Section 1. *POLITICS.*

(*a*) Government.

(i) Protection against Russia and Germany.

(ii) Alliance with Islam and preservation of the independence of the Moslem World.

(iii) Relations with the Indian States—their various classes.

(iv) Conciliation of the people, Internal consolidation.

(v) Legislation (Bengal): (1) Chaukidari Act 1856, (2) Calcutta Municipal Act 1856, (3) Excise Law 1856. (4) Hindu Widow's Re-marriage Act, (5) Mutiny Acts 1859, (6) Land Acts 1859, (7) Indian Penal Code 1860, (8) Indian Councils' Act 1861, 92, (9) Road Cess Act 1871, (10) Labour Emigration Act 1873, (11) Vernacular Press Act 1878, (12) Ilbert Bill 1884, (13) Local Self-Government Act 1884, (14) Municipal Act 1884, (15) Bengal Tenancy Act 1885, (16) Inland Emigration Act 1892, (17) Bengal Municipal Act 1894, (18) Partition of Estates Act 1876.

(vi) Finance. (1) Financial Decentralization 1870, (2) Excise 1856, 89, (3) Cess Act, (4) Surveys and Settlement, (5) Rent laws and commissions.

(vii) Executive Service. (1) Honorary Magistrates, (2) Employment of Natives 1867, (3) Subordinates 1868, (4) Statutory 1879, (5) Position of Magistrates, (6) Subdeputies, (7) System of parallel promotion, (8) Competitive Examination, (9) Public Service Commission 1888, (10) Subordinate Examination Service.

(viii) Police. (1) Road Police 1854-57, (2) Dacoity, (3) Police Reform 1861-62, 90, (4) Police organisation, (5) Village Police 1891, &c.

(ix) Municipalities. (1) Calcutta Municipal Act, 1856, (2) Mofussil Municipalities 1864, (3) Bill for Calcutta Muni-

cipal Commission 1862, (4) Road Cess Act of 1871, (5) Mofussil Municipal Bill 1872, (6) Calcutta Municipality—New Corporation, (7) Municipal Act, 1884, (8) Local Self-Government Act, 1884, (9) Bengal Municipal Act, 1894, &c.

(*b*) The People—(i) Their political education through institutions created by Government—Municipalities, District Boards, Legislative Council &c., and through institutions created by themselves—Conference, Congress, &c., (ii) Agitation for constitutional privileges, (iii) Conception of nationality, (iv) Anti-Partition Agitation.

Section 2. EDUCATION (i) Introduced by Government to help administration, (ii) Creates European ideals and institutions, (iii) Spread of education:

(1) Education Despatch, 1854, Second Despatch, 1859, (3) Primary Education, (4) Vernacular Education, (5) Education-cess (6) Zoological Garden, 1875, (7) Technical Education, (8) Organisation of Education Department, (9) Indian Education Commission, 1882, (10) Admission of Females to Medical College, (11) Archæology, (12) "National Education."

Section 3. *SOCIAL CONDITION.* (i) A new tone has been given to society, (ii) Marriage customs, (iii) Efforts for the adaptation of the caste to modern conditions, (iv) An upheaval of the whole community, (v) Changes:

(1) Hindu Widows' Re-marriage, 1856, (2) Charak Puja, (3) Burning Ghats, (4) Ganga Jatra, (5) Sea-voyage &c.

Section 4. *ECONOMIC AND MATERIAL CONDITION.* Application of science for the promotion of Indian health and wealth, (ii) Communications, (iii) Industries.

(1) Roads and Railways. (2) Tea, (3) Labour Emigration, (4) Prevention of Malaria, (5) Agricultural Exhibition, 1862, (6) Port Canning and Port Trust, (7) Orissa and Bihar Famines, 1867, (8) Labour Emigration Act, 1873, (9) Bengal-Bihar Famines, 1874, 1873, (10) Railways and Canals, (11) Drainage

works, (12) Conservation of Forests, (13) Development of resources through Science, (14) Calcutta Industrial Exhibition, 1883, (15) Precautions against Plague, (16) Famine, 1896, (17) (18) Swadeshi Movement.

Section 5. *RELIGION*. (i) Positivistic and sceptical, (ii) Philanthropy and Social Service, (iii) Influence of Western civilisation and Christianity, (iv) Brahmo Samaj, Aryya Samaj, Ramkrishna-Vivekananda Mission, (v) Religious reformers.

Section 6. *NATIONAL LITERATURE*—Remarkable development of the Indian languages and literatures.

5. *GEOGRAPHY*.—Physiography of the world outside India, (1) The physical features, relief, mountain-system, river-system, (2) Vegetation, topography, (3) Weather, climate, seasons, (4) Soils, mineralogy etc., (5) History of the formation of the earth to be presented at this stage.. Elementary geological conceptions. These to be studied with constant reference to, and comparison with, Indian conditions. Details to be avoided carefully. Only most general notions about the lithosphere, hydrosphere and atmosphere of the globe. (*Two periods a week*).

Books for Reference:—Geikie's *Geology Primer*, Dryer's *Lessons in Physical Geography*, Wood's *Geography*.

B. Scientific and Technical.

1. *MATHEMATICS* (*Four periods a week*).

ARITHMETIC—Complex Problems.

ALGEBRA—Up to the end of Fractions.

GEOMETRY—Modern Method, Book II.

2. *BOTANY*—Study of 12 more Bengal Plants—*Gaujor* Daucus, Carota *Karpasa* (Gossypium acuminatum), *Amrul* (oxalis corniculata), *Vasak* (adhatoda Vasica), Guava, *Supari* (areaca catechu) &c. How to identify. Morphology—external and internal characteristics of each. Ewart. Sarkar and Bal's *Lessons on Botany* according to Inductive Method Part III. in the Press.

3. *ZOOLOGY*—Study of 12 Bengal Animals—Morphology.

External and internal characteristics of each. Sarkar and Bal's *Lessons on Zoology* according to Inductive Method. Part III. in preparation.

4. *HUMAN PHYSIOLOGY AND SANITARY SCIENCE*—More details. (Colton, Barnett, Furneaux, Notter and Firth, Hill).

[Subjects 2, 3 and 4 to be given *two periods a week.*]

5. *CHEMISTRY*—Chemical study of 6 more minerals. Quicklime, sodium nitrate, common salt, stone, Salammoniac, Sodium acetate, and ammonium nitrate etc. Sarkar's *Lessons on Chemistry* according to Inductive Method, in preparation, Macpherson and Henderson, Murche. The student is to study the processes and products of heating together a mixture of sodium acetate and caustic soda, action of water on Calcium Carbide, action of Heat on Ammonium Nitrate, action of Ammonium chloride on Potassium Nitrate, action of concentrated Nitric acid on copper, etc.

6. *ASTRONOMY*—More details. (Lockyer, Gregory and Simmons, Ball, Parker).

7. *ELEMENTARY PHYSICS*—Gregory and Simmons, Murche, Balfour Stewart's *Physics*.

[Subjects, 5, 6 and 7 to be given *two periods a week*].

8. *DRAWING*—Botanical, Anatomical, Mechanical, Geographical. Use of Instruments, Set Squares, Scales, &c. (*Two periods a week.*)

9. *WORKSHOP PRACTICE*—(*Two periods a week*).

THIRD YEAR—SCHOOL FINAL

Leading to University—Pupil's age 14 years.

A. Literary.

1. *BENGALI LITERATURE* (*Four periods a week*).

PROSE—Selections (described above) Part IV. (*a*) Translation Pages 60. (*b*) Original, Pages 80.

POETRY—Selections (described above) Part IV. Pages 60.

2. *SANSKRIT LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE*—Sarkar's *Sanskrit Primers without Grammar, AMARKOSHA*—only the words

of common use in classical Sanskrit Literature. *SANSKRIT PROSODY*—The technique of versification in Sanskrit Language by Gangadas (edited by Ramtaran Siromani). (*Four periods a week*).

3. *ENGLISH LITERATURE* (*Four periods a week*).

PROSE—Sarkar's *Selections,* Part III, Pages 125. The course is meant to familiarise the student with the thoughts and ideas of best European writers in modern English. Translations and adaptations from Homer, Dante, Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespeare, Goethe, Irving, Lowell, Tolstoy. The student is thus to be supplied with incidents and ideals of non-Indian life and society through the medium of English language. History lessons have to be co-ordinated with lessons in English Literature.

POETRY—Sarkar' *Selections,* Part III. Pages 25.

Descriptive—Historical and Narrative English Poetry from the writings of the best authors—Gray's *Elegy,* Goldsmith's *Deserted Village,* Tennyson, Whitman, Wordsworth.

Composition and Translation on subjects learnt in History and Science classes. History of English Language and Literature: The idea of epochs—changes in Grammar, Orthography and Vocabulary. The ages of Literature—the principal landmarks. Sarkar's *English Literature.* [*Only 5 periods during the last two months*].

4. *HISTORY.* (*Two periods a week*).

EUROPE—Ancient and Mediæval. Most elementary notions of the various epochs of European History. Each epoch to be described with one or two remarkable incidents and one or two prominent characters.

Books of Reference: Sarkar's *Ancient Europe* and *Mediæval Europe.* Botsford—Ancient History. Adams—*European History.* Freeman's *Primer on Europe, General Sketch.*

INDIA—From the earliest times to the foundation of Moghul Monarchy by Akbar. Details to be carefully avoided. The student is to be introduced only to the principal forces, movements and institutions that have shaped the character of the Indians through the ages.

Books of reference.—

Vincent Smith's *Early History of India* and *History of Fine Art in India and the Far East.*

R. K. Mookerji's *Indian Shipping.*

R. C. Dutt's *Ancient India.*

Sewel's *Forgotten Empire.*

Aiyangar's *Ancient India.*

Macdonell's *History of Sanskrit Literature*

H. P. Sastri's *History of India.*

Naren Law's *Ancient Hindu Polity.*

Rhys Davids's *Buddhist India.*

Srinivas Iyengar's *Life in Ancient India.*

K. V. R Aiyangar's *History of India* (Longmans)

Marsden's *History of India* Hindu Period

Sarkar's *Sukra Niti.*

Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Deccan.*

Elphinstone's *History of India*

Ameer Ali's *History of Saracens.*

The Factors of Indian Civilisation

Book I. *COLONISATION AND ARYANISATION* (up to 6th century B.C.).

1. The colonisers, 2. The conflicts, 3. The settlements, 4. Making of the society.

(i) Socio-economic institutions, (ii) Socio-religious institutions, (iii) Socio-political institutions.

5. The literature of the colonisers.

Book II. *THE ADVENT OF A GREAT PREACHER* (6th and 5th centuries B.C.).

1. The soil prepared by previous processes of Aryanisation.
2. Centres of Aryan culture throughout the length and breadth of northern India.
3. Masses and Aborigines also greatly elevated.
4. Teachings:
   (i) Continuation and further development of the rationalistic and positivistic tendencies of the later schools of thought.
   (ii) In the language of the people.
   (iii) Gave rise to a new literature.

(iv) Circulated through apostles and missionaries, became the seeds of a new religion with its peculiar rites, doctrines and dogmas.

Book III. *HELLAS AND INDIA* (4th and 3rd centuries B.C.).

1. *Expansion of Hellas*—Greece as World-Power, 2. *The conquests of Alexander*—India, 3. *Hellenistic Kingdoms*—Bactria, Parthia, Persia, Sogdiana, India.

Book IV. *MAURYA MONARCHY* (3rd and 2nd centuries B.C.).

Section 1. Chandragupta and Chanakya.

1. Foreign and internal wars, 2. Foundation of a strong centralised despotism, 3. The unification of India.

Section 2. Asoka the Cæsaro-Papist.

1. A missionary king, 2. Missions, 3. Educational activities, 4. Diffusion of culture on a patriarchal basis.

Book V. *ASCENDANCY OF NON-ARYANS AND DEVELOPMENT OF INTERNATIONAL LIFE.* (1st and 2nd centuries A.C.).

Section 1. The races.

1. The Sakas, 2. The Kushans, 3. The Andhras.

Section 2. Characteristics.

1. Intermixture, inter-marriages, etc., 2. Assimilation of foreign as well as aboriginal elements in India—religious, social and other institutions, 3. Trade and commerce with foreign nations by land and sea, 4. Social expansion.

Book VI. *IMPERIALISM AND THE FOUNDATION OF GREATER INDIA* (4th to 7th cent. A.D.).

Section 1. The Families.

1. Guptas, 2. Vardhanas, 3. Cholas.

Section 2. Characteristics.

1. The Periclean age—Elizabethean age—age of Louis XIV, 2. Strong and centralised despotism, 3. Expansion and Colonial activity, 4. Commercial development, 5. Literary splendour, 6. Religious changes, 7. India the educational centre of Asia—the school of the Orient, 8. The brightest spot on the earth's surface.

Book VII. *PROPAGATION OF ISLAM IN INDIA* (10th to 14th centuries).

Section 1. The world at the coming of Mahomet.

1. The Roman Empire, 2. The Persian Empire

Section 2. The preaching of Islam.

1. Asia, 2. Africa, 3. Europe.

Section 3. The Hindu States of India—Palas and Rajputs.

Chapter 1. Northern.

1. Lahore, 2. Delhi, 3. Ajmere, 4. Kanauj and Benares, 5. Bihar and Bengal, 6. Assam, 7. Gujarat, 8. Malwa.

Chapter 2. Southern.

1. Devagiri, 2. Dwarsamudra, 3. Orangal.

Section 4. Introduction of Islam into several States.

1. The Ghoris, 2. The Khiljis.

Book VIII. *THE NEW THOUGHT MOVEMENT AND THE BIRTH OF MODERN NATIONS.*

Section. 1. The *Thinkers.*

1. Nanak, 2. Kabir, 3. Tukaram, 4. Chaitanya.

Section 2. The Renaissance.

1. Religious reform, 2. A new moral tone, 3. Society renovated, 4. A new language, 5. A new literature.

5. *GEOGRAPHY*—Commercial, Political and Anthropological Geography of the world. The study is to be mainly non-Indian, but constant reference to and comparison with the Indian conditions required. Wood's *Geography*. (*Two periods a week.*)

B. Scientific and Technical

1. *MATHEMATICS*—(*Four periods a week.*)
   ARITHMETIC—to be finished.
   ALGEBRA—Simple Equation, Ratio, Proportion.
   GEOMETRY—Modern Method, Books I-IV.

2. *BOTANY*—Classification, Generalisations, Laws. Ewart. Sarkar and Bal's *Lessons on Botany* according to Inductive Method Part IV. in preparation.

3. *ZOOLOGY*—Classification, Generalisations, Laws. Beddard Sarkar and Bal's *Lessons on Zoology* according to Inductive Method Part IV. in preparation.

4. *PHYSIOLOGY AND SANITARY SCIENCE*—More details. Colton, Barnett, Furneaux, Notter and Firth, Hill.

(Subjects 2, 3, 4 to be given *two periods a week*)

5. *ASTRONOMY*—More details, Lockyer, Gregory and Simons, Parker, Ball.

6. *CHEMISTRY*—Laws and Generalisations. From the experiments undertaken during the last 2 or 3 years, the following conclusions, among others, are to be deduced:—

I. *THE ELEMENTS*—Metallic and non-metallic (How to distinguish).

1. Their Preparation:—for this such experiments are to be referred to or undertaken afresh as yield each element for one of the various *results*.

2. Their chemical Properties—For this such experiments are to be referred to or undertaken afresh as require the *use* of each of these elements.

II. *THE ACIDS*—to be enumerated and classified.

1. Their preparations. 2. Their chemical properties.

III. *THE SALTS*—to be enumerated and classified.

1. Preparations, 2. Chemical Properties

IV. *THE CHEMICAL THEORIES*.

1. Nature of Elements, 2. Law of Multiple and Definite Proportion, 3. Atomic Theory, 4. Theory of chemical Equations.

Roscoe and Lunt, P. C. Ray. Sarkar's *Lessons on Chemistry* according to Inductive Method in preparation, Gregory and Simmons, Macpherson and Henderson's *Elementary Study of Chemistry*.

7. *PHYSICS*—Balfour Stewart, Gregory and Simmons, Millikan and Gale.

(Subjects 5, 6, 7, to be given *two periods a week*.)

8. *DRAWING*—Botanical, Anatomical, Mechanical, Geographical. (*Two periods a week*).

9. *WORKSHOP PRACTICE.* (*Two periods a week.*)

SCHOOL FINAL EXAMINATION

Full Marks—1,200.

[*N.B.—The student must pass in each subject.*]

A. *ORAL* (Full marks in each 100, Pass marks 50).

1. Bengali language and literature, Prose and Verse.
2. Sanskrit Language and Literature.
3. English Language and Literature.
4. History and Geography.
5. Botany, Physiology, Zoology. [Zoology optional]
6. Physics, Chemistry, Astronomy. [Astronomy optional]
7. Arithmetic.
8. Algebra and Geometry.
9. Drawing and Workshop.

B. *WRITTEN* (Full marks in each 100, Pass marks—30).

1. *BENGALI COMPOSITION:* (*a*) Construction of sentences to illustrate the use of words, phrases, and similes, (*b*) Essay-writing on scientific, historical and literary subjects (*c*) Correction of errors in Spelling, Grammar and Idiom, (*d*) Summaries of Text Books, (*e*) Handwriting.

2. *SANSKRIT COMPOSITION* (*a*) Construction of sentences to illustrate the use of words (*b*) Composition of small paragraphs on scientific and historical subjects. (*c*) Correction of errors in Grammar and Spelling. (*d*) Summaries of ideas contained in the extracts from the Ramayanam, Raghuvansam, etc. etc. (*e*) Translation (*f*) Handwriting in Devanagri character.

3. *ENGLISH COMPOSITION* (*a*) Construction of sentences to illustrate the use of words, phrases and idioms. (*b*) Composition of small paragraphs and letters on scientific, historical and literary subjects. (*c*) Correction of errors in Grammar, Spelling and Idiom. (*d*) Summaries of Text-Books. (*e*) Translation (*f*) Handwriting.

APPENDIX—A.

AMOUNT OF LITERATURE TO BE STUDIED

	Adaptation from Hindu Classics		Original	
Bengali Prose—				
Part I.	40	+	60 = 100	Pages
Part II.	40	+	60 = 100	,,
Part III.	60	+	80 = 140	,,
Part IV.	60	+	80 = 140	,,
	200	+	280 = 480	,,

Bengali Poetry—		
Part I. . .	50	,,
Part II . .	50	,,
Part III.	60	,,
Part IV.	60	,,
	220	

	European Topics	Indian Topics	
English Prose—			
Part I.	...	60	,,
Part II.	75		,,
Part III.	125		,,
	200 + 60 = 260		.

	Indian Topics	Foreign Topics	
English Poetry—			
Part I.	10 + 5 = 15		,,
Part II.	40 + 10 = 50		,,
Part III.	5 + 20 = 25		,,
	55 + 35 = 90		

APPENDIX—B.

MINIMUM LIBRARY REQUIREMENTS

I. Scientific

1. N. G. Mookerji's Hand book of Indian Agriculture.
2. Longmans' Object Lessons.
3. Murche's Object Lessons in Elementary Science—7 vols.
4. Gregory and Simmons—Manual of Elementary Science.
5. Rajendranarayan Chaudhuri *Vastu Parichaya O Indriya Pariksha* (Published by District Council of National Education, Malda).
6. Natural History of Commerce.
7. Yates—Technical History of Commerce.
8. Prain—Bengal Plants.
9. Colton—Physiology : Briefer Course.
10. Barnett—The Making of the Body.
11. Notter and Firth—Domestic Hygiene.
12. Dickson—Climate and Weather (Home Library Series).
13. Dryer—Lessons in Physical Geography.
14. Blanford—Physical Geography.
15. Geology and Geography of the Himalayas Published by the Government of India.
16. Ewart—Matriculation Botany.
17. Green's—Botany.
18. H. N. Mitra—Structural Botany.
19. Hill—Physiology.
20. Huxley—Physiology.
21. Furneaux—Physiology.
22. Lockyer—Astronomy Primer.
23. Parker—Astronomy.
24. Macpherson and Henderson--Elementary Study of Chemistry.
25. P. C. Ray—Inorganic Chemistry.
26. Pfleiderer—Glimpses into the life of Indian Plants.
27. Ball—Lessons in Astronomy.
28. Geikie—Gelogy Primer as well as Advanced.
29. Balfour Stewart—Physics.
30. Millikan and Gale-Physics.

31. Roscoe and Lunt—Chemistry.
32. Binodbehari Chakravarti and Girija Mohan Mallik (1) *Udvid-vijnan Shiksha Pranali* (*Udvider Upakarita*) (Lessons on Botany According to Inductive Method Part I.) (2) *Prani Vijnan Shiksha Pranali*, Book I. (*Jivjantur Upakarita*) (Lessons on Zoology according to Inductive Method Part I.
33. Ramendra Sundar Trivedi—(1) *Prakriti*, (2) *Jagatkatha* (District Council of National Education Malda).
34. Jagadananda Ray—*Vijnanacharya Jagadish Chandrer Aviskar*, (2) *Prakriti Parichaya*.
35. Jogesh Chandra Ray—*Patrali*.
36. Prafulla Chandra Ray—(1) *Prani-Vijnan* (2) *Navya Rasayani Vidya*.
37. Booklets Containing Indian technical terms of Scientific Subjects (Published by Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, Calcutta).
38. Chunilal Basu—*Khadya*.
39. Bhim Chandra Chatterji—The Economic Botany of India.
40. Jnanendranarayan Bagchi—*Saral Swasthya Vijnan*.
41. Jogindra Basu—(1) *Pashu-Pakshi*, (2) *Jivajantu*.
42. N. C. Bhattacharyya and S. C. Mahalanabish—*Vijnan-Patha*.
43. Arnold's Object Lessons.

II. Historical

1. Surendra Nath Ghose—*Itihas Shiksha Pranali* (*Bangali Jati*) (Malda).
2. Braja Gopal Das—*Itihas Shiksha Pranali* (*Hindusthani Jati, Oriya Jati*).
3. Amulya Kumar Basu—*Itihas Shiksha Pranali* (*Maratha Jati*).
4. Rajani Kanta Gupta—*Arya Kirtti*.
5. Akshay Kumar Maitra—*Gaudalekhamala* (Varendra Anusandhan Samiti, Rajshahi).
6. Radha Kumud Mookerji—History of Indian Shipping and Maritime Activity of Indians.
7. M. G. Ranade—Rise of Maratha Power.
8. P. M. Bagchi's Hindu Calendar.
9. Statistical Atlas of India.

10. District Gazetteers as many as possible. Provincial Gazetteers. Gazetteers of Indian States.
11. Narendra Nath Law—*Ancient Hindu Polity.*
12. Benoy Kumar Sarkar—*Sukra Niti.*
13. Imperial Gazetteer of India—Four volumes on India.
14. Holderness—Peoples and Problems of India.
15. Indian National-Builders (Ganesh & Co. Madras).
16. Bengal Celebrities.
17. Lethbridge—Ramtanu Lahiri.
18. Buckland—Bengal under Lieutenant Governors.
19. Indian Year Book and Annual.
20. *Bharat Gaurav Granthavali* (City Book Society Calcutta).
21. Khagendra Nath Mitra—*Bharatvarsher Itihas Pratham Shiksha.*
22. Bipin Behari Nandi—*Saptakanda Rajasthan* (Chittagong).
23. Sarat Chandra Ray—*Sikh Jatir Itihas.*
24. Morison—Indian Empire.
25. Keltie—Applied Geography.
26. Chisholm—Commercial Geography.
27. Watts—Handbook of Indian Economic Products.
28. Warner—The Citizen of India.
29. N. N. Ghose—England's Work in India (University of Calcutta).
30. Aitchison—Treaties.
31. Directory of Indian Industries.
32. Directory of Indian Technical Institutions.
33. Reports of Indian Industrial Conference
34. Rama Prasad Chanda—*Gauda Rajamala* (Varendra Anusandhan Samiti, Rajshahi).
35. Haridas Palit—*Adyer Gambhira* (Chuckervertty Chatterjee & Co., Calcutta).
36. Dines Chandra Sen—*Bangabhasha O Sahitya.*
37. Rajani Kanta Chakravarti—*Gauder Itihas.*
38. Durga Charan Sanyal—*Banglar Samajik Itihas.*
39. Nagendra Nath Vasu—Modern Buddhism.
40. Adams—European History.
41. Freeman—(1) Europe (Primer), (2) General Sketch, (3) Historical Geography of Europe, (4) Atlas to Historical Geography of Europe.
42. Anderson and Marsden —History of India.

43. Seeley—Expansion of England.
44. Benoy Kumar Sarkar—(1) Ancient Europe, (2) Mediæval Europe, (3) Constitutions of seven modern states, (4) Economics.
45. Jadu Nath Sarkar—History of Aurangzib.
46. Vincent Smith—(1) Early History of India, (2) History of Fine Art.
47. Romesh Dutt—Ancient India.
48. K. V. R. Aiyangar—History of India
49. S. Aiyangar—Ancient India.
50. Rhys Davids—Buddhist India.
51. Haraprasad Sastri—History of India.
52. Elphinstone—History of India.
53. Kaliprasanna Banerji—*Nawabi Amal*
54. Botsford—Ancient History.
55. Lives of Nanak and Chaitanya in Bengali.
56. Jadu Nath Sarkar—Economics of British India.
57. Radhakamal Mookerji—The Cottage Industries and Rural Trade Organisations of India (In the Press in England).
58. Rajendranarayan Chaudhuri—*Bhugol Shiksha Pranali* (*Pratham Bhaga*) (*Maldha Jilar Vivaran*) or Lessons on Geography according to Inductive Method, Part I.
59. Binod Behari Chakravarti—*Bhugol Shiksha Pranali* (*Banglar Vaishayik Vivaran*) or Lessons on Geography (Commercial Geography of Bengal) according to Inductive Method. Part II.
60. Nagendra Nath Vasu—*Banger Jatiya Itihas.*
61. Prafulla Chandra Ray—History of Hindu Chemistry.
62. Geographical and Historical Accounts of the Districts of Bengal (Dacca, Mymensingh, Nadia, Malda, Bogra, Tamluk &c) by Bengali Scholars.
63. Administration Reports of Indian States.
64. Museum Guides and Handbooks (Calcutta, Lucknow, Jaipur, Mathura).
65. Emil Reich—Foundations of Modern Europe.
66. Grierson—Bengal Peasant Life (Government Publication).
67. Henry H. Ghosh—The davancement of Industry.
68. Stead—Lest We Forget—A keep-sake from Nineteenth century.
69. W. Crooke—The North-Western Provinces of India.

70. Birdwood—Industrial Arts of India.
71. Watt—Indian Art at Delhi (Government).
72. Keatinge—Rural Economy in the Bombay Deccan.
73. United Provinces Exhibition—Allahabad (Official Hand-Book).
74. A. Latifi—Industrial Punjab.
75. Baden Powell—Manual of the Land Revenue Systems of British India.

III. Maps, Journals and Books of Reference

1. Maps of Districts, Provinces, Indian Empire, Indian States (Published by Government).
2. Statistical Atlas of India.
3. Historical Atlas of India.
4. Scientific, Industrial, Commercial and Agricultural journals in Bengali.
5. English Monthlies relating to Indian facts and phenomena (Modern Review, Hindusthan Review, Indian Review, The Wealth of India, Collegian, Fergusson College Magazine, Vedic Magazine, Dawn, Modern World).
6. Globe.
7. Royal Portfolio of pictures illustrating human organs (Nelson).
8. Botanical Dictionary.
9. Zoological Dictionary.
10. Watts—Dictionary of Economic Products of India.
11. Thacker—Directory.
12. Indian Views and Pictures of Indian great men.
13. Reports, Calendars, Prospectuses of Educational, Industrial, Political, Literary, Archæological, Philanthropic and other institutions and movements (Vivekananda Mission, Aryya Samaj, Social Service League, Hindi Literary Conferences, Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, Industrial Conference &c.).
14. Drawing Plates and Books.
15. Botanical and Zoological charts.
16. Railway Maps, Time-Tables and Guides.
17. Cassells' *Technical Educator.*
18. Cassells' *Popular Educator.*

SARKARISM:

THE IDEAS AND IDEALS OF BENOY SARKAR ON MAN AND HIS CONQUESTS*

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The Messages of Dante and
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Introduction

The ideas of Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar have been extensively summarized by distinguished scholars in American, British, French, German, Italian, Dutch, Czech, Rumanian, Polish and other journals. In India the philosopher Mr. Hirendra Nath Datta, Professor Benoyendra Nath Sen, the economist, Principal Ramendra Sundar Trivedi, the physicist, Dr. Brajendra Nath Seal, Major Baman Das Basu, Prof. Banesvar Dass, Mr. Shib Chandra Dutt, Advocate Pankaj Kumar Mukherjee, Dr. Monindra Mohan Moulik, Dr. Lalit Mohan Basu, Professor Sachindra Nath Dutt, Mr. Rabindra Nath Ghose and others have written estimates of Prof. Sarkar's works. Though the subject is not new yet the present study has been undertaken to present it from a different outlook.

An attempt is being made, with whatever limited knowledge the writer can claim on the subject in relation to his predecessors, to relate the doctrine so as to comprehend the entire philosophy of life in its economic, cultural and social aspects. It is not possible to discover a single-line formula to define a doctrine or philosophy and less so when it comprehends the essential ideas of a man's life. The difficulty is aggravated when the doctrine itself represents the complexity of world-culture, the entire field of man and his creations or conquests. Sarkarism is not a philosophy bearing upon some single aspect of life; it is the philosophy of

* Based on a lecture delivered at Suhrit Library (Calcutta), Lukerganj Club (Allahabad) and other Institutes and published in four numbers of *Forward* (Calcutta), October 10-31, 1938.

cultural and social dynamics covering almost the whole life of man. While speaking about Sarkarism, we have to take into account the encyclopaedic nature of the subject and Sarkar's world-wide interests ranging from scientific achievements to the folk-dances of primitive men. Besides, Sarkar is the author of French, Italian and German writings to which very few of us can have access. The best way to study Sarkarism would be to select several of Sarkar's books and by quotations to allow the subject to speak for itself. In any case, it is an immense undertaking because it involves wading through some eighteen thousand printed pages or so. But we shall earmark just a few works in English and confine our study to their general ideas and fundamental contents.

It is doubtful if Benoy Sarkar, true to his Sarkarism, has ever written anything which is not different from, and sometimes radically opposed to, the standpoints current at home and abroad. Even his smallest essay embodies a constructive challenge to accepted notions.

In these circumstances it is difficult to single out any of his works as the most characteristic expression of his researches, investigations and conclusions. I dare suggest, however, that *The Futurism of Young Asia* (Berlin 1922, pages 410) may be taken as a prominent landmark of Sarkarism.

On the one hand, this extensive volume sums up on all fronts of scientific studies in cultural, economic and international problems Sarkar's views growing for over a decade and a half from 1906. On the other hand, all his economic and sociological views and methods of the last sixteen or seventeen years may be traced to this publication of 1922. In 1939 the *Futurism* has come out under a new title, *The Sociology of Races, Cultures and Human Progress* (Calcutta).

In 1922 the *Sozialwissenschaftliches Literaturblatt* (Berlin) wrote about this book as follows: "Prof. Sarkar reminds us in many ways of our Oswald Spengler on account of startlingly manysided erudition and intellectual flexibility with which this scholarship traverses in a powerful manner all the regions and epochs of human culture. The book exhibits plenty of learning combined with restraint of temperament and is therefore a mine of stimulating suggestions not only to the historian and the philosopher but also to the statesman." According to Professor Karl Haushofer in the *Sueddeutsche Monatshefte* (Munich) of the same year the book "explains perhaps more explicitly than all others the relations of the national ideas

of China and India with Pan-Asian currents of thought and their antithesis to the Eur-American tendencies. It may be regarded as a guide to the ideas of leaders of the Asian movement. Everybody who undertakes a deeper and more intensive investigation of this problem, in so far as the exhibition of surging ideas is concerned, will have to begin chiefly by analysing Sarkar's philosophical fresco of awakening Asia. This is the most magnificent of all presentations from the Asian standpoint known to me."

About the same time the *Giornale degli Economisti e Rivista di Statistica* (Rome) wrote: "The eminent Indian historian and sociologist has collected in this volume some of his essays on the evolution and immediate future of Asia. Altogether these writings give an adequate idea of the momentous movement of rapid evolution, economic and intellectual, that has manifested itself in the last decades in Southern and Eastern Asia."

The *Modern Review* (Calcutta) said in 1922: "In the more general aspects of comparative culture-study, the author is easily first among Indian writers, sure to arrest your attention and provoke you to think. Every sentence is like a knock-down blow, and it tells owing to the intimate firsthand knowledge which lies behind it." Another Indian journal, the *Vedic Magazine* (Hardwar, U.P.) of April 1923 greeted the work in the following manner: "Benoy Kumar Sarkar is one of the foremost thinkers and writers of India to-day. In this his latest production he has collected some of his essays that he has been contributing to the leading journals of Germany, France and America. He has studied the history of various countries of Asia and drawn from it the conclusions as to the trend that events in Asia will, in continuation of the past behind them, take. That there are inherent differences between different sections of humanity is a theory that Sarkar unanswerably refutes with the logic of historic and physical facts."

The New Hemisphere was equally emphatic in its views. Said the *Freeman* (New York): "American readers would do well to study this clear and forcible statement of an Asiatic view of Western civilization and the future relations of East and West. Prof. Sarkar rejoices in the rapid industrialization of the East, disregarding all possibility of any better way. It is for Asia to assert herself in the modern world by economic competition. The economic results of industrialism and scientific invention are being rapidly absorbed and added to by the East; and soon the apparent distinction between

East and West will disappear, as they are already disappearing in the world of science and art."

I shall not however confine myself to this work. Specimens of Sarkar's thought will be exhibited from different works according to the topics selected.

Chapter I. Philosophical

Not Truth But Truths

As a philosophy of life Sarkarism is the doctrine of the individual as the centre of the universe. Sarkar is the exponent of creative individualism. His individual, again, is all the time creating something new. Every creation is a new aspect of the individual's personality. The individual, according to Sarkar, is a bundle of multiple personalities. It is the negation of the integration of personalities in the advocacy of which Sarkar should appear to be in agreement with the Italian writer, Pirandello.* Man, in this view, is not one personality but a series of personalities presenting this or that phase of it according as the circumstances and relationships necessitate its display. The same man is capable of assuming different personalities in the role of father, son and husband and in the play of each of these roles he is different from the others.

About the nature of personality Sarkar says. "Human *psyche* or rather personality is essentially a dynamic entity, ever on the go; and by nature it is a differentiating organism,—carrying within itself the mechanism of a transformer" (*Political Philosophies Since 1905*, Vol. I. Madras, 1928, p. 2). He is not one of those who believe in the absolute value of truth. To him truth is a perpetually changing category, continually adapting itself to the new discoveries of human intelligence. It is no transcendental quality eluding our grasp, but a palpable reality relative in its course. "Whenever I find," says Sarkar, "two persons trying to agree with each other I feel inclined to suspect that there is a chance for some moral or spiritual injustice happening in the world."

Truth, according to him, is individual, personal and concrete and not universal, general and absolute. "Not Truth, but truths," says Sarkar, "constitute the objective verdict of philosophy." Like

* L. Petech. "Pirandello's Dramas and Stories" (*Calcutta Review*, April, 1939).

Romain Rolland he believes "in a perpetually changing world," and holds that "a truth that never changes is a lie."

It is not possible for him to swear by race-types and race-geniuses or oriental and occidental ideals of existence. Humanity, according to him, is fundamentally one and differences are essentially individual. World's latitude and longitude do not serve as criteria for the division of humanity. It is everywhere the same. An Abyssinian is capable of displaying the same emotions and feelings as an Englishman with all the pride of his civilized life. In Sarkaristic pluralism there are Abyssinians and Abyssinians just as there are Englishmen and Englishmen. The most fundamental consideration in human beings is the individual personality and not the group, the individuality of character and not the so-called collective conscience or group-mind.

To Sarkar the term 'morality' seems to convey hardly any meaning. Judged by individual standard and conception, what is moral to one may amount to gross immorality to others, and he considers the fixation of an absolute standard of morality to be practically impossible. In the International Parliament of Religions held at Calcutta, 1937, he declared: "The mixture of the rational and the irrational, the logical and the illogical is an integral part of the human *psyche*. Herein is to be found the eternal duplicity of man, as Pascal maintained. Morality is indeed dualistic, nay, pluralistic. Inconsistencies are nowhere more glaring than among the 'leaders' or builders of civilization, whether ancient or modern, in whom as a rule, 'the savagery of a lion,' the slyness of a fox,' or at any rate, severity, cynicism and moral indifferentism constitute the 'necessary pre-requisites for successful climbing through many channels." (*The Religions of the World*, Calcutta, 1938, Vol. I. p. 196).

The Might of Man

Sarkarism is out and out a doctrine of energism and progress. According to Sarkar the mighty transformer of the world is man This has been his cult since his formulation of the doctrine of *vishwa-shaktir sad-vyavahar* (utilization of world-forces) during the *Swadeshi* period. The Bengali book of essays entitled *Vishwa-shakti* (1914) and the paper on *Itihas-vijnan O Manav-jatir Asha* (The Science of History and Hope of Mankind) read at the Bengali Literary Conference held at Mymensingh (1911) contain the earliest declaration of this creed.

The dynamism of ideas of *shaktiyoga* (energism), *charaiveti* (march on), and *digvijaya* (world-conquest) is one of the fundamental postulates in Sarkar's thought. His is an objective mind. So he looks for concrete illustrations of his cult from history. This spirit he traces in the history of the Indian people beginning from the Mohenjo Daro culture down to the modern age. In his examination of the moral and spiritual values Shivaji the Great (1627-1680) has been declared to be the "greatest Hindu of all ages" (*Introduction to Hindu Positivism*, Allahabad, 1937, p. 579).

A still older embodiment of his cult Sarkar finds in Kautilya (c. 300 B.C.) whom he describes as "philosopher, statesman, energist, who organised for Young India of old the cult of *vijigishu*, (aspirant to conquest)." *The Politics of Boundaries* Vol. I (Calcutta, 1926, 1938) is dedicated to the "spirit of Kautilya."

Another concrete example of Sarkar's *vishwa-shaktir sadvyavahar* is Hem Chandra Banerji (1838-1903), to whose memory likewise he dedicates the above book. Banerji is the "poet, patriot, idealist," "whose message in Bengali," says Sarkar, "has taught the Young India of to-day as follows:

"Take thee to the ocean's deeps;
And crowns of mountains scramble hold;
Planets of the universe,
Ransacked be merciless;
Tempests and meteors,
Flame of lightning fierce,
Grasp, man, audacious-firm,
Venture, then, on life's work!"

Incidentally it may be observed that *The Politics of Boundaries* is described by Sarkar as a "contribution to the analysis of *vishwashakti* (world-forces)."

Sarkar does not accordingly believe in the Durkheimian cult of man's hopelessness against social surroundings. Like Gaston Richard he is a critic of Durkheim and his ideas are naturally akin to those of Bergson and Spengler. He does not, however, shake hands with Spengler when the latter says that the spirit of Kant is lacking in the modern age. Instead, Sarkar finds it permeating our contemporary thought and activity. It is the activism and not the statical quietism that he is identified with.

In Vivekananda's (1862-1902) life-work Sarkar finds one of the finest modern illustrations of his own cult. His spirit may best

be described in his own words used about Vivekananda. "Vivekananda is not a statical fact," says Sarkar, "he is a going concern. His philosophy compels one to move not only from village to village and region to region but from idea to idea, *mores* to *mores*, custom to custom, ideal to ideal. He is to move out of the shackles of the degrading and dehumanizing theories to the theories of man-making, or rather, the transformation of nature and man by manhood, the remaking of man. It is such social mobility, vertical and horizontal, in space as well as time whose blessings are adumbrated in the *Aitareya Brahmana*" (*Sociology of Population*, Calcutta, 1936, p. 122)

Speaking of the spirit of dynamism in Vivekananda, he says, "The glorification of the individual, the deification of personality, which enables the man of the *Atharva Veda* (XII, I, 54) to declare to Nature, "Mighty am I, Superior by name, upon the Earth, all-conquering am I, completely conquering every region" is the 'ideal that creates the reality in Vivekananda's psychology. His doctrine of Man-born-to-conquer-Naturism finds therefore its natural paraphrase in the message he delivered to the Bengali people as to All-India at the epoch-making Calcutta meeting (1897). "We have to conquer the world, that we have to! India must conquer the world and nothing less than that is my ideal," said Vivekananda; "It may be very big, it may astonish many of you, but it is so. We must conquer the world or die. There is no other alternative. The sign of life is expansion: we must go out, expand, show life or degrade, foster and die. There is no other alternative."*

It is with this clarion call, this reverberating message of Vivekananda that Sarkarism as a philosophy of life is in sympathy. In Sarkar's thoughts and writings we come across nothing but the will to conquer and the defiance of obstacles. And not only so, he has tried to live up to this ideal, nay, made many to live up to it.

Progress as a Social Reality

In Sarkar's philosophy man is always for the declaration of war against submission to hindrances and difficulties. It is the philosophy of a revolt against the so-called bonds of Nature;

* *The Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda*, vol III. (1932), pp. 316-319.

against the limits of time and space. It is the philosophy of optimism and hopefulness, a philosophy of the never-to-be-conquered race. Defeatism is a word not to be found in Sarkar's vocabulary. His robust optimism leads him to believe that the Bengal of to-day has outdistanced the Bengal of a few years ago, say, of 1905. In his Bengali book *Badtir Pathe Bangali* (Bengalis in Progress), 1934, he has furnished the statistical evidence of Bengalis making headway in different fields. Greater Bengal, Greater India, is what he stands for. He is not for isolation and retirement, he is all for cultural invasion and conquest, an assimilation of the world-culture so as to make it one's own, and enrich it with Bengali contributions.

As an exponent of progress Sarkar looks around for those teachings of modern philosophers which are calculated to help mankind in the mastery of difficulties and conquest of obstacles. In Ramakrishna (1836-1886) he discovers one such great teacher. While speaking of Ramakrishna he says: "To Ramakrishna vacilliation is a sin, weakness is a sin, procrastination is a sin." It is the consciousness of one's importance and dignity, confidence in one's strength that constitute the intellectual make-up of Sarkar's philosophy. He has firm faith in the doctrine of Ramakrishna, among whose sayings we read, "Many with a show of humility say, 'I am like a low worm grovelling in dust,' Thus, always thinking themselves worms, in time they become weak in spirit like worms. Let not despondency enter into thy heart, despair is the great enemy of progress in one's own path" (*Sociology of Population*, p. 114).

All the "great exemplars" of Sarkar are concrete manifestations of the pursuit of a mission under difficulties, the *avatars* of struggle against hindrances. They are strong enough to "make something out of nothing' or "transform a Nay into an Yea," to use his language. His heroes are the remakers of mankind fully self-conscious and supremely conscious about man's destiny in regard to the conquest of nature and the world. Man is by nature a *vira* (hero), and manhood is equivalent to heroism, as he declared already during 1911-14 in the Bengali writings of the *Itihasa-Vijnan* and *Vishwa-shakti* period.

It is relevant here to observe that in the interpretations that Sarkar has given about the teachings of Ramakrishna and Vivekananda he has brought into prominence only those aspects of their

messages which are in agreement with his own cult of power, defiance and world-conquest. Incidentally it may be observed that these interpretations have served to impart a humane, realistic and tangible shape to the Ramakrishna-Vivekananda movement as an intellectual, social and moral factor in national life and international culture. It is in this perspective that Sarkar's doctrine of the "Ramakrishna Empire" has to be placed. Sarkar has succeeded in initiating what may be described as neo-Vivekanandism in Indian social philosophy. In the atmosphere of Sarkarism Vivekananda has acquired a new figure, that of the founder of the "new Indian Empire" of the twentieth century.

In the advocacy of this doctrine of energism and activism Sarkarism, on the one hand, finds a definite counterpart in the *élan vital* of Bergson and *l'impulsion vitale* of Espinas, and, on the other, it meets the doctrine of "perpetual increment" of Benedotto Croce. Sarkar is a stern enemy of Lapogue's doctrine of degeneration and decay. Progress and advancement, and not regression, is according to him the order of this universe. Progress is to him a social reality of human history.

CREATIVE DISEQUILIBRIUM

This need not, however, lead us to the belief that Sarkar is an incorrigible optimist who would defend his views by practising blindness to the instances of defeat. He does not fail to see the depressions in the condition of men. The adverse results of human endeavours, which we often find in this world, do not escape his sight. Struggles, according to him, may not always lead us from victory to victory, they may end in failure sometimes, but this has not set a limit to the efforts of man. Sarkar recognises the existence of devils. Nay, he would not like to be without them. In his scheme of life's values the devils serve a great purpose. He would like to have them by scores, nay, by millions so that every day he can have an evil to conquer and trample under feet. I remember the peroration with which he brought to a close the proceedings of the International Parliament of Religions at Calcutta on March 8,1937 (held under the auspices of the Ramakrishna Centenary Committee). The burden of his prayer as a part of his observations on this occasion is given in something like the following words :

"Nobody is more conscious than ourselves," said he as a Secretary of the Parliament, "of the shortcomings of all sorts which

have marked our organisation and functions. Of shortcomings and blemishes we are not afraid, nay, we are proud of them because, humanly speaking, it is the quantity and variety of defects, mistakes and errors of judgment that furnish the veritable index to the complexity, greatness and importance of an undertaking. Indeed, in so far as we are human beings, it should be our prayer to God, if there be a God that can grant our prayers, that our activities be ever marked by shortcomings in order that we may always be on the alert to remove them and attempt everyday to be something new and great or rather somewhat less imperfect, less defective. Hundred percent success is not what we crave for or ought to crave for. Men we are and we want always a Devil in order that we can at every step demonstrate the human might by crushing him."

This is Sarkar's doctrine of progress, a position which involves automatically the existence of evils, miseries and depressions of life as well as the eternal struggle of man to overpower them. It implies a spiritual condition of "creative disequilibrium,"[1] as he often says. Sarkarism may then be used as a convertible term with activism, energism and life-force, the very principle of life and vital urges. In his doctrine of creative disequilibrium which furnishes the logical foundation of progress as an eternal evolution Sarkar may be best compared with the French philosopher Condorcet (1743-1794), author of the epoch-making *Outline of an Historical Picture of the Progress of the Human Mind* (1795), among the classical thinkers.[2]

Chapter II. Educational

Leadership as the Aim of Education

As early as 1910 Sarkar formulated a system of education which, in the judgment of the contemporaries, marked "a revolutionary departure from the old track." He introduced a new methodology—the inductive—based on sound principles. Sarkar says, "Education is nothing but the comprehensive means of help-

1 Sarkar. "Demo-despotocracy and Freedom," "A short-coming of the Hegel-Marxian Dialectic," "Dualism in Law," etc. (*Calcutta Review* for January and February, 1939).

2 Barnes and Becker: *Social Thought from Lore to Science* (Boston, 1938), vol. I. pp. 473-477.

ing forward the natural life-process. It is an aid to the manifestation and display of vital energy, and accelerates the spontaneous development of individuality through the assimilation of the forces and materials in the universe. It is a process by which the individual and the environment are brought into relations with one another in the interest of the individual's life and progress."

Education ought to make man, as indicated in Sarkar's creed, intellectually a "discoverer of truths" and a "pioneer of learning" and morally "an organizer of institutions and a leader of men." In the *Siksha-Vijnan* (Science of Education) Series Sarkarism is equivalent to "the making of man," which again is identical with the training for leadership. He advocates such moral training as tends to develop the spirit of self-sacrifice and philanthropic habits. As regards the curriculum of the primary schools he insists on its being encyclopaedic and as comprehensive as possible.* The importance of the vernacular as the medium of highest University instruction occupied his mind in a conspicuous manner.

His book on the study of languages is an excellent work of its kind. A few lines from his *Science of Education* (London, 1913, p. xv) will clearly bring out his viewpoint. "A babbling child," says he, "tries to express at least one simple idea. It is the expression of ideas to others and development of his power of expression that give him gradually a command over the resources of his language and literature; and the necessity of expressing many intricate ideas according to the varied wants of life makes his expression manifold and complete." Sarkar's procedure is to begin with sentences and not with the disjointed word or words. One solitary word, he says, can scarcely express an idea. A complete sense, a full thought is represented by only the sentence. The sentence may be very short, it may consist of two words only, but it is the sentence that is the only vehicle of communication and interchange of ideas. The sentence must therefore be used as the unit of language, and the student must try from the beginning to compose sentences in the language which he wants to learn."

* B. K. Sarkar: *Steps to a University* (Calcutta, 1912) See Mahamahopadhyaya Prof. Adityaram Bhattacharya's observations on Sarkar's method of teaching the languages, especially Sanskrit, quoted by Dr. L. M. Basu in his preface to Sarkar's *Introduction to Hindu Positivism* (Allahabad, 1937). See also Appendix VI, *supra*, pp. 215-256.

Natural Evolution in the Educational Process

The educational system, according to Sarkar, ought to vary with the traditions and habits of the people for whom it is intended. The stereotyped system of education, though hoary with the prestige of antiquity, is a misfit. "If, then, it is necessary," says he, "that some ways and means must be devised by man for the proper development of his mental and physical faculties, the ways and means must have to follow this spontaneous process of life-building and the lines of its natural development." Again, "if it is at all necessary and desirable to establish an institution for educational purposes, the suitability of such an institution must be taken into consideration by having reference to the social, political and religious conditions of the people for whom it is intended. For the life and development have been already adjusted to those surrounding circumstances. If these factors in the existing and past conditions of its national growth are neglected by the responsible guardians of society while formulating schemes of education, the healthy progress of life's development along normal and natural lines will be retarded, and in the place of easily growing specimens of humanity the world will witness the rise of an abnormal and degenerate society of human beings. And such results are the very things to be avoided and prevented by educational arrangements for they run counter to the very ends and objects of education, viz., the development of the individual along the lines of his own natural evolution."

"Every place," he says, "must have its own pedagogics and every age also must have its own" Individuation, freedom, variety, pluralism, these are the marks of Sarkarism in pedagogics. Accordingly he believes that "spiritual education worth the name can be promoted only under conditions of personal love and responsibility that were supplied in the homes of preceptors in ancient India." In Sarkar's educational creed it is the individual, the person, rather than the formula or the system that plays the predominant role. Sarkarism in education is identical with the philosophy of creative morality, individualistic ethics and spiritual leadership.*

* See the contributions on "Educational Reform in Sarkar's Steps to a University" (M. N. Sarkar) and "The National Schools of Benoy Sarkar" (B. N. Das-Gupta).

Raising the Standard of Higher Education

In August 1926 the *Calcutta Review*, the journal of the Calcutta University, published Sarkar's "Memorandum on Post-Graduate Studies" containing as it did his ideas on reform in higher education. That "Memorandum" is available as a chapter in his *Comparative Pedagogics in Relation to Public Finance and National Wealth* (Calcutta 1929). The following extracts are taken from this work :

The Academic Standing of M.A.

1. Even if the Matriculation, Intermediate and B.A. of our Universities be considerably improved both in standard and method of teaching, the intellectual equipment of the student at the threshold of M.A. is likely to remain low, especially since a foreign language is bound to be the medium of higher education for some long time.

2. M.A. students are generally 21-23 years old. At this age no young men and women, anywhere in the world, are expected to do high-class work as candidates for degrees, even although the mother-tongue be the medium of instruction and culture.

3. It is, therefore, desirable, both on the part of the University authorities as well as the teaching staff, to be modest in regard to what the M.A. degree in India is, academically speaking, to stand for.

Real Post-Graduate Teaching

1. It is time to recognize frankly that there cannot be much distinction between the B.A Honours and M.A. and that the latter should be treated in scope as but a continuation of the former.

2. Without quarrelling over the name it is necessary also to admit that real post-graduate teaching would involve (i) specialization in one or two fields, (ii) an acquaintance with the latest developments in methodology as well as conclusions (i.e. everything that is worth knowing) in regard to the subject or subjects chosen by the candidate, and (iii) mastery over at least two modern European languages on the part of the scholar as well as the habitual use of books and journals in those languages.

3. This result can be attained only when there is provision for at least two full years' regular schooling at the University after

the M.A. to be followed by written (and if necessary, oral) examination.

4. But perhaps neither the University of Calcutta nor any other University in India is at present (i) financially or (ii) in the strength of specialized teaching staff competent enough to undertake this post-M.A. tuition.

5. Until that consummation, highly desirable as it is, can become a question of practical politics it is reasonable (i) to declare openly that real post-graduate teaching is not possible in India to-day and (ii) not to claim it for the existing M.A. work.

M.A. AS PRELIMINARY TO POST-GRADUATE

1. M.A. being what it is, the problem of an adequate curriculum is essentially a question of sound pedagogics.

2. For youths of 21-23, who may later be expected to undertake specialized studies, the scheme of instruction is to provide a "minimum complex" of all-round encyclopaedic culture.

3. The problem consists in arranging a system which admits to the scholar's cognizance as many of the different arts and sciences or branches of arts and sciences of the higher grade as possible without any attempt at elimination.

4. M.A. may thus be expected to function as expanded B.A., i.e., as serving to equip the scholar with a training in all those general principles and view-points of arts and sciences without which a specialization in any particular branch or sub-branch can but lead to an undue narrowing down of the mentality or a superficial and unphilosophical grasp of the complex and concrete reality.

THE FOUNDATIONS OF HUMANISM

In Sarkar's *Comparative Pedagogics* (Calcutta, 1929) humanism has been taken to be an aim of education and culture. The pedagogic methods by which humanism can be promoted and expanded in the system of national culture have been dealt with by him as follows.

In this Memorandum certain disciplines have been taken to constitute the ground-work of all liberal education, says he. These are (1) anthropology, (2) comparative psychology, (3) economic history, and (4) history of the exact sciences and technical inventions. It is in the interest of a culture, at once humane

and realistic, at once moral and practical, that these sciences should be admitted into eveybody's sphere, no matter whether it is mainly philosophical, historical, literary or scientific. The firm and vital grip over facts and problems, both material and moral, and the humanistic attitude in regard to their solution are chief requisites in Young India's intellectual life in order to endow it with anti-anaemic, anti-mystical and anti-speculative virility.

1. It is not desirable to admit anthropology to the rank of an independent cultural unit in the scheme of M.A. studies. But this science has grown during the last two decades or so to enormous proportions. No student of the B.A. stage can afford to grow up without a preliminary grounding in the principles of anthropology. It will have to be counted as a compulsory, allied discipline in the M.A. courses also, in history, psychology, ethics, aesthetics, philology, economic evolution, political science, etc. Anthropological training is to be regarded as an indispensable item in the irreducible minimum of humanism

2. Like anthropology, comparative psychology also is a new science, and its cultural significance has got to be recognized in Indian Universities. The experimental analysis of mental operations in the human as well as the animal world, the objective differentiation of the nervous system according to age and sex, the bearings of health and occupation on personality, as well as the results of investigation in the submerged self, abnormalities and so forth, are phenomena of epoch-making importance with which no young scholar can be allowed to remain unfamiliar to-day. Especially is it necessary in India, where the sway of monistic psychology and absolutism in philosophical thought has obtained too long to the detriment of intellectual catholicity and moral freedom. The clarification and sanity of the brain such as are sure to follow the acceptance of the pluralistic conception of the mind and the doctrines of individualistic psychology will not fail to raise mankind to a higher spiritual level, compelling chauvinism, intolerance and ethical dogmatism to retire inch by inch into the limbo of pre-historic curios.

3. The value of economic history as a discipline in positivism is no less fundamental. The superstitions regarding the alleged distinction in spirit and outlook between the so-called Eastern and Western "types" of civilization, which prevail in Eur-America, as

well as in Asia,—among the students of science as of philosophy, literature, and what not,—will begin to disappear as soon as the stages in the economic evolution of mankind appear before the mind's eye in a realistic manner. To persons well grounded in the objective facts of the growth of mankind in the materialistic line, the perspective of culture will appear in all its clarity and unclouded horizon, and the problems of world-reconstruction, remaking of man, social legislation and so forth that await us to-day lose much of their metaphysical vagueness. Even without accepting the extreme dogma of the "economic interpretation of history" (economic determinism, as it is called), we shall be assured of a logical apparatus and mode of thinking in societal science in which measurement, delimitation and exactitude function constantly as the curb on abstract idealism and proneness to thoughtless generalization. And we shall learn to bid adieu to pseudo-climatology and pseudo-raciology.

4. Finally, as a healthy stimulant in all intellectual pursuits—historical, artistic, philosophical or otherwise—and as a perpetual spur to progressivism and optimistic outlook on life, the study of the exact sciences and inventions in their growth and development has to be welcome in Indian academic circles among the "most-favoured" branches of learning. Young India's intellectuals, whatever be their occupations in future, need a tonic of precise, definite, instrumental thinking; and nothing is better adapted to administer strong doses of this stuff and cure mankind of spiritual malaria than is the history of exact sciences, discoveries and inventions especially in their recent phases.

Mankind is in for a philosophical renaissance and a rearrangement of world-forces. In order that India may keep pace with the changed circumstances it is time that she equip herself with the realistic logic of a new humanism and the creative methodology of a self-confident energism, such as can be forged out of this four-fold discipline. And with the object of assuring ourselves of this great prophylactic against anaemia in the moral plane, anthropology, comparative psychology, economic history and the history of exact science should be made compulsory at the B.A. stage and rendered as accessible as possible to all the M.A. students. The humanism for which this "Memorandum" pleads will enable the educational institutions of India to take a leading part in this new anti-malaria campaign as a matter of course.

Chapter III. Aesthetic

Art as Creation of Forms

In the *Aesthetics of Young India* (Calcutta, 1922) we come across Sarkarism in the field of art appreciation. Sarkar believes that neither historical art-criticism nor the so-called philosophical art-criticism can do justice to the creative work of the artists. He is emphatic that simply by describing the story or theme of the art-objects one does not enter the domain of art as the thing in itself. Sarkarism is interested in the structural composition or morphology of the fine arts. It examines the form and volume, i.e., the geometry, as well as the colour of sculpture and painting. Sarkar's 'alphabet of beauty' can be understood from passages like the following. "The language of the painter and the sculptor," says he, "is point, line, angle, cone, square, curve, mass, volume. The creators of beauty speak the vocabulary of positions, magnitudes, dimensions and perspectives."

To an artist, believes Sarkar, "there is only one organ of sense and that is the eye. The artist does not however view the world as a theatre of minerals, plants and animals nor of the races of men." We are told that in the geology and anthropo-geography of art there are recorded only the forms and also the colours.

Sarkar asks the question, "What does the artist create?" His answer is as follows: "Not necessarily the doubles or replicas, nor even the interpretations or symbolisms of the forms which arrest his eyes, but whatever his form-sense dictates to him as worth creating." In this Sarkaristic analysis we are to understand that the painter and the sculptor do not construct leaves, trunks, branches, arms, lips, thighs, loves, angers, hatreds. "They are interested solely," says Sarkar, "in the juxtaposition of forms, in the intermarriage of shapes, the permutation and combination of masses and surfaces."

Sarkar discusses the question as to whether the artists are teachers and deliver messages, whether their forms and colours are calculated to foster ideals for mankind and he declares himself on the side of those who believe that art has a moral. In his analysis there cannot be any art for art's sake. Sarkarism considers every piece of art, that is, creation of forms, as fraught with some meaning and some spiritual values. Sarkar believes "that creations of mass in space are problems in themselves and a message

is immanent in each problem, in each contour, in each co-existence of forms, in each treatment of colour." The philosophy of forms in Sarkaristic aesthetics can be further described in a more concrete manner as follows. It is pointed out that "no form, however irregular, unnatural, abnormal, nebulous, hazy, vague or dim can be without its specific meaning in space. Similarly, there cannot be any bend without a sense, any lump without its philosophy, any bit of coloured space without its significance in the scheme of art-geometry." According to Sarkar, "we do not have to wander away from these lines, surfaces, curves, and densities in order to discover the ideals of the maker. The ideals are right there speaking to my eyes."

Ideals in Literature

Sarkarism in literary appreciation is equivalent to emancipation from the obsessions by climate, race, and religion. In February 1922 Sarkar was invited by the *Englisches Seminar* of the University of Berlin to deliver a lecture in English on the "world's great classics." A summary of this lecture was subsequently read by him as the *Message of Young India* for the Odeon Machine of the Sound Division of the State Library at Berlin for preservation among the plates for recording diverse voices. It is reproduced below:

During the last few decades aesthetic appreciation has been obsessed by pseudo-scientific theories of climate, race and religion, —thus begins Sarkar's *Message* to Eur-America. The science of criticism has managed to construct a geography of artistic temperament, and men and women have been taught to interpret art-ideals and art-motives in terms of latitude and longitude. The most notorious of these anthropological demarcations of the art-sphere is the distinction between Occidental and Oriental zones.

But what do we learn from an objective examination of the world's great classics?

The Homeric and Valmikian epics have innumerable parallels. Achilles and Penelope or their cousins are well known characters in Indian literature. The Vishvamitras of the Hindu *Puranas* have undertaken the same Titanic conflicts with the powers that be as have the Prometheuses of Hellas.

In the *Atharva Veda* Man declares his ambitions to the Earth in the following manner: "Mighty am I, Superior by name, upon

the earth, all-conquering am I, completely conquering every region." European *Zeitgeist* has never been more energistic.

In Virgil's *Aeneid* and Kalidasa's *Raghuvamsha* the student of world literature will find the identical philosophy of national egoism and imperialistic chauvinism. Christians who are used to the analysis of virtues and vices in Dante's *Divine Comedy*, its purgatorial machinery, and its faith in the advent of the *Veltro*, the Deliverer, who would restore on earth the universal Italian empire, will easily appreciate the apocalyptic proclamations of the Hindu *Gita* in regard to the *Yugavatara*, the God incarnate in man, who comes every age to destroy the evil and establish the good.

Similarly orientals do not find anything distinctively occidental in Edmund Spenser's eulogy of temperance in the *Faerie Queene*, in Molière's humour in *L'Etourdi*, or in Goethe's "godless curiosity" in *Faust*. The *troubadours* of Provence, the *Minnesingers* of mediaeval Germany and the minstrels of England could likewise have a natural home among the warrior-*charans* and *bhats* of Indian Rajputs and Marathas.

The evidences of culture-lore as well as folklore are thus contrary to the alleged difference in *Weltanschauung* and philosophic attitude between the East and the West. The ideals of life have been statistically and historically the same in Asia and Eur-America.

The list of analogies, parallelisms, identities and coincidences that can be detected between the historic civilizations of the East and the West is indeed formidable. These analogues and duplicates are to be found not only in the realm of ideas, postulates, hypotheses and beliefs but also in the field of institutions, conventions, superstitions and practices.

I am not here, Ladies and Gentlemen, to advise you that Germany should have to import the message of Nature from India or the East. Nor am I here to inform you that life and thought in India were ever more moral or spiritual than in the West. My mission consists in inviting your attention to the fact that previous to the industrial revolution of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, i.e., down to the time of Goethe and Napoleon there was hardly any political, economic or juridical institution in Europe for which a parallel or a duplicate could not at the same time be found in India. I am here to announce to the world that reform in social science will be possible only when this equality or

fundamental similarity between the East and the West is accepted as the first postulate in all scientific investigations.

Chapter IV. Sociological

Eastern Energism and Positivism

The traditional notions about Oriental culture are described by Sarkar as follows: "The main trend of Max Mueller's thesis was to indicate that India can teach nothing but sublime speculations of an other-worldly character, the psychology of the soul, the ethics of retreat from the struggles of life, and the metaphysics of the infinite." Again, "Schopenhauer, himself a pessimist of the blackest dye, had brought to prominence some of the quietistic passages of the *Upanishads* and the Buddhist *Dhammapada*. Since then it has become almost a fetish in the Western world to take the Orient and pessimism as convertible terms. Especially is Buddhism known in the Occident as the cult of pacifism, annihilation, inactivity, non-resistance, and so forth; and all other cults in the Orient are alleged to approximate this ideal more or less closely. This notion about Asian quietism is one of the greatest *idolas* of the modern world. It cannot stand the least historical criticism."

To disprove the contention of the western scholars Sarkar lays down the follwing points (*Futurism*, p. 7):

1. "The man Shakya-sinha, called the Buddha, was but one of the hundreds of India's leaders in the fifth and sixth centuries B.C. They counted among them physicians, surgeons, publicists, diplomats, metaphysicians, sophists, logicians and grammarians. Shakya did not monopolize the whole thought and activity of the time."

2. "Shakya was not only the organiser of an order of monks and ascetics, like Pythagoras, but was the teacher also of duties for householders, kings, senators, and soldiers. Most of his followers were energists and active propagandists. They founded charitable institutions, schools, rest-houses, and hospitals both for human beings and animals."

3. "The religion called Buddhism was never a paramount religion and never had an exclusive away in India, China or Japan. The term, Buddhist India, is thus a misnomer. It cannot apply to any epoch of the country's history. Besides, no religion has ever

dominated the policy of rulers and ruling classes in India. The State in India has never been theocratic."

4. "Those who called themselves Buddhists did not make it a rule to fly away from the pains of the world. They could still be fighters, traders, presidents and kings. There are many instances of Buddhist monks organising themselves into military orders in the mediæval history of China, Japan and India."

In his *Positive Background of Hindu Sociology* (Second Edition, Vol. I Allahabad, 1937) he has demonstrated the fact that the achievements of the Hindus in the field of positive science from the period of the Vedic culture down to 1600 were noteworthy. So far as the materialistic or exact sciences are concerned there was no marked difference between the progress of the two branches of the Eur-Asian continent. It is only in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that East commenced lagging behind the West in the field of scientific achievement. The shortcomings in the character of the seventeenth and eighteenth century Indians that were evident in the lack of any initiative in the materialistic field are not due, according to Prof. Sarkar, to any defect, guilt or sins of Hinduism, as it is generally thought to be, but to the peculiar 17th and 18th century mentality, both Moslem and Hindu, which refused to learn the scientific-cum-technological developments ushered in by the West.

In his presidential address at the Second Indian Cultural Conference at Calcutta (1937) Sarkar remarks: "The Mussalmans were as defective and therefore as guilty in this respect as the Hindus. It should not be reasonable to attribute this defect to Hinduism as a religion or as a system of alleged caste-ridden social groups. The Moslems who observe neither the religious rites of the Hindus nor the *mores* and customs of the Hindu castes do not equally appear to have recognized the utility, nay, the necessity of sending their would-be statesmen and generals to the western countries for training in the new arts and sciences." Thus Sarkarism repudiates the contention that there is any difference in the ideals of the East and the West and once again establishes the fact that humanity is fundamentally one.

Equations in Comparative Demography

Before the Scientific Section of the Eighth All-India Medical Conference held at Calcutta in 1932, Professor Sarkar read a paper

which discusses the birth, death, infant mortality and growth rates of the nine Indian provinces.* They are systematically exhibited in the perspective of international statistics culled from some thirty-three different countries of the Eastern and Western Hemispheres including Japan. The concluding chapter is given over to the discussion of the population policy for India. The international co-efficients of vital statistics have been placed by Sarkar in five different groups. According to him, the zones of birth, death and infant mortality and therefore natural increment are found objectively to be indifferent to considerations of (1) climate, (2) race, (3) religion and (4) politics. "Demographic comrades," he says, "do not necessarily happen to be geographically, ethnographically or sociologically akin to one another." Sarkarism holds that "under uniform conditions of temperature, altitude, isotherms and what not as well as physiognomy, social *mores* and legal institutions we discover an extensive diversity of birth and death rates; and on the other hand, identical or neighbouring co-efficients are distributed over regions of the world marked by very diverse physico-physiographical and socio-cultural characteristics."

Historical statistics bearing on the birth, death and infant mortality lines of nations (1811-1928) according to him indicate that India has been moving in the same direction as most of the statistically recorded world in regard to the decline-trends. Sarkar established a number of equations in comparative demography on the strength of peaks and depressions in the life-curves of diverse peoples. These equations prove, among other things, that in birth rate Bengal in 1922-26 is just a little lower than Italy in 1921-25 and exhibits more or less the same conditions as Germany in 1911-14. We get likewise from Sarkar an equation in death-rates like the following:

Madras (1922-26) 22·5 is almost equal to Italy (1901-05) 22·0.

Chronological distance between Bengal and Germany in birth rate, according to Sarkar, is some twelve years only and that between Madras and Italy in death rate is about twenty years. And so on in regard to other indices of international vital statistics.

* *Comparative Birth, Death and Growth Rates* (Calcutta, 1932) and *Sociology of Population* (Calcutta, 1936).

The rather high rates, he says, which happen still to be in evidence on the Indian sub-continent are neither exclusively Indian nor characteristically oriental or 'tropical' but are quite Eur-American as well, and according to him it is not possible to speak of some alleged non-tropical or western indices. He is of opinion that neither Europe nor America is found to be united or uniform in any of these co-efficients. The divergences between the different parts of the geographical expression known as Europe or the western world are immense. It is obvious, he says, that it is only in very recent times, to be measured by half a generation to one generation, that the "undesirable" rates have disappeared from the pioneering peoples. Sarkar trusts that should it be possible for the different regions of India to enjoy a few more doses of (1) popular instruction and (2) general sanitation such as the national finances of modern countries consider to be their first charges, it is likely that the Indian people will catch up to or approximate the go-aheads of the world in no distant future.

The rate of natural growth (i.e. births minus deaths) in India has up till now been uniformly lower than that in other regions with the same amount of population. According to him, therefore, it is not so much from India as from other regions that the world will have to suffer over-population. In regard to over-population Sarkarism is subtle and unconventional. For in Sarkar's judgment over-population is not a numerical magnitude, as is generally believed. The mere number of inhabitants in a country or density per square mile is no index to "optimum," over-population or under-population. In Sarkarism overpopulation is a fundamentally economic category and is always very difficult to demonstrate in a precise manner, because economic categories as a rule are elastic and relative. Economically speaking, says Sarkar, "wherever there is poverty, i e., low purchasing power and low standard of living, there is over-population. This is a danger to which every country including the richest is liable." It is only in this sense that India, according to him, is over-populated. As long as India is poor, India should have to be described as over-populated even with a lesser number of inhabitants. On the other hand, if her agriculture be improved and industries developed, i.e., if India becomes richer she can maintain much larger population than she does at present. In any case, under the present conditions i.e., other circumstances remaining the same, the stress of over-population, in

so far as it is an eventual possibility in all countries and among all races, is likely to grow with greater doses of modernization involving, as it will, better public health policy etc., i.e., on account of lower mortality rates. The economics of population for India both in problems as well as solutions comprising the questions of emigration will be found according to him to be identical with that for other countries. There should, therefore, be no scare about an alleged over-population from the Indian side.

Thus Sarkarism discovers the foundations of a new science of population as well as a new sociology in the conclusions of comparative vital statistics. Incidentally, the conviction is forced upon us that the climatic conditions of India as well as hygienic and social habits of the Indian people are not as dangerous to health as it has been the custom to believe. Altogether, in population questions as in other things Sarkarism follows a distinctly original line that is at variance with the demographic theories not only of the West but also of India. The subject has been the topic of Sarkar's papers in Italian, German and French at the International Population Congresses (1931, 1935, 1937).

Class and Caste Metabolism

Sarkar does not countenance the doctrine of inherent superiority or excellence of any class or caste. Class or caste, he believes, is in 'continual flux' and absorption and replacement has always been the fact of social transformation. Economic and cultural progress, according to him, appears often to be from group to group and class to class but in reality has often followed in the wake of 'racial ups and downs.' According to him "those who admit that economic and cultural progress has been advancing from group to group and class to class fail very often to realize that a great deal of the transformations generally known as class or social revolutions are at bottom expressions of racial ups and down." Again, "the eternal story of mankind is to be found in a nut-shell in the stone implements of the palæolithic ages, when the Mousterians had to give way to the Aurignacians and these latter were in their turn replaced by the Magdalenians and others. Migrations and race-contacts often involving race-submergence or race-disappearance have in all ages furnished the framework of organized social existence" (*Sociology of Population*, Calcutta, 1936, p. 71).

"Aryanism" or Nordic theory does not appeal to him and he holds views which are radically opposed it. Races and castes, according to him, have mingled and the intermixture has produced classes and castes where non-Aryans have been mixed up with the Aryans, Hindus with the non-Hindus, and lower classes with the upper classes, giving rise to transformations in economic, social and political stratification in every region and age. No nation or caste, according to him, represents the unalloyed Aryan stock. As regards India he says, "the mingling of races, Indian as well as extra-Indian, in flesh and blood was a constant determinant in the entire process of family, community or society-making through the ages."

He does not, moreover, believe in any qualitative decline as Lapouge, Galton or Pearson would have us believe. "Should the eugenicist of to-day," says Sarkar, "proceed to characterize the superior fertility of the poorer, depressed, 'scheduled' and other alleged inferior castes or races, their rise into prominence through economic activity, education, political franchise and social reform as well as their marital and sex contacts or eventual amalgamation, partial or complete, with the 'historic' castes and races as tending to lower the quality of Indian civilization and promote race-degeneration or the degradation of values in culture it will be necessary to pronounce the same judgment on the entire course of demographic evolution in India commencing with the Vedic, nay, the Mohenjo Daro epochs."[1] In this view Sarkarism challenges the doctrine of Lapouge who propounded the thesis that the fall of the historic races has involved the decay of civilization. "Race-absolutism or race-monism," says Sarkar, "is an historic unreality in the domain of intelligence quotients and culture."

Womanhood and Sex-Equality

The doctrine of fundamental oneness of humanity leads Sarkar to reject the theory of the different ideals of womanhood according to latitude and longitude. There cannot be one ideal for the East and another for the West, one for the Indians and another for the Americans. The ideals of womanhood, according to him, have everywhere been the same. The same love, affection and tenderness, the same tendency to self-effacement and voluntary submission, the same biological urge of propagation and drive towards motherhood are noticeable in the character of the feminine East as

well as of the feminine West. Sarkar is, besides, a modernist. He is, therefore, not one of those who take exception to woman's taking part in public activities provided her inclination lies that way. He is not for driving women into the kitchen if they are gifted for other than kitchen work.

Functional difference according to sex does not belong to his sociology. There are hardly any activities which can be described as exclusively masculine. If any, they can be counted at fingers' ends. Similarly with the exception of one or two items associated with maternity there are hardly any functions which are exclusively feminine. This is the basis of sex-equality according to Sarkar.

Speaking about Indian women in his *Creative India* (Lahore, 1937, p. 555) Sarkar says that "the Indian women, specially among the intelligentsia, bourgeoisie or upper ten thousands, have already succeeded in assimilating the categories of world-feminism" and that this shows only that the womanhood of India, in part at any rate as in Eur-America, can be depended upon as "constructive workers and thinkers in schemes of world-wide importance for mankind." With regard to the condition of Indian women as economic factors in our social life Sarkar says, "We need not overlook the consideration that women in India have perhaps some special disabilities. But it is entirely wrong to believe that the total womanhood of India lives in seclusion behind the veil. In reality, Indian women are as active as economic agents as their sisters anywhere on earth. Indeed, thirty percent of total Indian womanhood is gainfully employed. This is a much higher percentage than in Italy, Hungary, Sweden, England, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Belgium, Holland, Austria, U.S.A., Japan, Canada, Spain and many other countries. Just a few countries like Switzerland, Germany, Finland, Norway, France, Poland and Bulgaria yield a higher percentage in this field than India."

He does not, as already observed, overlook the disabilities under which womanhood has to labour in India. He weighs them properly in the scale and declares that "women in India, economically speaking, are not idlers. Nor is the *purdah* important enough for the masses of the population to be counted as a factor in the employment market. In certain parts of northern India and especially among the Mussalmans the *purdah* is a social evil and deserves to be condemned as militating against physical health and moral personality. Altogether, the *purdah* may be taken to affect

a very small section of the population." This firm and rational defence of the position and dignity of Indian womanhood constitutes a valuable contribution of Sarkarism to applied sociology.

Chapter V. Religious

The Religious Synthesis as Universal and Eternal

Religion, to Sarkar, is a comprehensive formula, embodying within its complex diverse principles which looked at by scientific analysts would seem to be as the poles asunder. It is to him a synthesis of societal and cultural functions, interests and values. Speaking about this all-comprehensive nature of religion Sarkar says, "*Dharma* and religion are almost synonymous or identical categories, in so far as each implies a binding or connective principle. A cementing or associative ideology is inextricably bound up with the Indian term as with the European. It is in the *milieu* of sociality, solidarism, harmony or equilibrium in the domain of human experiences, whether individual or collective, that we have to move while dealing with the substance of *dharma* (religion). Naturally, therefore, both in the East and the West no category has been taken consciously in a more synthetic, comprehensive and all-sweeping manner than religion." ("Religious Categories as Universal Expressions of Creative Personality" in *The Religions of the World,* Vol. I., Calcutta, 1938).

Such an all-comprehensive item cannot but be vague and indefinite and religion has not been able to absolve itself from this charge. "Comprehensive categories," says Sarkar, "are, as a matter of course, elastic and rather indefinite in contour and make-up. A delightful and often dangerous vagueness has therefore attached from the nature of the case to *dharma*-religious discussions. Religion has ever and everywhere been appealed to, as it can by all means legitimately be appealed to, on the most varied items of human life." Again, "our Manu and indeed all authors of *Dharma-Sastra* before and after him have devoted attention as much to the health and wealth of men and women as to their manners, customs, laws and constitutions. From eugenics, dietetics and sanitation to jurisprudence, economics and politics there is no branch of human science, physical or mental, individual or social, which has been ignored, overlooked or minimized in these encyclopaedic treatises."

It is indeed possible, he says, to isolate the diverse items of the religious complex but that will be tantamount to killing religion itself. These subjects themselves form the different branches of science but to understand the full import of religion they must be taken together and taken as a whole. "This intellectual analysis," says Sarkar in his address at the Ramakrishna Centenary Parliament of Religions (Calcutta, 1937), published in the paper quoted above, "may be of great help in logic, psychology, metaphysics or sociology. But it is the synthetic whole, and not the individual parts—that men and women, even the philosophers and scientists themselves, vaguely call religion or *dharma* when they apply it to their own life in the interest of day-to-day problems, individual or social." Again, "Religion is really one of the expressions of the psycho-social *Gestalt* or configuration of creative man. In the interest of intellectual clarification the *Gestalt* or structural whole may be pulverized into its contentual atoms, into *Beziehungen* (relations) and processes, to use an expression from von Wiese's sociology. For certain purposes of scientific and philosophical laboratory-collaboration we may dissociate the religious from the psychical and social. This pulverization or dissociation can, however, but lead to the isolation of anaemic or bloodless corpuscles such as pure abstractions ought to be called from the viewpoint of human values."

Religion, according to Sarkar, is coeval with man and his creations. He does not subscribe to the views of the French sociologist Levy-Bruhl, expressed in *La Mythologie primitive* that primitives were marked by a pre-religious temperament. Levy-Bruhl's contention of a pre-logical state of mind is, according to Sarkar, psychologically and anthropologically undemonstrable." As regards the much vexed question of monotheism and polytheism Sarkarism has a definite contribution to make. Neither does it shake hands with the one, nor does it say good bye to the other. Sarkar's attitude is that of a liberal intellectual. According to him neither monotheism nor polytheism is by itself complete. Historically, one is invariably seen to be bound up with the other. And the last word about the nature of God does not yet lead to a finality.

Struggle Towards Perfection

In his *Chinese Religion Through Hindu Eyes* (Shanghai, 1916) Sarkar says, "Comparative religion and comparative mythology

will show that man in his desire to have something 'afar from the sphere of our sorrow' has everywhere had recourse to the same *modus operandi* and has achieved the same grand failure which is his vanity he always chooses to call success. It would be found that, after all divinity is but an invention of human imagination, in fact, the first postulate taken for granted. And on a broad view of all the forces that have inspired and governed the *élan* and activity, some of which are miscalled religion, and some not, man has ever been essentially a pluralist and an idolist." Again, "if anywhere there have been people professing a so-called monotheism in religion, a study of their daily life would indicate that they have been polytheists with vengeance in every other sphere,—indulging in thousand and one varieties, social, economic and political. These varieties which take away the monotony of life and give a zest to it, do not, pragmatically speaking, differ in the last analysis from the varied rites and practices underlying a so-called polytheistic faith. What the polytheists call religion, the monotheists call culture." "Life," in Sarkar's appraisal, "demands variety: culture therefore is varied. If you abstract a millionth part of this *Kultur*, e.g., the unverifiable hypothesis of man about God, and choose to call it religion, every race can be proved to be monotheistic. But if you take the total inspiration of a human being or the chart of the whole life that a people lives, mankind has ever been polytheistic. If, again, anywhere there have been people who have repudiated idols in religion, a study of their hearts and feelings, their daily habits, their literary and artistic tastes, would indicate that they are paying the debt to 'old Adam' in shape of hero-worship, souvenir-cult, love-fetishes, pathetic fallacy, mementos, memorials, relics and what not."

Sarkarism repudiates the theological conception of the omnipotence of Divinity and its pre-human existence. God, as known to man, is a creation of the human head and heart, a result of creative imagination. Sarkar is not to be understood as an atheist although his belief in the *theos* (god) is not that of a theologian but that of a philosopher. In any case he is one of those who believe that human life is always governed by the desire for perfection. The daily life of men, according to him, is the theatre of conflict between higher and lower selves. He is conscious of the part that this struggle plays in the making and remaking of religion, and the ideal of perfection, he believes, is still to be achieved. In

the words of Sarkar, "Comparative anthropology and comparative psychology will show that man has everywhere and always been fundamentally a beast, and that beneath a superficial varnish of so-called culture "the ape and tiger" hold their majestic sway,—giving rise to superstitions, prejudices, *idolas* and *avidyas* under different guises and conventions. The brute in man is a fact, the *datum;* but the god in man is only an idea, the ideal to be realized."

Chapter VI. Political

The Theory of State

In the discussion of the problems of the nation, state, freedom and democracy Sarkarism follows its original lines. In the *Science of History and the Hope of Mankind* (London 1912) Sarkar expounds his doctrine of *vishwa-shakti* (world-forces) and shows the paramount importance of the world-forces for the development of every single nation. "It is impossible," says he, "that a nation should be able to acquire or preserve freedom or prestige solely on the strength of its own resources in national wealth and character." According to him "every people has to settle its policy and course of action by detailed study of the disposition of the world-forces and the situation of the political centre of gravity at the time." In his analysis the nature and form of nationality, sovereignty, and democracy are dependent to a very great extent on the conjuncture of international circumstances.

His conception of internationalism is peculiar. He thinks that the problems of applied nationalism in every country consist in the utilization of the world-forces in its own interest. Internationalism is to him but an instrument to be utilized in order to promote the greatness of one's own people. This is his *Geopolitik*.

Sarkar's *Politics of Boundaries* Vol. I. (Calcutta, 1st edition, 1926, 2nd edition 1938) seeks to show that independence and sovereignty are limited as a matter of course. The state is according to him not a natural organism. It is regarded by him "as a voluntary association, an artificial corporation, an institution consciously created or manufactured like the Standard Oil Co. of New York or the University of Oxford." It is a result of contract which he envisages as psychological rather than historical. Internally the state is not to be treated as something inspired by a mystical motive force. According to Sarkar the "nation" does not

exist except as an idea in the imagination of patriots, poets and philosophers. What exists in the world and in history as a fact is the "state." And this state is a mechanical conglomeration of domestic units, clan-communities, socio-economic trusts, etc, not dependent on race, language or culture. In Sarkar's "positive theory" of nation-making the "state may come and the state may go, but the people go on for ever and may live on to create new partnerships or states according to the needs of the hour." The romantic soul-theory of nationality as embodied in the teachings of philosophers from Herder to Mazzini is discarded by Sarkar.*

The contract which renders internal sovereignty automatically dependent on the whims, interests etc. of the partners who constitute the state can likewise render external sovereignty quite limited, conditioned and dependent. Sarkarism considers external sovereignty to be always conditional. Sarkar believes that by its very origin external sovereignty, that is, national independence is a product of international conjuncture and conflicts between neighbours. The nature of external sovereignty is such that it cannot function until and unless it is accepted as such by the neighbouring powers. Sarkar believes that there is virtually a contract, although tacit, which regulates the external relations of states. Even without a system of international law the relations between nations, that is, sovereign bodies would thus be relations of mutual recognition. The limitedness of external sovereignty is very patent in recent years, for the international agreements and positive contracts between states since the end of the Great War especially under the auspices of the League of Nations are considered by Sarkar to be instances of mutual intervention in the affairs of foreign states (*The Political Philosophies Since 1905*, Vol. I. Madars, 1928, p. 171).

The Doctrine of Superior Races

The aversion of the East to worldly affairs is a current coin of belief and nobody seems to question its truth. That the East is wholly religious-minded and the West entirely materialistic is a proposition which has been accepted without challenge and has been sanctified by the work of men like Max Mueller and others. This has given rise to a peculiar doctrine of superiority claimed by

* S. K. Ghoshal: *Herder's Doctrine of the National Soul* (Calcutta 1939).

the westerners. The oriental peoples, on the other hand, unable to retaliate and assert their right in the face of the modern scientific equipment of the West, have likewise indulged in a sense of superiority for themselves although in the spiritual field. The more astounding is it when the stalwarts of Asian thought have blindly accepted this doctrine of Western materialism *versus* Eastern spirituality as virtually the first postulate of comparative philosophy and sociology. It is to Sarkar's credit that he has challenged the validity of this doctrine and has exposed the inherent weakness underlying it in his works beginning from the *Positive Background of Hindu Sociology*, vol. I. (Allahabad, first edition, 1914) down to the *Futurism of Young Asia* (Berlin, 1922), *Creative India* (Lahore, 1937), and *Introduction to Hindu Positivism* (Allahabad, 1937).

In his *Futurism of Young Asia* known now as *the Sociology of Races, Cultures and Human Progress* (1939, p. 2) Sarkar says: "Probably the most universally accepted postulate in the thought of Europe and America is that the occidental races are superior to the oriental. The burden of school lessons and university lectures and newspaper stories and history in these countries is to emphasise this notion. The whole world-culture of the previous five thousand years is assumed as but an insignificant preamble to the grand domination of the orient by the occident durig the last few generations. But how does the same history appear to the oriental from his angle of vision? In his eyes it has been the historic role of Asia to be always the aggressor and of Europe to be ever on the defensive. By the test of arms the superior races of the world have been the Asians more often than the Europeans."

If the political domination of one country over another is the criterion according to which the superiority and inferiority of nations may be adjudged, then Asia, according to Sarkar, has a greater right to claim superiority than Europe, and history amply bears out the truth of the statement. "The period of Asian hegemony," he says, "covered, in fact, fully a thousand years from a century before Charlemagne till Peter the Great and Louis XIV." "Has not the number of oriental aggressions into Europe," he asks, "been greater than that of occidental into Asia?" Again, "whatever pseudo-history may be taught in the schools and colleges of Europe and America, among the Orientals themselves the memory of their own military superiority is a potent factor in their modern consciousness. It cannot fade away, because this was not a

romance of legendary heroes in an antediluvian age. It is a fact of the history of our own times."

The Claims of Indians Overseas

"Greater India," past and present, is an important category of Sarkarism. It is in the ideological complex of the Dawn Society[1] group, Calcutta (1903-1910) that Sarkar like many others imbibed the ideas about the expansion of India in ancient and medieval times and the maritime and colonizing enterprises of the Indian peoples in Asia and Africa. The idea was developed by him as editor of the *Grihastha* (Householder), the monthly journal in Bengali (1912-1916), and as author of the twelve volumes in Bengali entitled *Varttaman Jagat* (Modern World), 1914-1935, as well as of *Chinese Religion Through Hindu Eyes* (Shanghai, 1916).

Lecturing at the University of Pittsburg, U.S.A., in 1918 and writing in the *Journal of International Relations* (Clark University, 1919) on "Americanization"[2] Sarkar dealt with the problems of emigrants from Asia with special reference to the immigration legislation of the U.S.A. The situation was described by Sarkar as follows: "So far as the Americanization of immigrants from Asia is concerned the problem has ceased to exist. The New Worlders do not want to Americanize the Asian labourers. The men, women and children of the Orient have been postulated to be 'unassimilable' before anything was attempted in the way of 'adopting,' naturalizing, assimilating or amalgamating them." Sarkar characterized the position as nothing short of "America's ultimatum to the orient" (*Futurism of Young Asia*, Berlin, 1922, pp. 49-50).

Sarkar believes that the "New Worlders have chosen to be hospitable to the hungry folks from Europe, but when Asia is at the door crying for bread they have grimly determined to offer only stones." Hence the following challenge of Sarkarism: "Can the native and long-naturalized labourers of America point to a single economic or social feature in which, say, the Slavs or Latins of Eastern and Southern Europe are, under natural conditions, more

1 For the Dawn Society see Sarkar: *Introduction to Hindu Positivism* (Allahabad, 1937), pp. 60, 220-221, and *Creative India* (Lahore, 1937), pp. 496, 626, 662-663.

2 See H. B. Sen's contribution on "Aspects of Benoy Sarkar's Sociology"

conveniently situated with regard to the domicile in the United States than are the Caucasian (Aryan) Hindus, Mongolo-Tartar Chinese, and Malaya-Mongoloid Japanese? These are the interpellations by Young Asia that await answer from the economists, ethnologists, labour-protagonists and legislators of America." "Young Asia wonders," says he, "as to how it is possible for the brain of America to make a choice between Europe and Asia under the same conditions of temperature and pressure."

The contributions of the Asians including the Indians to the agriculture, industry, arts and crafts, and general culture of the regions to which they have migrated in modern times are considered by Sarkar as of inestimable value to the material wealth and civilization of the colonies in Africa and the two Americas. The creative enterprises of the Indians overseas, i.e., of Greater India to-day in the two Hemispheres are but continuing the glorious tradition of the Hindu colonizing and civilizing activities of yore. In comparative colonialism, according to Sarkar, Indian labour colonies of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in the British Empire or elsewhere, specially since the abolition of slavery in 1834, are at least of as great worth as are the labour immigrants from Europe in the sparsely populated regions of America, Africa and Oceania.

The political corollary of this claim of Sarkarism about the labour equality between Indian and European emigrants is to be seen in the analysis of "India's South African Question" in *Greetings to Young India*, Part I. (Calcutta, First Edition, 1927, Second Edition, 1938). The problem is stated by Sarkar as follows: "To what extent is South Africa culturally and sociologically advanced so as to evolve a type of democratic polity that would be elastic enough to admit the Africans and Asians (comprising Indians as well as Chinese) to the civic liberties of the modern world?' He believes that "a uni-racial state, if it ever was a reality, is a thing of the past. Especially is this true of undeveloped new regions, each one of which is bound to be a multi-racial, hetero-national, polyglot state."

In his analysis of world-economy, "exports and imports of men and women constitute some of the most basic items of commercial and civic existence. This indeed is but an aspect of the much larger problem, viz., that of an international control over foreign capital investments on the one hand and the distribution

of raw materials and food stuffs among the varied nations of the world" (*Greetings to Young India*, pp. 116-117).

DEMO-DESPOTOCRACY AS A FUNDAMENTAL REALITY

In Sarkaristic analysis democracy is not an antithesis of despotocracy, nor is despotocracy wholly an antithesis of freedom. Democracy and despotocracy, according to Sarkar, supplement and are really complementary to each other. Force, Sarkar maintains, is at the bottom of every polity, and so is the ingredient of democracy. Democracy and despotocracy are not absolute terms. They are, in Sarkar's analysis, "conditional, conditioned, limited and relative." In his view the *Leviathan* of Hobbes is as erroneous and one-sided and yet as much a stern reality as is the *Contrat Social* of Rousseau.

In his paper for the First Indian Political Science Conference held at Benares, December, 1938, entitled *Demo-Despotocracy and Freedom*, Sarkar analysed these two terms as follows: "Democracy is as stern, as eternal and as universal or ubiquitous a reality in societal organizations as despotocracy. The two polarities constitute a moral unit in the *Zwischenmenschliche Beziehungen und Gebilden* (interhuman relations and forms), to use an expression from von Wiese, of all denominations. Hobbes's *Leviathan* represents then but a partial, one-sided, erroneous and misleading view of the human nature in politics. It is as inadequate and incomplete as Rousseau's *Contrat Social* which presents almost the exact opposite picture of interhuman relations." To Sarkar democratic and despotocratic tendencies cannot operate separately by themselves. The presence of the one almost invariably indicates the presence of the other in whatever doses or degrees it might be. According to him an undemocratic state is as great a contradiction in terms as an undespotocratic state. The so-called totalitarian states,—Soviet Russia, Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany, for instance, are not, according to him, hundred percent despotocratic and dictatorial as they profess to be. Nor, on the other hand, do the United Kingdom, France, the U.S.A. and many other states that appraise themselves as democratic represent the unalloyed hundred percent democracy.

In analysing these demo-despotocratic tendencies in the totalitarian as well as democratic states Sarkar comes to the conclusion: "In spite of his traditional British ideology Chamberlain is a des-

potocrat. In spite of his Nazi philosophy Hitler is a democrat. Chamberlain knows how to ignore the British Parliament when he wills it. The British Cabinet is indeed an organ of despotocracy. Hitler has deliberately abolished *Parlamentarismus*. But he knows how to serve *vox populi* and obey the popular will." Again, "The Leviathan has not yet been thoroughly swept off the British constitution. Nor is the *contrat social*, individual liberty, general will, people's voice, democracy or freedom of the people, entirely silenced in the totalitarian *Staatsräson* of the Nazis." Such is Sarkar's analysis of the so-called hundred percent democratic and hundred percent despotocratic states.

Democracy in the Administration of India

In his peculiar way Sarkar discovers the element of *vox populi* in the hundred percent Leviathanic Administration of India. The transfer of power from the Indian people or princes to the British East India Company was not, according to Sarkar's peculiar interpretation, caused exclusively by the forced subjugation of an unwilling people by the superior military strength of an invading army, but it was rather to a considerable extent an act of free choice on the part of the Indian people. In the words of Sarkar: "The power conferred on the British East India Company by the then Indian 'Emperor of India' (1755) was registered in a *firman* or charter which was by all means a document of *contrat social*, general will and *vox populi*. Submission to the exigencies of the times was forced upon the people, no matter what the exact number of the responsible and creative persons, as a deliberate and freely willed course of action. The transfer of power was an act of free choice on the part of Indian peoples or princes." Want of any strenuous opposition on the part of the Indian people to the establishment of the British power in India goes to show that *vox populi* was not wholly antagonistic to the assumption of despotocratic power by England over India. To quote Sarkar, "The people, the folk, the demos did not revolt against the transfer of power from one hand to the other. Nor did it seek to create a new destiny for itself by organizing an alliance with the French East India Company as the rival of the British. Not only tacitly but in so many words did the people accept the position which gradually grew into one of dependency."

According to Sarkar the *vox populi* or *contrat social* in India tried to assert itself later in new forms in the Wahabi movement (1825-40) of the Mussalmans or the Hindu-Moslem united events of 1857. In the Indian National Congress (1885) the orientation of the *vox populi* took another direction and a new form. And since 1885 the *contrat social* element in the Indian polity has been steadily increasing.

Despotocracy in the Indian National Congress

The Indian National Congress has been viewed by Sarkar as 'virtually an *imperium in imperio* to a certain extent.' In spite of the spirit of *contrat social* which has often and again exhibited itself in the conscious action of the masses such as civil disobedience the analysis of Sarkar reveals that despotocratic tendencies are dominant in the Indian political *milieu*. "The Congress High Command," according to Sarkar, "has during the entire course of its history comprised from time to time just a few individuals or families, both Hindu and Moslem. These individuals or families are invariably those that represent Bodin's *les nerfs de la république*, the sinews of war, i.e. bullion. The bullion has in certain regions, e.g., Bengal, Bihar, U.P. etc. been mainly feudalistic-*Zamindari* in origin. It has been derived to a certain extent from the upper rungs of the legal profession throughout India. The financial resources of the newly established industrial-bourgeoisie,—capitalistic individuals or families—have also been in evidence especially in Bombay."

The power of despotocracy in the Congress circles is exercised by those who supply the sinews of war. This fact has been emphasised by Sarkar, and he says, "Whatever be the source, it is the bullion and the power associated with it that have been lording it over the Congress movement from beginning to end. The power of the purse in the Congress circles is manifest with equal force in the philanthropic activities of the millionaires who keep some of their favourite leaders and sub-leaders on the go not only with carriages and automobiles as well as travelling expenses but also with *dal-roti* and other paraphernalia of mundane existence and social efficiency or prestige. The moneyed individuals or families have known likewise how to utilize or exploit the idealists, the martyrs, the prophets, the poets, the novelists, the intellectuals,

the so-called natural leaders, the journalists, and the youngmen in order to build up the despotocratic general staff of the Congress."

Following Sarkar we are to understand that Indian politicians, howsoever sincerely patriotic, idealistic and self-sacrificing at the start, come consciously or unconsciously within a short time to be exploited by the wealthier Classes and *nouveaux riches* of all denominations and end by being second fiddles to these latter.

The advent of democratic elements in the Congress has been characterised by Sarkar as mass-advancements in homœopathic doses. In his *Progress Planning: A Scheme of Emancipation on Five Fronts* he has called attention to the need for campaign against the despotism of the richer classes, the despotism of the literate i.e., school-going classes, and the despotism of birth among other despotisms.*

Chapter VII. Economic

The Doctoring of Poverty

In the field of economics also Sarkar's views, as a rule, run counter to those held by the economists in India and elsewhere.[1] He is not afraid of propounding views, as remarked by the *Economic Journal* of London (March 1936) which are not identical with the nationalistic opinions of many of the political leaders of our country. In his *Indian Currency and Reserve Bank Problems* (Calcutta, 1933) Sarkar forcibly puts forward the view supported by statistical data that the amount and Rupee-value of India's exports are not necessarily dependent upon the rate of exchange. In his *Imperial Preference vis-à-vis World Economy* (Calcutta 1934), he supported the Government and the legislature in the act of its concluding the Ottawa Agreement of 1932. In *Economic Development*, Vol. II (Calcutta, 1932, 1938), he puts forward the argument, as observed by Prof. Bogart in the *American Economic Review* for September 1933, that the standard of living in Western Europe and the United States of America can be raised only if there is a

* See the contribution on "The Seven Creeds of Benoy Sarkar" by Mrs. Ida Sarkar.

1 Sarkar's economics has been dealt with at length in S. C. Dutt: *Conflicting Tendencies in Indian Economic Thought* (Calcutta, 1934). See also the contributions in the present book by P. K. Mukherjee, M. Moulik, and S. N. Das-Gupta.

simultaneous development in the industrially less developed countries.

Sarkar's views on economic problems mark him off from the general run of Indian economists. Neither is he a Gandhist denouncing modern industrialism nor a socialist of the diehard type. There is one postulate running all through his writings, which though akin to Frederick List's idea of the stages of economic development (as pointed out by Bogart in the *American Economic Review*), is not strictly analogous to it. The contribution of Sarkarism to contemporary economic theories lies in the doctrine that "whatever has happened in the economic sphere in Eur-America during the last half-century is bound also to happen more or less on similar and even identical lines in Asia and of course in India during the next generation or so" (*Economic Development*, Vol. I. Madras, 1926, 1938, p. ix).

He does not attribute the causes of poverty of the Indian people specifically to any inequitable distribution and class exploitation. Poverty, according to him, is a problem which faces almost the whole of the Indian population and the negligible minority of well-to-do persons are not so much in the categories of the exploiting class as it is understood in Eur-America. 'Poverty in India,' says Sarkar, 'is not so much a resultant of iniquities in the distribution of wealth as of the dearth or want of creative occupation. It is more a universal phenomenon affecting, as it does, all the classes of the people than, as is the case in the more advanced countries of Eur-America, a bye-product of the exploitation of one class by another." Again, "the Indian poverty problem is to be envisaged as, essentially speaking, a question of unemployment on a vast continental scale. How to combat this huge unemployment or, in other words, to create myriads of employments, professions or careers and add to the stream of values is the problem of the poverty doctors" (*Economic Development*, Vol. I. Madras, 1926, 1938 p. 392).

Industrialization and Foreign Capital

The recipe which he prescribes for this universally rampant poverty disease is that of industrialization. "Let the economic activities of the people," says Sarkar in his *Scheme of Economic Development for Young India*,* "grow in multiplicity and naturally

* See Appendix V. *Economic Planning for Bengal* (1933) by Benoy

also in diversity, i.e., let the production of wealth increase on all fronts, and millions of men and women will begin automatically to function as industrial workers and hundreds of thousands as engineers, chemists, bank-managers, insurance-agents, office-clerks and what not." "The factories and workshops," says he, "will be compelled in their own interest or through the people's and Government's pressure to open elementary as well as vocational schools for the training of apprentices, and research institutes as well as technical colleges for the supply of directors and experts." He is firmly convinced that on account of industrialization "agriculture will be relieved of the burden of maintaining teeming millions and adjust itself to the redistribution of population as well as pick up much of the science and technology afloat in the atmosphere."

Sarkar visualizes that "simultaneously will the handicrafts commence shedding their 'primitiveness' and rise to the level of subsidiary industries such as are adapted to the new age of large and medium production. In other words, industrialism is the cure for poverty, for it is nothing but industrialism that is pre-supposed by this great consummation." "Add to this," says he, "in order to mention the fullest logical consequences, that the villages will grow into municipal areas.' The sanitary and cultural conditions of the people both in town and country will improve. Individuality, manhood, democracy, political self-consciousness and economic energism will be tasted not by tens and hundreds, but by thousands, hundreds of thousands and millions. The world will have to feel that there is such a thing as India." All these, he believes, will follow in the train of industrialization. This view also leads him to the belief that not 'back to the land' but 'away from the land' ought to be the motto of Young India. Sarkarism as embodied in the papers which ultimately go to make the first volume of *Economic Development* (1920-1925) is equivalent to machinism and industrialism.

Now the question comes as to how this industrialisation is to be brought about. It requires immense capital before the initiative can be taken in this direction. Capital, such as can be provided by the Indians themselves, cannot be considered adequate; and capi-

Sarkar as well as his *Economic and Financial Creed* (1934) in S. N. Das-Gupta's contribution on "Some Economic Teachings of Benoy Sarkar," *supra*, pp 93-97.

tal in large loanable quantities can only be found in the hands of the foreigners. According to Sarkar, therefore, "the poverty-doctors of India have but one grand mission before them. They have to approach the big bankers of the world and invite them to invest resources in Indian men and materials." "Without these foreign sources of finance," says Sarkar, "India would be poorer in material life as well as less efficient in intellectual and technical affairs." "It has to be admitted," he says further, "that but for foreign capital, other circumstances remaining the same, her economic and spiritual poverty would be more palpable, extensive and profound." Foreign capital, according to Sarkar, is not altogether a curse but can be treated as Godsend.' In this opinion of his he stands radically opposed to the school of Sir Vithaldas Thackersay and the like according to whom "it would be to the permanent good of the country to allow petroleum to remain underground and gold to rest in the bowels of the earth until the gradual regeneration of the country enables her own industrialists to raise them and get the profits of the industries."

For the rejuvenation of the economic life of India Sarkar has chalked out a programme of economic enterprises, class by class, such as for peasants, artisans, retail traders, industrial workers, landowners of the richer categories, exporters and importers, moneyed classes, and intellectuals. To each of these classes he assigns a definite rôle to play in the industrial enterprise of the country. The rough division of initiatives according to capacity which has been outlined in his scheme for economic progress represents a new method of approach to the problem and constitutes the distinctive feature of Sarkarism in applied economics or economic statesmanship.

Labour Economics and Socialism

An exponent of capitalism as he is, Sarkar's analysis of labour economics in *Social Insurance Legislation and Statistics* (Calcutta 1936) has introduced Indian thought to the achievements of neo-socialism and neo-capitalism in the modern world.

In his judgment "social insurance is the greatest single achievement of industrial civilization and the German *Socialpolitik* or socio-economic legislation of 1883-89 furnishes the spiritual foundations of the world's capitalistic morphology." He considers Bismarck to be the "architect of a great epoch in world-culture, a veritable

Rishi or *Yugavatar* as we Indians are wont to describe the profoundest remakers of mankind."

It was, however, not in Germany but in England that Sarkar first came into touch with social insurance which he appraises as, in the first place, a phase of "constructive socialism" and, secondly, of "positive democracy." Indeed his first contacts with the labour movement, trade unions etc. as living realities of economic life are not older than the spring of 1914 and the first three or four months of the Great War when he was investigating the British institutions under the guidance of men like Ramsay-Macdonald (London), Patrick Geddes (Edinburgh) and Rudmose Brown (Dublin). In 1914-15 was published his *Ingrajer Janmabhumi* (The Homeland of the Briton) in Bengali, a work of some 600 pages. It is in this book that Bengali leaders of the *Swadeshi* movement, patriots, journalists as well as scholars went to school, so to say, for the first realistic lessons in socialism as a world-force. This constitutes Vol. II of his *Vartlaman Jagat* (Modern World) series.

Bengali intellectuals followed with keen interest Sarkar's studies in socialism in subsequent years also, because for a long time he was the only first-hand investigator in labour economics and workingmen's welfare as developed in the pioneering countries of the West. During 1923-25 his Bengali translations from Engels's (Marx's) *Entstehung der Familie* and Lafargue's *L'Evolution de la Propriété* were published in the most diverse monthly journals of Calcutta. They came out later as books entitled *Parivar Gosthi O Rastra* (Family, Property and State, 344 pages, 1926) and *Dhana-Daulater Rupantar* (The Transformations of Wealth, 226 pages, 1928). These are well known socialist classics Sarkar's contributions to socialism from 1914 to 1928 have therefore helped considerably to shape the ideologies of labour-leaders, welfare-workers and social thinkers in Bengal.

Compulsory Sickness Insurance for India

In 1934 a manifesto was issued by Sarkar in favour of compulsory sickness insurance. It was published in the *Journal of the Indian Medical Association* (Calcutta, March 1934) and many other Reviews and dailies. The statement ran as follows:

Society, constituted as it is to-day in India and elsewhere, said Sarkar, knows of a large number of men, women and children in the rural centres as well as towns, who because of poverty

are unable to take advantage of medical and surgical services or use the drugs that may be prescribed for them.

It is only the richer or relatively more favourably placed among the agriculturists, artisans, trading classes, clerks and middle-class *bhadraloks* who in the present state of things can enjoy the benefits of medical care. The "uneven distribution of medical service" among the members of the community is the most dismal fact of Indian social conditions in the towns no less than in the villages.

It will be easily understood that pharmacies and drug stores are not in a position to offer their goods to patients only for the asking. These establishments have at least to make their two ends meet.

Medical practitioners and surgeons, *Kavirajes* and *Hakims*, again, with the best of intentions and even when inspired by the highest idealism and enthusiasm for social service, find it impossible to attend cases always on an honorary basis. The economic problem stares them in the face as much as it does the members of other professions. The best that can be done by the proprietors of pharmacies and medical practitioners in an individual manner is to charge the minimum prices economically possible for the medicines and appliances as well as the most moderate conceivable fees. But there is a limit to this "minimum" and "moderateness" from the standpoint of the stores and practitioners. Should an extra dose of philanthropy happen to be in operation, the stores are likely to go out of the market and the practitioners to be placed on the list of paupers. On the other hand, whatever the minimum price and fees, the number of persons that fail to pay his minimum in India and are compelled to go without medicines and medical help when such is urgently required is appallingly large.

Even in regard to the country of millionaires, namely, the U.S.A. the method of moderating the fees has been found to be too inadequate and incapable of solving the problems of payment for medical services. "A 10 or 20 per cent reduction in the costs," remark Falk, Rorem and Ring in *The Cost of Medical Care* (1933), "is of no significance to the person who cannot pay even 10 or 20 per cent of the amount charged."

We touch here really two different aspects of the great problem of poverty. In the first place, there is the important consideration of a relatively more equitable and universal or uniform distribution of medical service. This consists in bringing as many

patients as possible to the doors of the doctors or the doctors to as many patients as possible. Secondly, there is the problem of finding employment for the medical practitioner. It is now agreed on all hands that India must be furnished with more medical men, more qualified *Kavirajes* and *Hakims*, more surgeons, more dentists, more specialists in different diseases. It is necessary, therefore, in the interests of the country to make the healing art economically more worthwhile and attractive. It should be the look-out of the community to enable the medical practitioner of all denominations to carry on even if it be on a modest level. From the standpoint of the community, the essential problem consists in rendering the medical service as cheap as possible. We encounter here the problem of organized welfare.

One method would consist in the establishment of clinics by educational institutions in the districts as well as in Calcutta, say, under the auspices of the University, Colleges, District Boards and Municipalities. The patient may be required to pay a part of the fees, the rest being paid by the institutions. The practitioners' fees must of course be very modest by all means.

Secondly, free or semi-free health services may be offered by employers to their employees. The example already set by one or two business establishments ought to be followed up by others. Some of the Government offices have been doing pioneering work in this line. About thirty per cent of the coal mines in the Jharia section as well as a number of tea plantations belong likewise to this group of pioneers. The Maternity Benefit Acts of Bombay and C.P. deserve also to be mentioned. This sort of voluntary philanthropic social service will have to be expanded all along the line.

In addition to organized welfare on a charitable or semi-charitable basis as suggested above, we require some movements in the ordinary insurance field. The unions of working men ought themselves to organize sickess benefits out of their funds. A large part of the trade union activity should take the form of propaganda along these lines.

Besides, the business of life insurance companies may and ought to be expanded in this direction. Health policies for employees may be sold out by them to employers on the group basis. The attention of insurance men should be seriously directed to this branch of business.

Neither charity, partial or hundred per cent, nor voluntary insurance through trade unions of ordinary business houses has succeeded in solving the problem of the nation's health requirements in other countries. Every country has been compelled to pass laws enabling the state to supervise and control the health insurance organization even in those few cases where the insurance is voluntary and not yet compulsory.

The combined experience of mankind is to-day predominantly in favour of *state* compulsory health insurance. The details of many of these schemes have been discussed at length in various papers by the present author since 1922. It is not necessary to go into these items over again just at present.

One might naturally ask: "Should not health insurance be left to the independent will and responsibility of the individual?" The answer is "No." Individuals find it as impossible to pay the premium to an insurance company as to pay the doctors' fees or the druggists' bills. And among our agriculturists, artisans, or middleclass men in India more than in other countries the surplus in the family budget is so limited that the ability or willingness to pay the premium or the bill is non-existent. Besides, the advantages of the "insurance principles" can hardly be appreciated by just those needy persons,—literate or illiterate,—for whom it is most necessary. Indeed, if the combined experience of economically more lucky peoples, namely, those of Europe and America is of any value, it has been proved that voluntary health insurance cannot be depended upon either as an effective measure of health provision for the people or as a measure of administrative economy.

Sickness must not be treated as a private misfortune. It is not to be regarded as a calamity against which the individual should protect itself as much as it can. It is not even to be counted as a misfortune in which the family alone is interested and therefore which the family alone attempts to combat or prevent. Rather, it is time to look upon sickness as a national misfortune. We should take it as a calamity for the entire community and therefore one to be prevented or cured by the community, i.e. the state.

Remarkable in its social and moral bearings are the advantages conferred on the community by compulsory sickness insurance legislation. On the one hand, the medical practitioner is relieved of the burden of honorary services. On the other hand, the patient is

spared the ignominy of depending on the medical practitioner's benevolence or some philanthropic institution's charity.

The financial burden of sickness cannot be borne by the individual. It must be widely distributed throughout the country. Premium is therefore to be paid by three parties—first, the wage-earner or salaried person; secondly, the employer; and thirdly, the state.

Since the premium is paid by a large number of persons, the high as well as low waged, the risk is well distributed and the rates per individual can become very small. Besides, the social good derived from such a system is extensive. As soon as the state and the community become financially responsible for the health insurance of the individual, the prevention of disease is rendered, humanly speaking, almost a *fait accompli*.

In every scheme of sanitation and public health compulsory health insurance on a wide basis should be regarded as a great prophylactic.

These ideas of Sarkar bearing on what he calls "positive socialism" remain yet to be assimilated in Indian public life and social thought.

Chapter VIII.

A Challenge to Questions Closed

The interpretation of Sarkarism as offered here is, curiously enough, so akin to the appreciation of Sarkar's *Bliss of a Moment* (Boston 1918) by Miss Alice Bird, an American author, published in the *Modern Review* (Calcutta) for March 1920 that I am tempted to reproduce the entire article. Miss Bird's review is quoted below:

The philosophy of a young and vital Asia was introduced to America in the columns of the *Boston Transcript* on January 1, 1919. The poetry-reviewer of the Journal, an American poet of distinction, described the "free verse" of *The Bliss of a Moment*, by Benoy Kumar Sarkar, as "at once rhythmic and full of vigorous fancy." We in the West have long read Indian poetry, expecting to find in it a certain mystic beauty. The magic of rhythm, the richness of expression combined with indefiniteness and unreality, have come to represent the poetry of the Orient to our minds. At the same time, here is a large body of Americans who do not care so much for the diction or melody of poetry as for the message contained in it. In this light we are searching every expression

for a message to our own people and to the larger world, as well as to Asia. A curiosity was, therefore, awakened in us by reading in the Boston review that Mr. Sarkar's "volume is extremely interesting, not only in its wealth of unusual imagery and thought, but also as one more indication that the world is rapidly becoming unified, and that Kipling's bold statement that East and West will never meet is found to be quite wrong." Not only are they meeting, but such a message as that contained in *The Bliss of a Moment* by an Indian, is more closely allied to our own mental habits than all the works of Kipling.

Since Western scholars, such as Max Mueller and Schopenhauer, followed even by Indians themselves, treated us to the spiritual glories of the Hindus, we have had enough and to spare of transcendental "bliss." We have been fed on it by India's own great sons, such as Vivekananda and Tagore, as well as by sympathetic Western interpreters like Margaret Noble (Nivedita). It might be said that we were in need of such ideas of renunciation and otherworldliness. Yet to-day after cultivating our own Emersons, Bergsons, Blakes, and Fichtes, to mention just a few among the moderns, we, the alleged materialists of the universe, have come to question the claim of the Orient to superiority in the philosophy of spirituality and transcendentalism.

After reading *The Bliss of a Moment*, another question has arisen in our minds. If this little volume of seventy-five poems, translations from the Bengali, represents the mind of Asia in any particular, then we have been not only imperfectly informed, but Asia has been misrepresented to us. Indologists have told us of India "plunging in thought again," unmindful of material things, seeking solace in meditation of an after-life. Such statements bear out the statement of Professor James Harvey Robinson of Columbia University, an historian of distinction, to the effect that historians have continued, as they always have done, "to see their own particular interests reflected in the dim mirror of the past. They narrated such past events as they believed would interest the reader; they commented on these with a view of instructing him, fortifying his virtue or patriotism or staying his faith in God. In a way it was not so very important whether they took pains to verify their facts or not...their motives were mainly literary, moral or religious."

Mr. Sarkar's message in his little volume leads us to think that Indian historians have been narrating to us facts which they thought

would interest us only. His message is one of materialism, aggressiveness and defiance, on which the West has been supposed to hold a monopoly. Yet Sarkar himself is an Indian, a scholar of ancient and medieval India, inferior to none of the historians or literary men who have informed us about the mysticism of Asia. The message which his poetry carries and the philosophy, indigenous to India, which he expounds, carries not the slightest taint of quiescence, piety or mysticism. He has given us, as in his prose, that side of the East which has been scarcely touched by interpreters of the East to the West. The questions naturally arising are, "Is this the East speaking? Or is *The Bliss of a Moment* the poetry of a New Asia, the spiritual expression of a rejuvenated East that has embodied itself in the Pan-Islam of the Persian Jamaluddin, the republican endeavour of Young China, the claim of racial equality by Japanese statesmen, the Hindu-Moslem unity of the Indians, the epoch-making scientific achievements of the Hindu, Dr. Bose, along with the great number of young Hindu scientific, educational and political "missionaries"?

The New York Publicity Bulletin (January, 1919) seems to have caught the spirit of the little volume. In its estimate, the book consists of "poems that electrify with the vitality of their message... They combine the energy and forward look of the Occident with the inward, upward-looking faith of the Orient."

The philosophy is, frankly, a challenge to every accepted convention, to every recognized standard of culture and thought, of art, nationality, patriotism. The "bliss' of a moment is, to the poet, the eternal moment of change. *Niskam Karma*, as taught in *Gita*, is his religion. The poem "*Shakti*" condenses into a few lines his conception of life. Even in the works of western poets he finds but a reflection of his own self and his own philosophy. Thus he speaks of Browning:

"Teacher of efforts, of fruition careless,
O thou world's greatest, best critic of life!
Thine is the modern *Gita's* gospel of hope
And work for its own sake, O Seer, energist bold!"

Again he questions and answers:

"What is progress but revolt and failure?
The real heroes are those that fail.
Endless existence belongs to that race
That is not deterred by the fear of defeat."

Aside from the spirit of *Shakti*, which pervades every page, the mind of Young Asia as shown by the author is found to possess three characteristics: breadth of vision, cosmopolitanism and universalism, and modernism. The whole world is its range of thought and sympathy, and every class of society, from the poverty-stricken peasant living in his thatched hut, to Dwijendralal Roy, the Schiller of India, is embraced in its mental scope. The Mohammedan of Egypt, the Indian ryot, the Chinese philosopher, the American poet, the divine Dante, all form a part of the intellectual horizon upon which the eyes of young As a are gazing. At the same time is revealed the cosmopolitan viewpoint of the author, and the fact that Asia is utilising the entire world and all that the human intellect has produced, in its development.

Of Virgil he sings:

"Homer's disciple, inspirer
Of Dante's and Mazzini's,
Teacher of patriotism thou
Of all ages and climes!"

And from Virgil, he comes to modern America, and finds in the Statue of Liberty a message to Asia. Thus he writes:

"Whose message is the basis of character,
Origin of morals and source of creeds,
Energy behind all world forces, Thou—
O Liberty! the very fount of life!"

In this manner does he reach into the past and draw inspiration, or stand in the present and look about him for expressions of the energy which means the rejuvenation of Asia.

The broad conception of the lines entitled "*The patrie*" is of interest not only in this connection, but also because they strike the keynote of the author's pedagogic scheme, on which he would build education, without reference to nationality or race, a scheme diametrically opposed to the accepted nationalistic ideas in every country. Such a statement may seem paradoxical, in the light of Mr. Sarkar's activities in connection with the National Council of Education in Bengal. But this is not so, for using his own words, taken from the *Vedic Magazine* some eight years ago, in an article, "The Hindu Educational System: Past Achievements and Future Ideals" he said:

"It has yet to be dinned into our ears that modernization of India, scientifically interpreted, should mean the proper utilization

of modern world forces, and the assimilation of world-culture in the interest of the development of Indian national ideals along the lines of natural evolution."

The *Bliss of a Moment* embodies *Shakti*. That *Shakti* takes the form of modernism with its accompanying aspects of cosmopolitanism and breadth of vision. A phase of the broad vision of Asia is found to be pluralistic. In one poem the author says:

"I have rebelled against creeds and codes,

* * * *

Therefore, my songs would into crystals shape
Theories of life among diverse men."

He presents an argument for almost every case provided it shows energism, life, action. Thus he writes:

"You depend on energy, he on faith,
I believe in persons, in parties they."

So much does Mr. Sarkar believe in a variety of forms and in the various manifestations of energy that he seems to have no "morals" in the ordinary sense. His test of human values, however, is *creation*. That to him is not only his standard of living, but his test of all human activity. In his belief, out of griefs and joys comes real creation; and such creation is as a work of God. Because, is it not true that griefs and joys are but fruits of endeavour?

"Immortal thou, Creator, among men
If sincerely thou hast grieved and joyed,"

he sings.

Thus the message of a new Asian poet to America is not quiescence and transcendentalism, but energy. From the lines in which he says:

"Man that is man is bound to break
And demolish barriers old;
All human blood, no matter whose,
Seeks to challenge the questions closed,"

to the poem on *Death* in which is embodied the *motif* of the entire book, as well as the philosophy of a new Asia, we find a new conception of life among peoples hitherto little known to us save through mystics, travellers and missionaries. The ideas in the poem, *Death*, are so characteristic of the poet that they are here quoted:

"Not like a dead animal I would die
Not like one whose heart hides no cosmic heat;

My last testament I would write at death
Myself, to declare the glories of the earth;
'It is energy that is life, its forms
Craving, lordship, love, warfare, defeat;
This ambrosia is not to be had
Except on this earth of mud, trees and stones.'
If God there be and if it be His might
To satisfy man's prayers and demands,
And if death is bound to come, I would pray
For a death full of madness, unrest, life."

Is this Asia speaking, or is it the voice of our own forefathers who founded America and engraved their names on our hearts?

Miss Bird's estimate was published nearly twenty years ago, and it was based on only one book. It is very interesting that my studies dealing as they do with a large number of works have come independently to the same conclusion as that of the American writer's.

Chapter IX.

Foreign Economists and Sociologists in Sarkar's Vishwa-Shakti

An important aspect of Sarkar's philosophical outfit is to be found in the constant assimilation of *viswha-shakti* (world-forces) in all his books and brochures. In so far as virtually every contribution of Sarkar is based on comparative surveys and international investigations, Sarkarism automatically introduces everybody to the thoughts and activities of scholars all the world over and movements prominent in countries outside India. Further, Sarkar has sought in several of his works to translate, paraphrase, summarize or refer to the economists, culture-historians, sociologists as well as moral and political writers and jurists with the object of furnishing information or educating the cultured public.*

The two volumes of *The Political Philosophies Since* 1905, Vol. I. (Madras 1928, 400 pages) and Vol. II. (Lahore 1939, 600

* See Sarkar's *Varttaman Jagat* (Modern World) in twelve volumes (4500 pages) as well as his translations or adaptations in the two papers by S. C. Dutt and B. Dass contributed to the present publication.

pages) are good examples of this objective study in the ideas and ideals associated with several hundred American, British, French, German, Italian, Russian as well as Asian (Chinese, Indian, Iranian, Japanese and Turkish) thinkers and theorists. His *Introduction to Hindu Positivism* (Allahabad 1937, 770 pages) is, as the title indicates, a contribution to indology. But the sociological interpretations are prominent. The reader finds himself introduced to the investigations of contemporary sociologists like Toennies, Durkheim, Bouglé, Meinecke, von Wiese, Haushofer, Koellreutter, Pareto, Gini, Niceforo, Del Vecchio, Hocking, Barnes, Lasbax, Sorokin and others.

In this connection it is interesting to see that Professor Norman Himes writing on Sarkar's *Sociology of Population* (Calcutta, 1936) in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (Philadelphia) for November, 1937 observes that this work " is far less provincial than 90 per cent of Western social science books. Professor Sarkar is far better acquainted with Western thought and social and economic conditions than are Western scholars with Eastern thought and conditions."

The second volume of Sarkar's Bengali book, *Ekaler Dhana-Daulat O Artha-shastra* (The Wealth and Economics of Our Own Times) is entitled *The New Foundations of Economics* and is complete in 710 pages (1935). The topics of this extensive work are given below to indicate the kind of world-wide survey in economic thought and international economic perspectives which Sarkarism has introduced in the Indian scientific world:

"What is Rational Economics? Statistics *vs.* Mathematical Economics. Divisia's *Economie Rationnelle*. Chips of Economic History. Specimens of Economic Thought. Gonnard. Niceforo. Oppenheimer. Ansiaux. The Theories of Production The Crisis. Rural Economics and the Farmer. Hainisch. Agriculture in Russia. Studensky's Researches. French investigations in Agriculture. Population Problems and Population Science. Mathematical Demography. Dublin. The Eugenic Standpoint. Eugen Fischer. Zahn. Burgdoerfer. Kuczynski. Housing. Labour and Wages. High Wages. Labour-India through German Eyes.

"Exchange of Goods. Export and Import of Capital. The Theory of International Trade. Cabiati. The Rationing of Raw Materials and Foodstuffs. Currency Questions. The Return of Gold. Oualid. The Quantitative Theory as criticised by Rueff. Branch Banking in America. Japanese Banks. Insurance Past and Present.

Alfred Manes. Social Insurance Problems in America. Epstein. Public Finance. Income Tax in England and Germany. The Economic Organization of the Soviet Regime in Russia. The Five-Year Plan and After.

"French and Italian Economic Journals: *Revue d'Economie Politique, Revue Internationale du Travail* (Geneva), *Journal des Economistes, Bulletin de la Société d'Economie Politique de Paris, Journal du Commerce, Giornale degli Economisti e Rivista di Statistica, Rivista Internazionale di Scienze Sociali, Gerarchia.*

American, Japanese and .British Economic Journals: *American Economic Review, Bankers' Magazine, Federal Reserve Bulletin, Economic Review of the Kyoto University, Oriental Economist* (Tokyo), *The Economic Journal* (London), *Barclays Bank Ltd. Monthly Review* (London), *Population* (London).

Economic Journals in Germany:—*Schmollers Jahrbuch, Jahrbuecher fuer Nationaloekonomie und Statistik, Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv, Geopolitik, R.T.A. Nachrichten, Technik und Wirtschaft, Allgemeines Statistisches Archiv.*

"The League of Nations in Economics. The World-Economic Depression. Balances of Accounts. Health and Economic Welfare. The World Crisis and Recovery. The Statistics of unemployment. The Second Industrial Revolution. Economic Planning in Eur-America. Socialism, Capitalism and National Welfare. Owen, St. Simon and Karl Marx. Syndicalism. State-Socialism. Bismarck. Guild Socialism. Fabians. Fascism. National-Socialism. Wanted Anglo-German Labour Welfare in India. Bengali Cultivators and Agricultural Labourers. Capitalism in Bengal.

"Types of Economists. The Marginal Utility of von Wieser. The Mathematical Economics of Walras. The Economic Freedom of Cassel.

"Pantaleoni and Pareto. Carli on Crisis. The *Bonifica* Economists of Italy. Jandolo. Serpieri. Graziani. Tivaroni. Virgili. Benini. Gini. Pietrà. Mortara.

"The Economists of *Laissez Faire*. Truchy. Yves-Guyot. R. G. Lévy. The Bank-Economists of France. St. Genis the Agricultural Economist. Godferneaux the Railway Economist. French Population Economists. Boverat. Vieuille. Richard. Huber. Marsal. Bousquet. In the Workshops of French Economists. Hauser. Henri Sée. Levasseur. Gide. Aftalion. Colson. Brouilhet.

"Max Sering the Economist of Internal Colonizing. Adolf Weber Karl Diehl. Exponents of World Economy. Harms. Schilder. Waltershausen. Schumacher. In German Economic Laboratories. Waffenschmidt. Beckerat. Sombart. Strieder. Buecher. Mombert. Damaschke. Roscher, Schmoller and Sombart *vs.* Classics, Menger and Schumpeter. The Crisis-Economist Wagemann. The Adam Mueller School and National-Socialist Economics. Fichte. Thuenen. List. Spann. Baxa.

American Tendencies in Economics. Walker. Fisher. Dublin. John Bates Clark. Seligman. Institutional Economics. Mitchell. The Sociologist of Economic Problems, Sorokin.

"British Welfare Economists. Pethick-Lawrence. Pigou. Hobson. Income-Economist Bowley. Keynes's Sublimated Capitalism. Marshall's Value-Economics. Cannan the Economist of Progress.

"The Japanese Economists. Ohuchi on Public Finance. Uyeda's Population Studies. Takahashi's Interpretation of Social Dumping.

Bengali *vs.* Non-Bengali Economic Thought in India. The General Characteristics of Indian Economists. *Economic Development.* The "Equations" of Comparative Industrialism. Ranade. Romesh Dutt. Satis Mukherjee. Ambika Ukil. The Successors of Kautalya, Shukra, Abul Fazl and Rammohun. The Methodology of Research Initiated by the *Arthik-Unnati* (Economic Progress) Monthly. Economic Curves. Objectivity. World-Economy. Fisher's Monetary Laboratory. Taussig's Tariff Studies. The Crisis Institutes of Harvard and Berlin.

"Appendices. The Problem of Technical Terms in Bengali Economics. The Establishment of the *Bangiya Dhana-Vijnan Parishat* (Bengali Institute of Economics) 1928. The Topics of Study and Economic Policy of the B I.E. The Policy of Protection for Bengali Literature with reference to Economics."

The titles of some of the articles, book-reviews and notes by Sarkar published in Indian journals like the *Calcutta Review* and *Prabuddha Bharata* are given below:

1. Social Idealism in Goethe's Lyrics and Dramas (*Prabuddha Bharata*, July, August, 1932).
2. Gini's Cycle of Racial Fertility (*Calcutta Review*, August, 1933).
3. Haushofer's Cult of *Geopolitik* (*C R.*, April, 1934).

4. French Thought from Fenelon to Bouglé (*C. R.*, May 1934).
5. British Researches in Industrial Fatigue and Industrial Psychology (*C. R.*, June 1934).
6. Economic History through Mussolini's Eyes (*C. R.*, June, 1934).
7. Gumplowicz and Ratzenhofer in Modern Social Thought (*C. R.*, June, 1934).
8. A French Analysis of Christian and Hindu Affinities (*C R.*, November, 1934).
9. The Ages of Intelligence from Comte to Brunschvigg (C. R., November, 1935).
10. Toennies and the New Sociology (*C. R.*, November, 1935).
11. Niceforo's Variables and Constants in Social Progress (*C. R.*, December 1935).
12. World-Culture in India To-day (*Prabuddha Bharata*, January, 1936).
13. The Paretian Circulation of Elites Examined (*C. R.*, January, 1936).
14. The *Dharma-Sastras* in the Light of von Wiese's "Formal Sociology" (*C. R.*, January, 1936).
15. Masaryk's Mind in Growth (*C. R.*, February, 1936).
16. Open Questions and Reconstructions in the Sociology of Population (*C. R.*, March, 1936).
17. Secularization of Hindu Politics in French Indology (*C. R.*, March, 1936).
18. India's Affinities with Eur-America in Sorokin's Sociology (*C. R.*, April, 1936).
19. The Cult of Kodo in Japanese Political Philosophy (*C. R.*, June, 1936).
20. New Methods of Christian Missions according to Hocking (*C. R.*, October, 1936).
21. The Sociology of Crimes and Punishments (*C. R.*, January, 1937).
22. The People's State as conceived by Van den Bruck and the Third Reich of To-day (*C. R.*, February, 1937).
23. The Political Philosophy of Hocking (*C. R.*, March, 1937).
24. "Formal" Sociology as Interpreted by Leopold von Wiese (*C. R.*, August, 1937).
25. Hindu Sensatism and Ideationalism in Sorokin's *Social and Cultural Dynamics* (*C. R.*, September, 1937).

26. The *Making of a State* by Masaryk (*C. R.*, October 1937).
27. The Spirit of Descartes in International Philosophy (*C. R.*, October, 1937).
28. The Cabinet and the Anti-Cabinet in Barker's Constitutional Synthesis (*C. R.*, March, 1938).
29. *Contemporary Social Problems* according to Phelps (*C. R.*, May, 1938).
30. Barnes's *History of Western Civilization* (*C. R.*, June, 1938).
31. Haushofer's *Macht und Erde* (*C. R.*, June, 1938).
32. Lasbax's Third Empire for France (*La France ir-a-telle à un Troisième Empire?*) (*C. R.*, August, 1938).
33. Stalin as the Manager of Leninism No. II. (*C. R.*, September, 1938).
34. Giorgio Del Vecchio's *Saggi Intorno allo Stato* (*C. R.*, September 1938).
35. Neo-Idealism in Hocking's *Man and the State* (*C. R.*, December, 1938).
36. Volpe *vs.* Croce re *L'Italia in Cammino* (*C. R.*,December, 1938).
37. A Short-coming of the Hegel-Marxian Dialectic (*C. R.*, February 1939).
38. Von Wiese's Theory of the State (*C. R.*, February, 1939)
39. East and West in Barnes and Becker's *Social Thought from Lore to Science* (*C. R.*, February, 1939).
40. Meyer's *Trilogie altindischer Maechte und Feste der Vegetation* (*Prabuddha Bharata*, March, 1939).
41. Kuczynski and the New Population Science (*C. R.*, March, 1939).
42. The Romanticism of Leopardi (*C. R.*, April, 1939).
43. Pareto's *Mind and Society* (*C. R.*, April, 1939).
44. Mounier's *Personnalisme* (*C. R.*, April 1939).
45. Mannheim's Sociology of Knowledge (*C. R.*, April, 1939)
46. René Hubert's *Le Problème moral* (C. R., May 1939).
47. Toennies's *Geist der Neuzeit* (*C. R.*, May 1939).
48. New Tendencies in German Social Philosophy (*C. R.*, June 1939).
49. Realism multiplied by Mysticism in Hocking's Philosophy (*C. R.*, July, 1939).
50 Wright's *Economic Adaptation to a Changing World Market* (*Indian Journal of Economics*, Allahabad, July 1939).

The above list will show that while Sarkarism follows its own lines it is receptive to all and sundry views and tries to render them accessible to others for information, comparison and assimilation.

This aspect of Sarkar's contributions has been referred to by Professor P. K. Gode while reviewing *Greetings to Young India*, Vol. I. (1927, 1938) in the *Oriental Literary Digest* (Poona) for November 1938. Mr. Gode writes as follows:

"Dr. Benoy Kumar Sarkar with his 'Sarkarism' wants to ride our both provincialism and nationalism in the current narrow sense of these terms. Dr. Sarkar's life and writings have been consistently directed towards the evolution of such contemporary Indian thought as might be conducive to the promotion of cultural sympathy between East and West. Every Indian should be proud of such an achievement and help Dr. Sarkar in his researches, discussions and publications."

The cult of Sarkarism as international co-operation in culture has been described in the *Journal of the Bombay Historical Society* for March 1939 by Prof. B. T. Anklesaria while reviewing Sarkar's *Greetings*. Mr. Anklesaria summarises Sarkar's message as follows: "Let the watch-word of thinking India be co-operation, rather than anything else, co-operation with all those who can give and take the profits in their ventures with India. Let there be intelligence bureaus in India, which would remain in touch with the whole world, keeping an espionage not over foes, but over friends, who can guide them to rise on the highest rung of the ladder. Let Young Indians carefully read this book and study the prophetic message of Benoy Kumar Sarkar, who has spent the best part of his life as a guide of the Indian nation."

Sarkarism has thus been accepted in Indian thought as almost identical with catholicity and universalism in intellectual and moral discipline. It will be found to be akin to the liberalism and humanism of contemporary world-philosophy.

ASPECTS OF BENOY SARKAR'S SOCIOLOGY

By Hemendra Bijoy Sen, M.A., B.L., Author of
Studies (in Bengali) on Bacon, Lincoln,
Pasteur, Ford and Hulme

Analytical Method in Sociology

In the very first writing of Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar, which was published in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (Calcutta) of July August 1906 the approach was sociological. It dealt with "National education and the Bengali nation."* One of his latest contributions is that for the International Congress of Sociology which was to have held its session at Bucharest (Rumania) in September 1939 but which on account of the international situation has been put off till Easter 1940. Sarkar has written in French his paper for this Congress and it is entitled *La Morphologie sociale des Villes et des Villages: étude statistique internationale*

During these thirtythree or thirtyfour years Sarkar has worked in many other sciences besides sociology, and in sociology also his topics have been taken from the most diverse fields such as education, morals, races, castes, classes, culture, arts and crafts, religions, crimes, labour, family, state, international relations, poverty, public health, population, progress etc. He has been interested chiefly in the analysis of the problems he has taken up. His is the sociology of problems. For the analytical method he has used historical or anthropological evidences as well as statistical data wherever possible. He has not fought shy of drawing practical conclusions whenever necessary. Another feature of his sociological method is the comparative or international standpoint and emphasis on the world-perspectives in regard to each question taken up for analysis.

Sarkar sent papers to two other sessions of the International Congress of Sociology and to both in French. At the Brussels session (1935) his paper was entitled *Les Races, les Classes et les Forces transformatrices au point de vue du Métabolisme social.* The paper for the Paris session (1937) was entitled *Les Equations de la Mobilité Sociale.*

* See the Appendix in Banesvar Dass's contribution on "The Works of Benoy Sarkar."

The object of the present paper is not to enumerate his various books or papers dealing with sociological topics or methods, or to summarise and appraise his views. It will do nothing more than reproduce two or three of his contributions in order to give an idea of his discussions and conclusions in the field of sociology.

Incidentally it may be observed that some of the recent sociological ideas of Sarkar are to be found in the two volumes of his *Political Philosophies Since* 1905, Vol. I. The Expansion of Democracy, Socialism and Asian Freedom (Madras, 1928), Vol. II. The Epoch of Neo-Democracy and Neo-Socialism (1929-1939), Lahore 1939, in the press. Sarkar's treatment of political science is comprehensive enough to include sociology. His *Introduction to Hindu Positivism* (Allahabad, 1937) is also to be mentioned in the same connection. It is Vol. I. of the second edition of the *Positive Background of Hindu Sociology*. Both these works, although dealing as the titles imply with other persons' thoughts, Indian as well as foreign (including Japanese, Turkish, Czech, Polish, Rumanian and Greek) are interspersed with his own criticisms as well as constructive ideas.

In and through his sociological studies we have come into contact not only with his own ideas and ideals but also with those of many sociologists of East and West, old and new. He has dealt with the works of modern "Euro-Americans" from Herder and Comte to Pareto, Hobhouse, Spengler, Toennies, Masaryk, Wallas, Bouglé, Croce, Dewey, Haushofer, Volpe, Hocking, von Wiese, Gini, Sorokin, Russell, Lasbax and others. In connection with Hindu sociological theories he has introduced us to the entire range of thought from the Mohenjodarian and Vedic times down to Rammohun Roy (1772-1833).

As a Bengali I feel drawn also to observe that some of the Bengali thinkers have arrested his attention for studies of diverse sizes. In January 1936 the *Calcutta Review* published his "Bengali Positivism in the Sociology of Values." It deals with medieval Bengali thought down to Ramaprasad and touches upon modern Bengali ideas as well. In the same year the Ramakrishna Math of Madras published his *Might of Man in the Social Philosophy of Ramakrishna and Vivekananda*.

The paper on "Rabindranath and World-Forces" was published in 1932 in the *Golden Book of Tagore* (Calcutta). *Prabuddha Bharata* or "Awakened India" published his paper on "Asutosh

and His Ambitions for Young Bengal" in October 1932. The two following papers published in the *Calcutta Review* deserve special mention in this group:

1. "Brajendra Nath Seal's Three Ideals: Ancient, Medieval and Modern" (March 1937).
2. "The Acceptable and the Unacceptable in Bankim's Social Philosophy" (August 1938).

The chapters on Tilak, Gandhi and Lajpat Rai in Sarkar's *Creative India* (Lahore 1937) point to his interests in the social thought of non-Bengali India. I should not overlook the very important contribution on "Abul Fazl's *Aini Akbari* as a Semi-Moslem and Semi-Hindu *Niti-shastra*" in his *Introduction to Hindu Positivism* (Allahabad 1937).

The Sociology of Americanization

A Study of the Chinese, Japanese and Hindu Immigration of the U.S.A.

With these observations I proceed to reproduce Sarkar's paper on "Americanization from the Viewpoint of Young Asia" which, based on lectures delivered at the University of Pittsburg (July 1918), was published in the *Journal of International Relations* (Clark University, U.S.A., July 1919). It is being presented under a new title as given above.

The Race-Problem of the New World

To the student of economic history and sociology the immigration problem of North and South America is of profound scientific interest. For, the peopling of the New Hemisphere by the children of the Old World since the days of Columbus and the Pilgrim Fathers is but the latest stage of the same world-movement of which the previous phases are embodied in the settlement of Celtic and Roman Europe by the Franks, Goths, Vandals, Huns, Angles, and Saxons, or the still earlier colonizing of ancient Eur-Asia by the members of the Indo-Germanic (Aryan) family, viz., Greeks, Romans, Persians, Hindus, etc., or the valley of the Hwang-ho by the Scythians (Tartars) of Central Asia, the Mesopotamian Doab by the Dravidians of Southern India, and the "gift of the Nile" by the Pharaonic invaders from the hills of Nubia and Eastern Africa.

The problem of race-fusion in present-day America is essentially identical with the race-problems in other ages and climes. There are, however, two significant differences. In the first place, what has been accomplished in Asia and Europe through centuries and even millenniums is being effected in America in generations, if not in decades. And in the second place, the solution of the problem is being attempted in the New World much more consciously than in the Old, thanks to the cumulative experience of humanity, and thanks to the marvellous power with which modern science has endowed mankind to conduct experiments, to forecast the future, to select the desirables, to reject the undesirables.

It is this conscious and deliberate creation of new men and women out of the old human material within the shortest possible time that imparts to the American phase of the age-long process of race-mobilizations a distinctive character; and this is the function of Americanization.

The problem may be easily stated. The New World must derive its raw flesh and blood from the Old. The object, however, is neither to relieve Europe and Asia of their over-population and poverty, nor, as the idealists would assert, to afford the scum of humanity a chance to rise in the scale of civilization. These, no doubt, are the "bye-products" of immigration. But first and last, the aim naturally is national, i.e. to serve "America first." The considerations that count most are: first, to have an adequate supply of hands for the farms, factories, forests and mines of America, secondly, to build up communities of men and women who could enrich in diverse ways the social and intellectual make-up of American life, and last but not least, to create a body of citizens with whom loyalty to America in times of distress and war would be but a second nature. These are the foundations of the minimum programme of Americanization that lies before the educators, social workers and political leaders of the United States.

America's Ultimatum to Asia

So far as the Americanization of immigrants from Asia is concerned the problem has ceased to exist. The New Worlders do not want to Americanize the Asian labourers. The men, women, and children of the Orient have been postulated to be "unassimilable" before anything was attempted in the way of "adopting," naturalizing, assimilating or amalgamating them.

The question has now practically been closed by treaties and legislation. To a certain extent the attitude of the employers of labour was different from that of the laborers. But, on the whole, the verdict of the United States as of Canada was the exclusion of Asian labor-force from the right of setting foot on the soil of the New Hemisphere. And so America has finally declared herself to be a forbidden land to the Oriental peoples.

The closing of Canada[1] to the laborers of Asia has been effected (1) by the Chinese Exclusion Law of 1903-1908, which demands of every immigrant of the Chinese race a landing tax of $ 500; (2) by the informal Japanese-Canadian agreement (1907), which limits Japanese immigrants in Canada to 400 persons a year, and (3) by the landing-tax of $ 200 on every "Hindu" immigrant, as well as by the regulation (1910) of "continuous journey" from India (a prohibitive ruling because there is no direct steamship route between India and Canada).

The United States has been closed[2] to Asian labor by the following measures: (1) the Chinese Exclusion Law of 1904, which re-enacted without limitation, modification or condition all the previous suspension or restriction laws relating to the immigration of laborers, skilled or unskilled, from China; (2) the "gentlemen's agreement" of 1907, by which Japan has bound herself to grant passports to no laborers except such as are "former residents, parents, wives or children of residents," and "settled agriculturists," and (3) the sweepingly restrictive Immigration Act of February 5, 1917, which has unconditionally forbidden the immigration of laborers from Asia (*minus* China and Japan, provided against separately) by latitude and longitude.

In the policy of exclusion the United States has thus been less indirect and more thorough than her northern neighbour. And this has allayed the unrest of labor-unions and their journalists and politicians. It is obvious, however, that the employers of labor have been considerably hurt by these measures, for they have been deprived of man-power especially at a time when labor

1 The Immigration Situation in Other Countries, pp 61-75, in the *Report of the Immigration Commission Series* (Washington, D C)

2 Hall. *Immigration*, pp 327-335; Mills *The Japanese Problem in the United States*, p. 277.

shortage is being felt on all sides because of the demand of the Great War for "human bullets."

But this apparently satisfactory "settlement" of the Oriental question is so drastic, inhuman, discriminative and (hence unjust) that it bids fair to be the most acute disturber of the world's peace in the coming decades. It is America's ultimatum to the Orient. The problem has thus passed beyond the limits of a merely local labor-legislation or "domestic" industrial dispute into the arena of international politics. For, the present situation is virtually a standing challenge to Young Asia to venture on opening the doors of America in the same manner in which China and Japan were opened by the Eur-Americans during the middle of the nineteenth century. This affront is constantly provoking the humiliated and embittered Asians to demonstrate to the world that the edge of the Damascus blades has not been dulled for good.

THE ORIENTAL FACTOR IN THE IMMIGRANT POPULATION

During the period from July 1900 to March 1909 Canada admitted altogether 1,244,597 immigrants of all nationalities. The Oriental element in the immigration between 1901 and 1909 is represented by the following figures: Chinese, 3,890; Hindu, 5,185; Japanese, 12,420. The number of Asians during this period was thus only 21,495, i.e. about one fifty-eighth or less than 2 per cent of the total arrivals.[3]

The present immigrant population of the United States, is roughly speaking 34,000,000 (adults 15,000,000, children19,000,000). This is about one-third of the total population (whites and negroes) Of this the number of foreign-born whites over twenty-one who cannot speak English is approximately 3,000,000.

The Asian factor in the immigration that has produced this vast foreign population is infinitesimally small. It was less than 3 per cent in 1910. Even at its height (between 1871 and 1880) it was less than 6 per cent.

The total arrival from entire Asia between 1821 and 1903 amounted to 421,190 i.e. 2·06 per cent of the whole immigration.[4] The percentages of Asian immigration (including 100,000 Levantines of Turkey in Asia, Syrians, Armenians, Arabs and Turks) on the

3 *Immigration Situation in Other Countries*, p. 52.

4 Hall, p. 342.

basis of the total admitted from all races are given in the following schedule from the *Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration* (1906):

	Total all Races	China per cent	All Asia per cent
1861-1870	2,377,279	2·7	2·8
1871-1880	2,812,191	4·4	5·4
1881-1890	5,246,613	1·2	1·3
1891-1900	3,687,564	0·4	1·9
1901-1905	3,833,076	0·33	

From 1901 to 1910 the total arrival was 8,795,386. Of this only 243,567 i.e. about 2·7 per cent represented the immigration from all Asia. According to the *Thirteenth Census of the United States* (Vol. I. p. 781) the Asia-born population in 1910 was counted at 191,484 and the Europe-born at 11,791,841. Asia furnished 1·4 per cent of the foreign-born population and Europe 87·2 per cent. For 1900 the figure for Asia had been 120,248 and for Europe 8,871,780 and the percentages 1·2 per cent and 85·8 per cent respectively.

Let us study the figures in detail and by race. The number of Hindu laborers in the United States was never large. In 1909 the figure was 337, in 1909-10, 1782. In 1913 the entire bulk of Hindus ("immigrants" proper as well as merchants, students and travellers) amounted to about 5000 persons. From 1911 to 1916 the total arrivals gave the figure 1372. The following statistics speak for previous years: 1906, 271; 1907, 1,072; 1908, 1,710.

The Hindu element in the Asian immigration did not rise to conspicuous proportions, and since the mobilization of labor from India to the United States began as late as 1906 it could not influence American conditions to any appreciable extent. The legislation of 1917 has disposed of the Hindu laborers before they became a real "problem."[5]

In 1910 Japanese in the United States numbered 72,157, and in 1913 about 95,000. The immigration down to 1898 never comprised batches of more than 2000 a year. From 1891 to 1900 the total arrival was 26,855 and from 1901 to 1910, 129,797. The movement began practically in 1885 when emigration was first legalized

5 *Statistical Abstract of the United States* (1916), pp. 106-107, Jenks: *The Immigration Problem*, p. 253.

by Japan. It is well known that from 1638 to 1868 the Japanese government did not allow any of its citizens to cross the "dark waters" under penalty of death.[6]

Chinese immigration was longer in duration and larger in volume than Japanese or Hindu. But it never rose as high as 5 per cent of the total immigration. The number of Chinese in the United States never reached 150,000 at any one time, and only once rose above 110,000. During the thirty-two years of "free" immigration (1848-1880) the number of immigrants from China never rose above 20,000 a year, nor averaged for any decade more than 14,000 per year. From the first Exclusion Act of 1882 the arrival down to 1910 was 105,482. From 1820 to 1910 China's contribution totalled 334,426. Deducting the departures, the number of Chinese in the United States in 1910 was 73,531 and in 1916 about 60,000.[7]

But from 1881 to 1910 a portion of the "new immigration" (i.e., that from Southern and Eastern Europe) amounted to over eight millions and a half; Austro-Hungarians, 3,096,032; Italians, 3,008,920· Russians, 2,456,097. The volume was thus more than 81 times from China for the same period. For 1899-1908 the total Slavic immigration alone was 1,687,199, i.e. about sixteen times the Chinese immigration of three decades. During one decade 1891-1900 Russia alone supplied to the United States 593,703, i.e. about double the number that China contributed in ninety years (1820-1910). From 1901 to 1910 the "new immigration" was measured at 65 9 per cent of the total arrivals in the United States. The percentage has been steadily on the increase. It was about 75 per cent at the beginning of the Great War (1914).[8]

THE BASIS OF DISCRIMINATION

It is evident that the waves of Asian invasion did not assume any formidable magnitude. And yet prohibitive special legislation has been enacted by America to put an absolute stop to the tide of immigration from China, Japan and India. It is evident also that the United States has no objection to supply its labor market

6 Steiner *The Japanese Invasion*, pp. 17-19, Mills, p. 2.

7 Mary Coolidge: *Chinese Immigration*, pp. 424-427, 500; Gulick: *American Democracy and Asiatic Citizenship* pp. 138-139.

8 Roberts: *The New Immigration*, p. 362; Balch: *Our Slavic Fellow Citizens*, p. 461.

with men, women and children from the villages of Portugal, Spain, Sicily, South Italy, Greece, the Balkans, Galicia, Bohemia, Lithuania and Russia, not to speak of the northern countries of Teutonic Europe.

Is there anything in the causes of migration that tempts America to be more favourable to Europe than to Asia? The point would be clear if we analyze the forces behind the mobilization of labor.

The historic migrations of ancient and medieval times took the form chiefly of military usurpations, political annexations, tribal settlements, or racial "colonizings." The "Aryan" immigrations into Greece and India, the Tartar invasions of China, and the "barbarian" inroads into the Roman Empire are instances of such mobilizations of warrior hordes seeking "a local habitation and a name." The processes by which the Red-Indians, the Aztecs and the Incas were exterminated by the Christians of the colonial period in order to make room for the races of the Old World are likewise of the same category. But surely the immigration into Canada, the United States, Argentina, Brazil, Chile etc during the last 150 years is not at all of that warlike character.

There is a vague idea abroad that America has been peopled by the political refugees, liberators and revolutionaries, who found autocratic and conservative Europe too hot for their propaganda. It is also thoughtlessly believed sometimes that the New World has enlarged its numbers mainly by granting asylum to the men and women who escaped from the religious persecution and horrors of intolerance rampant on other side of the Atlantic. The political disturbances in Europe of 1830 and 1848, and the earlier Puritan and Huguenot revolutions have no doubt influenced the American population both in quality and quantity. But as a rule, both these notions are statistically untenable. In recent years especially, except in the case of a certain number of Jews and Poles (and this again for very limited periods) political and religious oppression may be practically ignored as a source of emigration from Europe. Besides, the Lafayettes, the Kosciuskos, the Frederick Lists, the Kossuths, those apostles of freedom and emancipators of subject peoples, belong to the intellectual middle class; and even though temporarily ill-financed, and impoverished they are not counted among that immigrant mass which has to be handled at Ellis Island and Angell Island.

There is but one grand cause of the movements *en masse* from one land to another; and that is economic, the pressure of population on the means of subsistence. This Malthusian motive underlies even the earlier migrations of a military character by which Asia, Europe and Colonial America were settled during different periods of history. It is *the* force, the greatest single cause that has impelled Europe in the nineteenth century and after to unburden herself of her teeming millions and send them forth as seekers of gold dust to the mines, oilfields, ranches and workshops of the Eldorado of the world. It is the same economic urge that is pushing Asia to the under-peopled banks of the Amazon and the Mississippi.

The New Worlders have chosen to be hospitable to the hungry folks from Europe, but when Asia is at the door crying for bread they have grimly determined to offer only stones. Of course they are perfectly within their rights when they manipulate their turnpikes according to their own discrimination, admitting some, refusing others. With their machine-guns, air-planes, "tanks" and sub-marines, and now militarized and navalized as they are to the nth term of their man-power, they are not certainly in the plight of the original inhabitants of America, the Peruvians or Mexicans, and presumably they do not fear the appearance of Pizarro or Cortez from the Asia of the twentieth century. But as the project of world's peace on permanent foundations is emphatically proclaimed from house-tops in these days, Young Asia deems it within its province to argue out the basis of discrimination on which America has embarked upon the exclusion of Orientals.

In what respects, then, are the laborers of the Orient less desirable as prospective American workmen and citizens than the immigrants from Europe? Are the conditions of American agriculture, manufacture and transportation more peculiarly suited to the habits of life, "genius" and temperament of the European masses than to those of the Asian laboring classes? Can the native and long-naturalized laborers of America point to a single economic or social feature in which, say, the Slavs or Latins of Eastern and Southern Europe are, *under natural conditions*, more conveniently suited with regard to the domicile in the United States than are the Caucasian (Aryan) Hindus,[9] Mongolo-Tartar Chinese,

9 "Pure-blood Hindus belong ethnically to the Caucasian or white race

and Malaya-Mongoloid Japanese? These are the interpellations by Young Asia that await answer from the economists, ethnologists, labor-protagonists and legislators of America. And the same queries may be legitimately raised by the American capitalists and employer classes in their stand against the labor-view of the Oriental immigration.

Asians *vs.* Latins and Slavs

We would, therefore, make out a qualitative inventory of the stuff that the United States is anxious to Americanize. Among the "new immigrants" in American industries, on the average, 74·8 per cent could not read and write. According to the *Abstract of Immigration Commission's Report* (1907-1910) on "Immigrants in Manufacture and Mining" (p. 211) 91 per cent were illiterates among Magyars, 87·5 per cent among Slovenians, 84·4 per cent among Slovaks, 82·6 per cent among Roumanians, 80·5 per cent among Greeks, 79·9 per cent among Poles, 78·1 per cent among Bulgarians, 77·3 per cent among Lithuanians, 74·5 per cent among Russians, 71·3 per cent among Serbians, 70·9 per cent among Croatians, 67·5 per cent among South Italians, 65·8 per cent among Syrians, and 47·5 per cent among Portuguese.[10]

What, now, is the tradition of economic life to which these immigrants had been used for centuries in southern and eastern Europe? As a rule, the Jews constituted the middle class in their European homes. They had been more urban than rural, as Joseph points out in the *Jewish Immigration to the United States,* and had possessed almost a monopolistic control over the industry, commerce, and banking of the communities. The rest of the "new immigration," however, has invariably consisted in the main of the peasant classes, agricultural hands and unskilled laborers.

The cultivators of Russia, Roumania or Galicia had never heard of steam gang-plows that break up a hundred acres in a day or two. Theirs were the implements that the Babylonians had

and in several instances have been officially declared to be white by the United States Courts in naturalization proceedings." *United States Census* (1910), Vol. i. p. 126.

10 Roberts, p. 370. According to the *United States Census* (1910), vol. i. (p. 1186) the illiteracy of Chinese in the United States was 15·8 per cent and that of Japanese 9·2 per cent.

worked with millenniums ago, and that have been partially displaced only yesterday by the "industrial revolution" in the more advanced countries of the world. Czechs, Slovaks and Serbs used wooden utensils in the stall and the house. Their technology furnished them only with the primitive fork, rake and plough. In their estimation human labor was cheaper than any labor-saving instrument. It could be had, in fact, almost for nothing. Clark mentions in the *Old Homes of New Americans* the story of a Bohemian peasant who condemned the extravagance of a farmer because of his erecting a fence around his pasture instead of having a man to watch his sheep and a girl to watch his geese. The economic life under the most favourable circumstances was not unlike that of the "peasant proprietors" described by Arthur Young in the eighteenth century. There was "variety of work," as Professor Emily Balch observes in *Our Slavic Fellow-citizens,* employment indoors alternating with field work. Men, women and children "co-operated" in the tending of chickens, geese and ducks in the perspective of "gardens with their rows of tall sun-flowers and poppies."

The primitivism in husbandry might at its best suggest indeed of Theocritean idylls. But one must not miss the dark cloud in the silver lining. These arcadias were nests of appalling poverty. Lord noticed in Italy the proverbial destitution of the famished Irishman, thousands of weary straw-plaiters earning "four cents a day," and thousand others who dip in the water of a spring or rivulet a handful of leaves or a few fresh beanpods to be eaten as salad with their dry hard bread.[11] And the Greek peasant, as Professor Ross puts it so graphically in *The Old World in the New,*"[12] lived on greens fried in olive oil, ate "meat three times a year," and kept "without noticing it the 150 fasting days in the Greek calendar." The cooking of Austro-Hungarian Slavs was done in earthenware vessels on primitive ovens, and their houses were furnished with products of the spinning wheel, needle and dyepot. The standard of life governing such communities is obvious. It was mud floors, vegetarianism (not the cult of faddists, of course, but the virtue of a necessity), no underwear.

The village was the centre of their social existence; their outlook embraced only the petty concerns of the neighbourhood. Civic

11 *The Italian in America,* p. 235. 12 Page 183.

sense was the furthest removed from their consciousness. When the Italian pays his 2 or 3 per cent to the government, he says: it has gone to the king.[13] Servility was ingrained in their physiology The Slav peasant automatically took off his cap to those dressed like gentle-folk, known or unknown.[14] Individuality was not dreamed of in domestic life. Among the Croatians the young men and women were not accustomed to choosing their mates for themselves, the marriage being arranged by parents or guardians. It was the fear from demons in the elements that nourished their religion. The Franciscan friars, writes Brandenburgh,[15] beg money at Naples from Italian emigrants by saying that "they would ward off the fearful dangers of the voyage and in the new wild land America by purchasing prayer-cards." And undoubtedly they were as innocent of the problems of child labor, newspapers, trade unions, bank accounts and birth control as is the man in the moon.

This is the cultural outfit of immigrants from the European hive of humanity. Altogether, then, the migration from southern and eastern Europe to America has reproduced, on continental scale, the exact process by which the "deserted villages" of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century became instrumental in the urbanization and industrialization of England, France and Germany. It is a step in the transformation of the entire world from the feudal to the "industrial" regime, from the lower to the higher standard of "necessaries, comforts and decencies of life." It is carrying forward the dynamics of economic history that was first operated by the application of the steam-engine to cotton-manufacture in 1785.

To America, therefore, these guests from Europe can but contribute their primitive midwifery, agricultural superstition, high birthrate, and rural ignorance. In American cities they make their presence felt by room and clothing that reek with odors of cooking and filth. Like Bohemians in the country towns of Texas they displace old American settlers from their favorite habitations. Jews are shunned by "Americans" because they eat garlic; Greeks because they are mere barbers and dirty shoeshiners; Italian fruiterers because they come from Naples, the

13 Brandenburgh: *Imported Americans*, p. 53.
14 Balch: p. 42.
15 Page 141.

city of rougues and rascals, or because their women are notorious for cat-like fecundity; and Slavs because, as Kuokol writes in *Wage Earning in Pittsburg*, of their rows and fights when they get drunk on pay-day or when celebrating wedding or christening. These are the people that are easily duped by the "managers" of political parties, and materially help lowering the level of public life. They can be handled without trouble by employers and captains of industry, and are pounced upon by capitalists to be exploited as tools in the breaking of strikes. They thus militate against the effectiveness of workingmen's associations. They spoil the labor market and demoralize the proletariat class In all respects they embody an enormous drag and dead weight upon America's advance in civilization, democracy and efficiency.[16]

Such is the raw material that the United States is eager to wash, scrape, chisel and polish, to assimilate, to manufacture 100 per cent Americans of. If these specimens of humanity be worth a nation's spending millions on, how can the unprejudiced mind be indifferent to the potentialities of those other human beings of the same socio-economic standing that come from across the Pacific? Does hunger affect the muscular organism and the nervous system of men and women differently in the East and the West? Is primitive agriculture the parent of worse poverty and lower standard of material existence in Asia than in Europe? Are the illiteracy and superstition of the white cultivators better adapted to the democratic institutions and labor organizations of republican America than are those of their yellow and brown peers? Or, are the social and moral values of American life likely to deteriorate less through the influx of Occidental medievalism, nescience, boorishness and serfdom than through that of the Oriental? Young Asia wonders as to how it is possible for the brain of America to make a choice between Europe and Asia "under the same conditions of temperature and pressure."

Persecution of Asians in America

No new objection can be urged against Asian immigrants from the viewpoint of labor, sanitation, morals, or culture in addition to what is valid against the "new immigration." Intellectually, economically, and politically, the Americanizability of the unskilled

16 Roberts: p. 295.

laborers from Asia is on a par with, not a whit less than that of those from Europe. The "pre-industrial" life with its medieval hygiene and civics does not qualify the Slav or the Latin for the duties of the American citizen in peace and war to a far greater extent than it does the Chinese, Japanese, and Hindu immigrants. As a matter of fact it need be admitted in all fairness that the prejudice of "Americans" against the "new immigration" is really as strong as against the Oriental. Emotionally speaking, it could not be otherwise.

But it is very remarkable that under the same "stimulus," viz., an equally keen anti-foreign race-feeling the people as well as the government of the United States have "reacted" differently to the two groups of foreigners. The differential treatment of the Asian and the European immigrants in America is a striking fact of considerable importance to students of behavioristic social psychology.

On the one hand, the patriotic Americanizers have been trying their best to abolish the "race lines," the "little Italy's," the "little Hungary's," etc. from their cities. They are thoroughly convinced, as they should be, that these "immigrant colonies," these clan-communities, these towns within towns, present the greatest hindrances to Americanization by perpetuating Old World traditions, customs and ways of thinking. Rightly, therefore, are they determined to do away with the segregations as far as practicable in order to assimilate the "new men, strange faces, other minds" from Europe. On the other hand, American behavior towards Asian immigrants has been the very antithesis of this attitude. The only method directly calculated to prevent fusion, amalgamation or even assimilation has been pursued in the treatment of Orientals. It is a story of systematic ostracism, localization, persecution and torture from beginning to end. Young Asia has at last been forced to realize, like the Jew in medieval Europe, that in this land of the free "sufferance is the badge of all our tribe."

The people of India have few specific grievances against America. On the whole, the treatment of Hindus in the United States has not been unsympathetic. And the anti-Hindu animosity of American laborers could not rise to a tragic intensity, because the Hindu labor movement was too short-lived and small in bulk to grow into a "nuisance." As Hindus have no government and flag of their own to protect their interests and sense of the dignity of

man, the United States had no trouble in managing the situation. The American public turned a deaf ear to the half a dozen feeble protests from Hindu leaders in the States. The insolent conduct of the immigration officers at ports, who make it a point to suspect and harass Hindu merchants, students, and travellers as laborers or "public charges" *in posse* continues however to be a source of Young Asia's chagrin against America.

The first anti-Japanese propaganda was formally started in 1900, i.e. within about fifteen years of immigration from Japan. In 1905 Japanese had less than 100 children of school-going age scattered in different wards of San Francisco. But the School Board ordered them to be segregated in a separate Japanese school. The same year the State Legislature of California declared the marriage of whites with Mongolians (i.e. Japanese and Chinese) illegal and void. The "school problem" and the problem of miscegenation gradually led to the formation of the Asiatic Exclusion League. It was directed solely against Japan, for Chinese exclusion had already been legislated in 1904, and the Hindu labour-movement had hardly begun. The "gentlemen's agreement" of 1907 finally excluded Japanese laborers from America. Since then California and Arizona have passed Alien Land Laws (1913). These are discriminative exclusively against Japan. According to these laws leases of agricultural land by "other aliens" (i.e. those not eligible to citizenship, e.g. Japanese) are limited to three years, and ownership to the extent provided by existing treaties. The injustice of these laws would be apparent from the fact that subjects of the United States are accorded the same rights as other aliens by the land laws of Japan.[17]

During all this period Japanese have submitted to humiliating treatment[18] in restaurants, lodging houses, hotels, moving picture shows, and theatres. Even the Y. M C. A. has not hesitated to deny them the use of gymnasiums, swimming tanks, athletic fields, etc. Japanese have been excluded from fraternal orders and trade unions. They have not been allowed to employ women as help. Members of the Japanese consulate have been compelled to leave the residences of their own liking because Americans of the neigh-

17 Mills: pp. 197-226, Gulick: *The American Japanese Problem*, pp. 336-339.

18 Steiner, pp. 46, 81-83.

bourhood prevented the grocery stores from supplying the "Jap" with provisions on threats of boycott. Add to these the unnoticed and unpunished assaults on Japanese in the streets of American cities, and indignities suffered by high class Japanese on board American ships and at the ports of landing. After all this comprehensive de-Americanizing of "Mr. Jap" the intellectuals of America dare declare: "Orientals are unassimilable!"

ANTI-CHINESE "POGROMS" OF THE UNITED STATES (1855-1905)

As Chinese immigration was the oldest and most voluminous of the labor-movement from Asia, the anti-Chinese antipathy of America was the most intense and monstrous. In fact, Japanese inherited the anti-Chinese prejudice, and Hindus the anti-Japanese in the chronological order of their arrival; as, in the psychology of American labor the last immigrant is the worst. Japanese came to America about three years after the first Chinese exclusion law (1882) had been passed, and Hindus reached the Pacific Coast about the time when the anti-Japanese movement was finally drawing to a head (1905-1907).

In 1851, i.e. three years after the discovery of gold in Sacramento Valley there were about 25, 000 Chinese in California. They were hailed by the Governor as "one of the most worthy of our newly adopted citizens." But in 1855 the Foreign Miner's License Tax was passed to push Chinese out of the mining fields. Since then for the whole half century the popular and governmental (state as well as federal) attitude of America towards Chinese was one of unvarnished iniquity and hypocrisy, as Prof. A. C. Coolidge admits in *The United States as a World Power.*[19]

Chinese had to pay special capitation tax, special police tax, special fishing license. In addition to this legislation the Chinese government had to accept in 1868 some of the objectionable terms of the Burlingame treaty which, however, was on the whole, the only decent piece of transaction between America and China down to 1905. By this document China agreed to the denial of American citizenship to persons of the Chinese race. Nor is this all. The ballot was forbidden to Chinese living in America. Schools were closed against them. They were not allowed to give evidence on

19 Pages 335-337, 356; Foster: *American Diplomacy in the Orient*, pp. 300, 301, 306.

the witness stand even in cases affecting their own property. They suffered open torture in public places and residential quarters. In normal times it was "mob-law" that governed their person and property. The dictates of American demagogues created a veritable reign of terror for them. By 1876 the persecution of Chinese had become so chronic that the Six Companies at San Francisco had to lodge formal complaints to the proper authorities against the assaults and atrocities of Americans.[20]

In 1880 an American commission was forced on the imperial government at Peking. By hook or by crook it compelled China to invest the United States with right and authority to modify the Burlingame treaty against Chinese interests, so that Americans might have the legal freedom to "regulate, limit or suspend Chinese immigration" at their own convenience. The first Chinese exclusion bill followed hard upon this in 1882. The American public was not to be satisfied yet Violent outrages continued to be perpetrated on innocent Chinese men, women and children in the Western States. In 1885 and 1886 Chinese were stoned, mobbed, looted and murdered in Wyoming, Washington and California.[21]

By the treaties of 1868 and 1880 the "most favored nation" privileges had been mutually assured between China and the United States. The Chinese legation, therefore, requested the federal government to respect the stipulations of those treaties and protect the life and possessions of Chinese living on American soil. Chang Yen-hoon, the Chinese minister, demanded of the United States an indemnity of $276,619 for outrages on Chinese. The indemnity was not granted. Nor did the federal government care to redress the wrong in any way.[22] On the contrary, law after law was sanctioned in direct violation of treaties.

To this conduct of the United States stands in bold relief the behaviour of China in regard to the carrying out of treaty stipulations. In 1858 the Government of Peking had paid America an indemnity of $735,258. In subsequent years the Chinese Empire invariably paid indemnities to all foreign powers even to cover the losses outside "treaty ports" for which it was not legally respon-

20 M. Coolidge: pp. 69-82, 129, 255-277.
21 M. Coolidge: pp. 188, 271.
22 *Foreign Relations of the United States,* 1886, pp. 101, 154-158.

sible.[23] The cynic would probably remark that treaties are meant to be kept only by unarmed nations.

In 1888 by the Scott Act America cancelled the ligitimate "return" certificates of 20,000 Chinese who had temporarily gone out of the United States on short trips. They were thus mercilessly deprived of their house and home without compensation. In 1892 Chinese were declared unbailable by the Greary Law. It enforced also the compulsory registration of every Chinese immigrant for purposes of identification. Under this ruling *bona fide* students from China have been marked and photographed in nude state. The immigration authorities have been pleased to violate the "most favored nation" clauses of treaties by thus indiscriminately applying the conditions for laborers to the "exempt" classes. And instances of wealthy Chinese merchants refused admittance into America or detained and maltreated in the immigrant-sheds at the ports on the suspicion that they might be laborers are only too frequent. The treatment of the officially invited Chinese exhibitors to the St. Louis exhibition (1904) was perhaps the most scandalous in this uniformly disgraceful history of America's relations with Chinese. This together with the Exclusion Law of 1904 was "the last straw that broke the camel's back." Half a century's high-handedness and atrocity at length prevailed with Young China to declare a boycott of American goods, ships, institutions, and missionaries in 1905; but political pressure from the aggressive Power compelled it to withdraw even this weapon of self-defence.[24]

A tragedy also has its humorous side. Whenever the Chinese legation applied to Washington, D.C., to take note of the violation of treaties indulged in by the states or by their citizens and indemnify the Chinese for the losses sustained, the federal authorities used to take refuge under the peculiar constitution of the United States by which the "nation" is prevented from intervention in "state" affairs.[25] On several occasions, however, they have not had the courtesy to even acknowledge the thrice repeated appeals and requests from the Chinese ministers. Rather, they have taken the liberty of administering pungent rebukes to the official representa-

23 *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1886, pp. 105, 140-143

24 *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1890, pp. 228-230, 1892, pp. 138, 140, 142-143, 147-156; M. Coolidge: pp. 197, 221, 466, 471.

25 M. Coolidge; p. 271.

tives of China for not servilely accepting the wishes of America and trying to advance the Chinese view of the case in dignified and emphatic protests.

Is it surprising, therefore, that Young Asia should regard America's "inquisition" of China and her people as unparalleled in inhumanity in the modern annals of inter-racial relations except perhaps by the infamous partitions of Poland and the blood-curdling anti-Jewish "pogroms" in Russia? No wonder that in the United States Chinese are compelled to live in Chinatowns, the "ghettos" of the New World. And yet America's "scientific" students of the immigration problem have the face to glibly remark about the exclusiveness and unassimilability of Asians! Do they want Young Asia to understand that America's charity to the Chinese (1907), embodied as it is in the partial return of Boxer indemnity, is at once an expiation for all her previous sins as well as a justification for her gagging the Chinese mouth until Doomsday?

THE CRIME OF COLOUR

As we have seen, the high-standard American laborer has socio-economic and cultural reasons for bearing prejudice against the Jew, the Italian, the Greek and the Slovak. The prejudice against the Asian laborer is presumably not at all different from this in kind or even in degree. During the early years of the discovery of gold on the Pacific Coast (1848-1852) American prejudice against Spaniards and Frenchmen also had been no less deep and bitter. Historically speaking, Chinese, the "new immigrants" of those days, only inherited the previous anti-Spanish and anti-French animosity of America.

A comparative study of all these immigrations brings out the important fact that the *rationale* of American prejudice is essentially the same in each case. It consists in the natural desire of the native workman to close the labor-market to foreign competitors. To the employers of labor, of course, the race of the laborer or his nationality is of no special significance. They care mainly for the "hand," no matter whose.

But why is it that the identical anti-foreign sentiment of the labor unions has not led to identical anti-foreign propaganda and anti-foreign legislation? Why is it that one group of foreigners is

isolated, tortured, and legislated out of the country, while at the same time there are deliberate efforts to educate, adopt and assimilate another group of equally (if not more) obnoxious "Dagoes?" How are we to explain that there has been proposed no definitively Slavic exclusion or Jewish exclusion law in the United States? How is it possible for the collective mind of a nation to discriminate between two communities of the same mentality, same economic status, and same socio-civic outlook?

The reason is not to be sought in the religious difference between Asia and Europe. For the states as well as the federal government tolerate every "ism" on earth from mariolatry, transubstantiation and immaculate conception to Mormonism, Christian Science and free thinking. Besides, in modern times, the laboring classes are not, as a rule, fanatical enough to examine people's articles of faith before entering on social intercourse. Confucianism, Buddhism, and Sikhism, as such, are not balanced against Christianity or Judaism in the mind of the masses in the twentieth century.

Do the physical features, the physiognomic expressions, then, account for the differential treatment of the Asian and European immigrants by the laborers and their leaders in America? One might be tempted to say "Yes." But, humanly speaking, native Americans themselves are too often familiar with the accidents of embryology to demand an ideal grace of line and proportion of limbs as the *sine qua non* of friendships, unions or communal gatherings. And surely their aesthetic repugnance is not daily aroused by every instance of deviation from the anthropometrically perfect cephalic index or by every aberration from the Venus of Melos type.

What, in the last analysis, is the fundamental *differentium* between the Asian laborer and the European laborer? The Asian is yellow and brown, the European is albino, i e. colourless or white. It is the complexion of the skin that is ultimately responsible for the exclusion of Asia from the labor market of America. It seems almost ridiculous that so much should depend on so slight distinctions.

Race-prejudice, especially as it has developed in the United States, is at bottom practically tantamount to skin-prejudice. According to humanitarians this may indeed be a regrettable phenomenon, but as long as it exists it is impolitic to be blind to the

fact or minimize its social significance and explain it away by ethnological investigations. It is an open question, moreover, if colour-prejudice or race-prejudice in any of its forms is ever likely to disappear from the human world. Until, however, the prejudice is removed or modified and mitigated by conscious educational and social service agencies, it is reasonable to recognize that the anti-Asian animus of America would remain a most powerful *casus belli* between the East and the West. It behoves the American captains of industry and entrepreneurs, therefore, in the interest of the world's peace to reopen the question of Oriental immigration and have the "assimilability" of Asian laborers studied by economists and sociologists on less prejudiced and more equitable grounds.

Like Europe the United States has not yet had the time and "preparedness" enough to display excessive land-hunger or market-quest, or zeal for the exploitation of weaker peoples in extra-American territories. But the persecution to which innocent Orientals have been exposed in America without redress from the legally constituted authorities, and the humiliation meted out by the authorities themselves in the shape of laws and agreements are convincing evidences that America and Europe are birds of a feather so far as aggression is concerned. In Young Asia's political psychology, therefore, the ultimatum of American labour to the Orient for the "crime of colour" affords the same stimulus to vindictive will and intelligence as does the steady annihilation of enslaved and semi-subject races by the dominant European Powers and the notorious postulate of the "white man's burden" that pervades the intellectuals, journalists, university circles and "upper ten thousands" of Eur-America.

In primitive times the world's peace was disturbed by incidents like the rape of Helen or of Sita. In the Middle Ages religious fanaticism added fuel to the fire of the normal tiger-instincts in man. The other day the great armageddon was advertized as being fought over the alleged violation of Belgium and the sinking of the *Lusitania*. But all through the ages territorial expansion, dynastic prestige, commercial monopoly, military renown of *digvijaya* (conquest of the quarters), and so forth, have dictated the call to arms. Now that there remains no more of land, water and air to be seized except possibly on Mars, the peace of the world is being recklessly staked by the aggressive races on the colour of the skin. It is in

this way that the organic struggle for self-assertion maintains its continuity by changing its camouflage and ostensible motive from generation to generation, and that might establishes its historic right to rule mankind. Young Asia is fully conscious of the situation, and has been preparing itself to contribute to the grand cosmic evolution from its own angle of vision.

For the present, Asia's retaliation may easily take the form of an economic boycott of the United States. It is unfortunate that Americans should have lost the moral hold of the Orient when they can least afford to do without it. In and through the Great War there has been sung the swan-song of the Monroe Doctrine and America's policy of isolation. Her provincialism is already a matter of history. Already the financial centre of gravity of the world has been shifted to New York. The American merchant marine has been expanding at an enormous rate under our very eyes. And with its power and serviceability immensely multiplied by the Panama Canal, Uncle Sam promises to be the inter-continental transportation agency of nations. Besides, during the last two decades American capital has more than doubled itself. What through manufactures, what through shipping, and what through bullion the United States to-day is in the greatest need of expansion, an enlarged horizon, an empire of foreign commerce and culture, a world-penetration all along the line. Is it expedient for America to have a discontented Asia to reckon with now, in view of the fact that the possibilities of the Orient as a paying field for American enterprises cannot be overlooked even by those to whom Latin America is looming large? The crisis is a challenge to the intellect and prudence of the United States. A monumental world-problem is hanging on the capacity of the American brain to rise to the height of the occasion and bring about a fair adjustment between the claims of Young Asia and the right of the United States legislature, from the platform of interracial justice and good-will.[26]

26 The immigration law has been revised in 1921. According to the new regulations the annual quota of each foreign country must not exceed 3 per cent of the total number of the nationals which the last census gives as residents of the United States. But there is no limit to the number of *bona fide* students, travellers, merchants, lecturers etc. who enter the United States without the idea of permanent residence.

Structural Transformations of Society in the Epoch of Infant Capitalism

The next extract from Sarkar's sociological contributions deals with an entirely new set of problems. It belongs to the sociology of Indian socialism and feminism. The paper was published in part in the *Har Bilas Sarda Commemoration Volume* (Ajmer 1936) as well as in the *Calcutta Review* for November 1936 under different titles and is being reproduced under the caption as indicated above.*

GEMEINSCHAFT *vs.* GESELLSCHAFT

In every part of Eur-Asia medieval society was more or less uniformly based on sex-solidarism, cottage industries, the domestic economy, gilds and castes as well as rural autarchy. The prevention of labour mobilization as embodied, for instance, in the Settlement Acts of England (1662-1824) constituted the chief feature of socio-economic organization. The beginnings of a new social metabolism are to be traced to the last quarter of the eighteenth century in England, and the second quarter of the nineteenth in France and Germany. Structural transformations of the society constitute a somewhat noticeable phenomenon of Japan and India in the first quarter of the twentieth century, although their crude beginnings are already to be detected in the fourth quarter of the nineteenth.

Throughout Eur-Asia as indeed in the two Hemispheres social mobility incorporates itself to-day in the disruptions or disintegrations of all sorts, horizontal and vertical, functional and regional. Sex individuation is as great a reality of these socio-economic and socio-political revolutions as class-distinctions or class-conflicts. Modern society is based on trade unions which have replaced the old gilds and castes. The synthetic *Femina* or the domestic polity of the rather subconscious woman has likewise given way to the individualized woman of the virtually disintegrated family.

To use the characteristic expressions of Ferdinand Toennies[1] the woman who by nature represented the spirit of the *Gemein-*

* See also B. K. Sarkar: "La Sociographie hindoue aux débuts du capitalisme moderne" (*Revue Internationale de Sociologie*, Paris, November-December 1936).

1 *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* (Leipzig, 1935), pp. 149-150, 159-161.

schaft ("community" or system of intimate and instinctive blood-relationships) has given way to the woman in whom *Kuerwille* (arbitrary or artificial will) preponderates so as to create the *Gesell-schaft* i.e., the "society" of contractual relations. It is on new foundations that societal equilibrium and synthesis are being established.

The entire period of the new social metabolism can be roughly described as the age of industrialism, technocracy and capitalism. It may be possible to describe the earlier phases of this age as constituting the "first industrial revolution" or infant capitalism-cum-industrialism, and the later phases as the "second industrial revolution" on account of the greater intensity and extensiveness of the forces operating in the first. The dates of each industrial revolution are, however, not the same for all Eur-America or even Western Europe.

In regard to the first industrial revolution, it may be taken to have been complete in England during 1800-1825 and in France and Germany during 1850-75. Germany commenced her industrial career somewhat later than France which made the *début* at the end of the Napoleonic period; but the subsequent German progress was extraordinary compared to the developments in France, nay, in England. It is not before the first decade of the present century (1898-1913) that the first industrial revolution may be said to have touched the Italian people. Quite note-worthy is the fact that at the beginning of the century Italy was still one of the countries in *una condizione di inferiorità economica.*

Incidentally it is worthwhile to observe that, scientifically speaking, one is not entitled to speak of an alleged European economy or a so-called Western standard of economic development in any geographical or racial sense. For instance, the position of Italy whose *sviluppo è stato ritardato* (development was arrested) and which during the last decade of the nineteenth century was marked by *primitivismo nell'ambiente industriale* (primitivism in the industrial atmosphere) is entirely different from that of England, the pioneer of modern economy. Nor is any assimilation possible between Italy and Germany whose industrial-capitalistic Kindergarten stage was almost synchronous with that of herself but which has marched at break-neck speed, catching even up to England by the end of the last century.[2]

2 E. Levasseur: *Questions Ouvrières et Industrielles en France sous la*

The origins of capitalism-*cum*-industrialism and their rates of progress being so varied, England, France, Germany and Italy cannot by any means constitute any unified or homogeneous economic system.

The first industrial revolution is perhaps being consummated in India during the second quarter of the present century. Among the equations of comparative culture-history and social science we should be able to place the virtual identities between the labour or sex-movements of India at the present moment and those of certain Western countries of several decades ago.

The Sociology of Indian Socialism

So far as India is concerned, the student of social dynamics will have to observe that the anatomy of the modern society is as new for Asia as for Eur-America. The differences between the East and the West in this regard, should there be any, are to be found chiefly in the different points of time at which the new structural transformations commenced The social distance of to-day between the historic races or peoples of the world is in the main but a chronological distance and not qualitative i.e., not a distance in *Weltanschauung*, ideals or view-points.

That capitalism is essentially infantile or primitive in India to-day is patent on the surface. For instance, in 1931 at the most liberal computation the total "industrial" workers of the Indian sub-continent were not more than 5,000,000 constituting nearly 1·4 per cent of the population (353,000,000). The percentages would be nearly 25-30 in Japan, 10·7 in the United Kingdom and 15 5 in Germany.[3] The relative strength or weakness of Indian labour is manifest in these proportions.

Troisième République (Paris, 1907) pp. 167-169, 916-917; S von Waltershausen: *Deutsche Wirtschaftsgeschichte 1815 bis 1914* (Leipzig, 1923) and *Zeittafel der Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (Halberstadt, 1928), R. Morandi: *Storia della Grande Industria in Italia* (Bari, 1931), pp 151-152, 165-168, 177-186; B. K. Sarkar: *Entwicklung und weltwirtschaftliche Bedeutung des modernen Indien* (Stuttgart 1931); A. M. Comparetti: "Ricchezza e Progresso Tecnico" (*Rivista Italiana di scienze Economiche*, Bologna, March 1936, pp. 180-192, April, 1936, pp. 275-282).

3 B. K. Sarkar: *Social Insurance Legislation and Statistics. A Study in the Labour Economics and Business Organization of Neo-Capitalism* (Calcutta, 1936), pp. 16, 18, 48, 56. See the *Bombay Labour Gazette* for

In 1927 not more than 407,000 working men were unionized. This included some 100,000 members of the All-India Trade Union Congress. We get, therefore, 13 per 10,000 of the total population as against, say, 38 in Japan, 594 in Russia, 1051 in the U.K. and 1295 in Germany. Indian workingmen, then, whether individually or unionally, cannot be regarded as constituting a "great power" in Indian societal economy or polity. Another mark of infantilism in the capitalistic economy of India is to be found in the fact that in 1936 the number of unionized members is perhaps less than in 1927. At any rate statistics are wanting.

The labour movement strictly so-called is a post-war phenomenon in India. It can be traced back to the eighties of the last century among the cotton workers of Bombay. But the first All-India Trade Union Congress was not held before 1920 (Bombay).

The First Trade Union Act was passed in India in 1926. For the purposes of socio-economic equation it is worth while to observe that the first corresponding Act was passed in Italy in 1890, in France in 1884, in England during 1871-76 and in Germany in 1869. We must not, however, overlook the consideration that in Europe much preparatory and transitional work in trade union legislation had been gone through during the first half of the nineteenth century. These circumstances enable us to visualize the "social distance" between India and the more advanced sections of Europe as registered in the chronology of labour legislation.[4]

In India the first Factory Act was passed in 1881. For England the corresponding date is 1801. The latest Indian Act is that of 1934 which, thanks among other things to constant association with the International Labour Conference (Geneva) since 1919, has been equipped with large doses of liberalizing features.

The present status of Indian labour may be seen from an examination of some of the clauses of the Indian Factories Act of 1934 especially in regard to women workers and child labour.[5]

February, 1936, pp. 421-462, (trade unions in Bombay, Labour in Indian mines).

4 *Freedom of Association* (Geneva) Vol. II (1927) pp. 10-13, 92-96, Vol. III (1928) pp. 2, 11, Foignet: *Legislation Industrielle* (Paris 1925), p. 30, Levasseur. *Questions Ouvrières* etc. (Paris 1907) pp. 434-437, 519-522.

5 Discussions on P. K. Mukherjee's papers on "Indian Women Workers" and "Child Labour in India and Abroad" at the *Bangiya Dhana-*

The number of women employed in factories, however, is not high. But the importance of factory population, both male and female, lies in the fact that it is partly through this section that India is becoming industrialized and rising in the scale of modern technocracy and culture.

Legislation regarding female labour commenced in the year 1891 and subsequently it was improved by the Acts of 1911 and 1922 and then by the amended Acts of 1926, 1928 and 1934. The Mines Acts of 1923 and 1928 have attempted to improve the condition considerably. Generally the Factories Acts have tried to minimise the period of labour and to assure hours of rest as well as to control the abuse of labour by prohibiting night work. The Act of 1928 has tried to eliminate female labour from mines altogether. The principle is being enforced gradually. It is to be adopted completely by the year 1939.

The condition of famale labour is not very secure anywhere in the world, especially in India. Legislation as to minimum wage is an imperative necessity. From the viewpoints of morality and health women should be protected from dangerous work. One may suggest the prohibition of female labour in some more poison manufacturing works than those which are already forbidden. The prohibition of female labour under certain age in outdoor enterprises is absolutely necessary. We have to observe, in any case, that a social problem is created automatically because the men workers come, as a rule, from outside the province of their employment and without their wives. It is important to observe that heavy work, load-lifting and the like, as done by the Chinese and Japanese women, are not allowed in the U S A.

The Act of 1934 is not only a consolidating one but provides also some additional measures for the protection of labour Chapter III. which relates to health and safety is especially valuable. The powers conferred on the Local Government, especially those in connection with "hazardous occupations" have bearings on women and may prove to be beneficial. But the immediate need of the country is the enactment of Maternity Benefit Acts on the Bombay

Vijnan Parishat (Bengali Institute of Economics, Calcutta), reported in *Forward*, 8 February, 1935, and *Advance*, 16 July, 1936. See *Arthik Unnati* (Economic Progress), February-March, 1935.

plan throughout India. Besides, a large dose of protection both for men and women is required such as may be rendered available only when Health Insurance is enacted.

According to the Act of 1934 the Government is authorized to require the factories to reserve a room for the use of women employees' children under six years of age. This is good so far as it goes. But the standard of child welfare has risen very high in the world.

In modern morality and legislation the care of the child belongs not so much to the parents and the family as to the community and the country. The Hindu poet Kalidasa's conception of "the king being the real father, the parents being simply the causes of birth" (*sa pita pitarastasam kevalam janmahetavah*) has thus become an institution of positive law.

Modern legislation is as old as the industrial revolution, factory-system and capitalism (c. 1785-1800). It is in and through diverse Acts bearing on education, health, punishment, and factories that this modernism involving as it does state control of or communism in children has been brought about. The British Children's Act of 1908 has been followed by several such Acts in India, for example, the Bengal Children's Act of 1922. The Indian Factories Act of 1934 also has certain measures, as already hinted at, quite favourable to children.

The number of factories has increased from 5,000 in 1922 to over 8,000 but the employment of children has gone down from 68,000 to 22,000. This is a desirable consummation.

According to the latest Factory Act in India, the child is a boy or girl under 15. But children can be employed at the commencement of the 13th year. Night-work has been forbidden as well as double employment. The British legislation is more restrictive as it forbids employment under 14. But in regard to delivery of newspapers, milk, parcels etc. employment is permitted in the U.K. to boys and girls between 12 and 14. In Egypt, on the other hand, employment is permitted to boys and girls even between 9 and 12.

In spite of improvement effected in children's lot by legislation double employment still persists in certain areas. Besides, the pledging of children by parents continues to some extent to be a reality of economic India. Stricter legislation as well as more effective enforcement of the Acts would be required to remove this kind of child-slavery, mild or otherwise, wherever it exists.

Unless elementary education is rendered compulsory it would not be possible to control child labour successfully. But in the meantime some of the tea plantations in Assam have made provisions for the care of children and of working men in general.

Attention has to be invited to the problems of leisure and recreation such as would be necessitated by the removal of children from mills, mines and workshops, as well as by the adoption of shorter hours. In this connection we have to note the activities of the International Congress for Leisure and Recreation (*Weltkongress fuer Freizeit und Erholung*) which held its second session in July 1936 at Hamburg (first session, Los Angles U.S.A. 1932). The problem has not arrested India's serious notice up till now.

It is necessary to repeat that per head of population and per square mile of territory Indian labour is not yet a considerable power in economic or social relations.[6] In politics also it cannot function as yet in a remarkable manner. But some of the *modernisms* in "ideology" have already established themselves among the labor *intelligentsia*. A section of Indian labour leaders has affiliations with the Second International ("moderate," socialistic) of Amsterdam. The "communistic" or radical ("extremist") Third International (Moscow), the Comintern, seems likewise to have influence with a wing of the Indian workers and their champions. These circumstances have contributed to the diversification and enrichment of politics with fresh categories not only in connection with the Indian National Congress and other "private" political bodies but even with the Government politics as embodied in the Legislative Assemblies and Councils as well as municipal, district board, union board and corporation politics.

The affiliations of labour to Indian politics are at any rate not clear. Something like a Labour Swarajya Party was established in 1925. Two years later the Peasants' and Workers' Party made its appearance. As "organizations" these so-called parties perhaps do not possess substantial value. But they furnish factual indices to the new currents such as inspire the mentality and activity of growing sections of the *intelligentsia* as well as of the workingmen.

The growth of the workingmen in self-consciousness, no matter how small their number in absolute or relative statistics and

6 Levasseur: *Questions Ouvrières* (Paris 1907) pp. 434-437, 714-715. For the primitive conditions of Italy about 1900 see Morandi, pp. 150-174

how backward, primitive or infantile in comparative or international socialism, is an outstanding reality of the last decade or so.

In the meantime has grown up such a thing as factual or positive democracy and socialism in and through the Government of India Act (1935). The Lower Houses of the Provinces as well as the Lower Chamber of the Federal Government have provided for the representation of labour through its own representatives.

When even under Government auspices socialism of some type or other is becoming a constitutional reality it is but inevitable that ideologists like Jawaharlal Nehru, Subhas Chandra Bose and other political leaders such as in the main stay away from the official atmosphere should pitch their ambitions much higher and sigh for the highest that is yet to come.

The establishment in 1936 of a Labour Party or rather of a socialistic wing in the *milieux* of the Indian National Congress as well as the Indian Legislative Assembly is but in keeping with all these consummations, positive, constitutional and idealistic. For India's chronological distance from the pioneers of labour-democracy and socialism it is worthwhile to recall that the British Labour Party was formally established in 1906, the *Fédération Nationale des Syndicats* of France in 1886 (growing finally into the *Confédération Générale du Travail* 1895), the American Federation of Labour in 1881, and the *Sozial-demokratische Partei* of Germany in 1875.[7] It is at least by two generations that the economics and politics of Indian labour as of other Indian classes are behind the "adults" of the modern world.

The ideals and realities of socialism as developed in India since the Great War have to be envisaged in the background of some concrete and objective facts of the socio-economic world. Developments in technocracy, industrialism, capitalistic enterprises, joint stock concerns, banking and insurance institutions constitute some of the great forces of the day. Strikes and agitation on the part of the workingmen, judicial trials bearing on the violation of law, and so forth have grown into common occurrences. The five amendments of the Factories Acts (1922, 1923, 1926, 1931, 1934) point inevitably to the rising tide of socialism on the one

7 B. K. Sarkar: *Political Philosophies Since 1905*, Vol. I. (Madras) 1928) pp. 71-85, 204-213.

hand as of capitalism on the other.[8] Then there are the thousand and one contacts of Indian leaders,—cultural, political, economic and labour, with the world-forces in Eur-America and Japan, such as have succeeded in injecting ideas of neo-capitalism and neo-socialism, not to speak of radical labour ideology, into the mentality of India and her journalistic and academic complex. Last but not least have to be singled out the world-propaganda carried on by the International Labour Office of Geneva since 1919 as well as the deliberations and Report of the Royal Commission on Labour in India (1929-31) which have served as powerful formative forces in the establishment of the Indian labour-mind.

The Sociology of Indian Feminism

We may now pass on to analyze and assess the disruption of the comprehensive family or the synthetic *Femina* in India. The new woman is already a reality of the Indian social complex.

The establishment of the Indian Women's University at Poona by D. G. Karve in 1916 is an important landmark in the progress of womanhood in India. Another landmark is to be seen in the enactment of the Sarda Act in 1929 which fixed the minimum age of marriage for girls at 14 and of boys at 18. Child marriage has thus been restrained to some extent by positive legislation. Women's societies, clubs, schools and journals conducted in the main by women themselves have grown into the principal features of Indian society since the end of the Great War (1914-18).

For certain purposes the All-India Women's Conference which held its first session at Poona in 1927 may be taken as the sample

8 B. K. Sarkar: *Pressure of Labour upon Constitution and Law* 1776-1928 (Jnanmandal, Benares, 1928), S. C. Dutt: "Colliery Labourers in the Jharia Field" (*Journal of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce* 1929), "Tea Industry in Assam" (*Arthik Unnati*, Calcutta 1929), "Unemployment Problem in Great Britain" (*JBNC* 1930), *Dhana-Vijnane Sakreti* (Apprenticeship in Economic Science, Calcutta 1932) and *Conflicting Tendencies in Indian Economic Thought* (Calcutta 1934), K C Basu: "Workingmen's Compensation" (*Arthik Unnati*, 1930), "The Earnings and Expenses of Indian Workingmen" (*A U*, 1933), P. K Mukherjee "International Labour Legislation" (*A.U.* 1934), R N. Ghosh: "Labour and Wages in Japan", a lecture at the "Malda in Calcutta" Society, December 27, 1934 (A.U. 1935). See also P. K. Mukherjee: *Labour Legislation in British India* (Calcutta, 1937, 1939).

of women's creative endeavours in India at the present moment Not all the activities of the women are directly or indirectly associated with this Conference, equipped although it is with 39 constituent and 49 subconstituent associations. But it can by all means be used as an index to the quality, quantity and variety of life's urges to which Indian womanhood, especially among the economically favoured classes, has been reacting in a conspicuous manner.

The ten sessions held up till now are enumerated below with the names of the Presidents:[9]

1. 1927. Poona. Her Highness the Maharani of Baroda.
2. 1928. Delhi. Her Highness the Begum Mother of Bhopal.
3. 1929. Patna. Her Highness the Dowager Rani of Bhopal.
4. 1930. Bombay. Mrs. Sorojini Naidu of Bombay.
5. 1931. Lahore. Dr. (Mrs.) Muthulakshmi Reddi of Madras.
6. 1932. Madras. Mrs. P. K. Ray of Calcutta.
7. 1933. Lucknow. Lady Ramanbhai Nilkanth of Ahmedabad.
8. 1934. Calcutta. Lady Abdul Quadir of the Punjab.
9. 1935. Karachi. Mrs. Rustomji Faridoonji of Bombay.
10. 1935. Dec. 25-1936 Jan. 4. Travancore. Her Highness the Maharani of Travancore.

The list of presidents indicates, incidentally, that feminism is well distributed among the classes, castes, religions, races, and regions of India.

Feminism, as organized in the All-India Women's Conference, is in its ideals and achievements a noteworthy specimen of contemporary creative India. It is indeed a chip of the world-feminism of to-day and furnishes but another link in the chain of modern values, social and spiritual, such as serve to establish a liaison between the East and the West. The lines of evolution embodied in Indian feminism, young as it is, are but following at some chronological distance those traversed by the adult Eur-American feminism during the previous decades. And this is but in keeping with the socio-cultural equations between India and the pioneers of modernism in the West.

9 *All-India Women's Conference: Tenth Session* (Trivandrum 1936) pp. 13, 243-253. See the *Memorandum* on the Status of Women in India Submitted to the League of Nations by the All-India Women's Conference and the Indian Women's Association (Madras 1936).

The very fact that feminism like many other modernisms has arisen in Eur-America is an index to the great reality that the womanhood of the West was not used to equality or identity of rights and obligations with the other sex. And the age of Western feminism also can be told within precise limits. The publication of the *Subjection of Women* by John Stuart Mill places the female suffrage movement towards the beginning of the fourth quarter of the nineteenth century. Joseph-Barthélemy's *Le Vote des Femmes* (Paris 1920), as an anti-feminist treatise, serves to point out that feminism has not yet been able to conquer a great part of the Western world. *La Vita Femminile* of Rome is an organ which establishes in an emphatic manner the absence of universal or even somewhat general appreciation of the ideals and methods of feminists in Eur-America. France, Italy and Spain, to mention a few countries, do not see eye to eye with England in regard to the claims of feminism. Teutonic (Anglo-Saxon) America, again, cannot be taken as the representative of Latin America in this regard. The latter follows France, Spain and Italy in the main. Nay, in the U.S.A. there are many States, say, like Alabama, where guardianship of children belongs by law exclusively to the father. The mother cannot there become the guardian of children. In the New England States the wife's earnings belong by law not to herself but to her husband.[10] Here we have another evidence of the fact that economic forces do not invariably determine the social transformations. In spite of more or less uniform developments in technocracy and capitalism the different countries of Eur-America have reacted to the problem of sex-individuation in different ways.

That the Indian women, especially among the intelligentsia, bourgeoisie or upper ten thousands, have already succeeded in assimilating the categories of world feminism shows only that the womanhood of India, in part at any rate as in Eur-America, can be depended upon as constructive workers and thinkers in schemes of world-wide importance for mankind. We need not overlook the consideration that women in India have perhaps some special disabilities. But it is entirely wrong to believe that the total woman-

10 B. K. Sarkar: *Ekaler Dhana-Daulat O Arthasastra* (The Wealth and Economics of Our Own Times), Vol. I. (1930) pp. 66-68, *Naya Banglar Goda Pattan* (The Foundations of a New Bengal), Vol. I (1932) pp. 153-157.

hood of India lives in seclusion, behind the veil (*purdah*). In reality, Indian women are active as economic agents as their sisters anywhere on earth. Indeed, thirty per cent of total Indian womanhood is "gainfully employed." This is a much higher percentage than in Italy, Hungary, Sweden, England, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Belgium, Holland, Austria, U.S.A., Japan, Canada, Spain and many other countries. Just a few coutries like Switzerland, Germany, Finland, Norway, France, Poland and Bulgaria yield a higher percentage in this field than India.[11]

Women in India, economically speaking, are not idlers. Nor is the *purdah* important enough,—for the masses of the population—to be counted as a factor in the employment market. In certain parts of Northern India, and especially among the Mussalmans,—the *purdah* is a social evil and deserves to be condemned as militating against physical health and moral personality. Altogether, the *purdah* may be taken to affect a very small section of the population. The movement to get it abolished belongs, as it should rightly do, to the irreducible minimum of social reform as championed by the womanhood of India.

As may be naturally expected, the attack on *purdah* has been a regular feature of the sessions of the Conference. Some of the other items in which the Conference has been interested during the decade are being detailed in following statement, based in the main, as it is on the Report of the tenth session (Trivandrum 1936).

A special committee was appointed to inquire into and suggest adequate remedies for the legal disabilities of women. These disabilities refer in the main to marriage and inheritance. The Marriage Dissolution Bill as proposed by Hari Singh Gour has received in the main the support of the Conference. They consider the practice of divorce as prevalent among the Mussalmans to be inequitable in so far as it enables the husband to divorce his wife arbitrarily at his sweet will. It is also considered by them to be not in accord with the principles of Islam.

In regard to the establishment of equality between the sexes so far as inheritance and control of property are concerned, the Con-

11 *Statistisches Jahrbuch fuer das Deutsche Reich* (Berlin 1928), p. 26* *Statistical Abstract for British India 1922-1932* (Delhi 1934), pp. 40-44, cf. the American situation in H. A. Phelps: *Contemporary Social Problems* (New York, 1932) pp. 511-513, 517-519

ference supports the Jogiah Bill to make better provision for Hindu women heirs as well as Sarda's Bill to secure share for Hindu widows in their husband's family property. As regards Muslim women the inheritance laws of Islam are considered by the Conference to be reasonable enough for preservation, and the Government is recommended to declare null and void the customary practices such as violate the Koranic injunctions.

The student of comparative jurisprudence and sociology is not entitled, however, to make too much of the disabilities of Indian women. Western tradition in regard to women's property rights is not something enviable. The Hindu law of *Stridhana* (woman's special property) was not surpassed in its liberal features by the Institutes of Justinian, the Code Napoleon and other European laws until the Married Woman's Property Act was passed in England in 1886.[12]

Birth control has been considered by the Conference to be an imperative necessity on account of the "low physique of woman, high infant mortality and increasing poverty of the country." The opinion has been propagated that men and women should be instructed in methods of birth control and the suggestion has been made that municipalities and local bodies ought to open proper clinics. It is to be observed with appreciation that the Conference has not cared to associate the birth control propaganda formally with the conventional scare of overpopulation.

In politics the Conference stands for "perfect sex equality" and has demanded that women should possess the citizen rights of men. One resolution runs to the effect that "no disability, either legal or social, shall be attached to women on account of sex, or in regard to public employment, office, power or honour and in the exercise of any trade or calling."

So far as the legislative bodies of the Indian constitution are concerned,[13] the "communal award" has been condemned by the Conference which is strong in its demand for a system of joint electorates. At Trivandrum (1935-36) the Conference condemned

12 B. K. Sarkar: *Political Institutions and Theories of the Hindus* (Leipzig 1922, Calcutta 1939) pp. 28-29.

13 The Government of India Act 1935 (Delhi 1936), pp. 240-248; *Report of the Joint Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform* (London 1934), pp. 66-68, 73-76.

the clauses of the Government of India Act relating to "wifehood qualification" and "application condition." It condemned likewise the electoral clauses and reiterated its demands for (i) direct election (ii) non reservation of seats on a communal basis as well as (iii) the rejection of separate electorates for women.

The passing of a Maternity Benefit Act for the whole of India on the lines of the Bombay, C.P. and Madras Acts is to be found among the resolutions of the Conference. The appointment of at least one woman factory inspector for every large industrial area is another of its objectives. The Bill prohibiting the pledging of child labour in regulated and unregulated industries has received the full support of the Conference, and it has likewise resolved that persons besides guardians and parents who pledge child labour or act in collusion with parents and guardians should be penalized. Altogether the Conference is in general sympathy with the more liberal suggestions or recommendations of the Royal Commission on Labour in India (1929-31).

In its tenth session at Trivandrum (1935-36) the Conference supported Bakhale Bill introduced in the Bombay Legislative Council to prohibit the employment of children under 12 in shops and urged that All-India legislation on similar lines limiting the hours of work and fixing a minimum age of employment of children in non-industrial undertakings be introduced.

"Social Distance"

Human groups do not move according to an exact mathematical series. And therefore not everything that is happening in India to-day in the socio-economic fields is to be found anticipated in England between 1800 and 1825 or France and Germany between 1850 and 1875. But in the first place, the general lines of evolution in India are to be taken as analogous to or identical with those in Eur-America. Secondly, India is but repeating in the almost normal manner whatever has happened in the pioneering countries of the West. Whether this pioneering by certain Western regions is to be dated as one generation or a generation and a half or two generations ahead of Indian developments can be established somewhat precisely and without vagueness in regard to each and every item of social transformation. England, France and Germany, as well as the U.S.A. have been passing through the "second industrial revolution" during the present generation and

are to be described as "industrial adults" or regions of adult industrialism, *Hochkapitalismus* etc. Compared to these developments in some of the more advanced countries of the world the economico-technical and socio-economic transformations of India, as apparent in *per capita* and per square mile values, are to be characterized as those of *débuts du capitalisme* (beginnings of capitalism), infant or young capitalism-*cum*-industrialism. The weaknesses of Indian trade unions as of Indian feminism are originally linked up with this phase of Indian societal metabolism.

Social, juridical and political transformations are not all mere correlates of technocratic, industrial and economic forces and processes. Economic determinism is not to be postulated as a matter of course. Under identical and uniform conditions of economic temperature and pressure it is possible to detect varied phenomena in the social domain. Social and political diversities between region and region even in the Western world are therefore nothing extraordinary in the *milieu* of more or less similar technocratic and economic consummations. The "social distance" between America and Western Europe or between India and the more adult sections of Eur-America must not be exclusively attributed to the economic factor. With these and allied provisos it should be possible to observe that altogether, the uniformization of the social structure of the entire world, the establishment of Wallas's "Great Society," from China to Peru, in the epoch of capitalism, infant or adult, is a fact of outstanding importance in social science. It is in the perspective of this world evolution that we should watch and examine the developments of the Indian people in socialism and feminism.

According to Toennies[14] the Middle Ages were used to the agricultural economy and handwork. These two economic activities are suited likewise to the *Wesenwille* (natural will and temper) of the woman. The modern world, on the contrary, is used to trade and commerce, the production of industrial goods for foreign and far-off markets. In these activities is the masculine spirit embodied. In so far, therefore, as the modern world is advancing and compelling the medieval conditions to retire, the community (*Gemeinschaft*) is giving way to the society (*Gesellschaft*) and woman is getting used to the trade and market relations, the contractual system and allied

14 *Geist der Neuzeit* (Leipzig, 1935), pp. 14-18.

things. Scientifically speaking, the modernization of Culture has been going along with the masculinization of the woman as well as the societization of the family, community, and marriage.

The Sociology of Spirituality

In the third specimen we encounter another world. Here Sarkar analyzes the "Expansion of Spirituality as a Fact of Industrial Civilization." This is the subject of the paper reproduced below. The paper was used as his Presidential Address at the Convention of Religions in connection with the Ramakrishna Centenary at Ragoon, Burma in April, 1936 and was published in *Prabuddha Bharata* (Calcutta, May, 1936)

Man the World-Conqueror

Born in Burma or Bermuda, Britain or Bengal, human beings have the same problem everywhere. And the problem, in so far as it is human, has remained virtually identical all through the ages. Man as an individual or in groups has had but one function, and that is to transform the gifts of the world into which he is born, namely, Nature and society, into the instruments of human and social welfare. It is not Nature, region or geography that in the last analysis determines man's destiny. It is the human will, man's energy, that re-creates the topography and natural forces, humanizes the earth and spiritualizes the geography. Then, again, it is not the group, the clan, the nation or the society that ultimately forces the individual to submit to the social *milieu*, the group *mores*, the tradition, and the *status quo*. It is rather the individual personality that compels the *mores* to change and the *milieu* to break, that subverts *status quo* and re-forms the tradition.[1]

Both anthropologically and psychologically it has been the factual nature of man to function as a "transformer" and re-creator. The ideal of man, historically and inductively considered, is not peace but restlessness. The Hindu *Aitareya Brahmana* (VII. 15) caught the right view of progress and culture when it taught in so many words that *nanasrantaya srirasti* (prosperity is not for the

1 B. K. Sarkar: *The Science of History and the Hope of Mankind* (London, 1912), *The Folk-Element in Hindu Culture* (London, 1917) and *The Futurism of Young Asia* (Berlin, 1922).

person that is not tired with movements and wanderings). The correct attitude to life and the universe is equally well portrayed in the frank declaration of the man of the *Atharva Veda* (XII, i, 54) to Earth as follows:

"Aham asmi sahamâna
'Uttaro nâma bhûmyâm
Abhîsâdasmi visvâsâd
Āsâm âsâm visasahi."

(Mighty am I, Superior by name, upon the Earth, conquering am I, all-conquering, completely conquering every region).

In modern times the Siegfrieds of Hebbel's dramas and Wagner's operas in the *Nibelung* cycle have but demonstrated the old Hindu *Weltanschauung* (world-view). The great intellectual gymnast of the nineteenth century, Robert Browning, was again echoing the same sentiment when he pointed out that "thus we half-men struggle."

Religion Eternal as an Expression of Spirituality

Of all the instruments created by man in order to minister to the needs of individual and group life neither the most nor the least effective is the instrument conventionally known as religion. It is the creations by man that count, and religion is but one of the thousand and one expressions of his creative power.[2]

Creative man or man as a creator is spiritual by nature and as a matter of course. Creativeness and spirituality are convertible terms. Non-spiritual man is a contradiction in terms because non-creative man has not been known to exist. The world has been witnessing the emergence and expansion of spirituality ever since the first man exercised his creative *shakti* or might, i.e., sought to establish his sway over the forces in Nature and human society.

The world to-day has got used to the concept that inventions are as old as mankind, and that therefore technocracy and economic life are coeval with the human race. We have now to take another step forward in the conception of man's conquests over the universe,—by admitting that all these technical and economic

2 This position is fundamentally opposed to that of the monistic religious interpretations of life and culture as popularized by Fustel de Coulanges (*La Cité Antique*), Max Weber (*Religionssociologie*), and others; cf. P. Sorokin: *Contemporary Sociological Theories* (New York, 1928), pp. 662-696.

creations are at bottom spiritual. Palæolithic man was spiritual in so far as he was creative. The spiritual urge, the craving for creation, the will to conquer, is eternal in human history and fundamental in the human *psyche*,—the very bed-rock of personality.

Some twenty thousand years ago the Aurignacian forefathers of the human race constructed flints of all shapes and sizes as well as arrow-heads of all sorts. They knew how to "manufacture" also ivory bracelets out of the mammoth's tusk and necklaces with perforated wolves' teeth. In an inventory of the values created by man the sociologist cannot afford to note exclusively these and allied items of objective utility. The cultural appraiser will have also to observe that drawings and paintings,—i.e. somewhat "idealistic" goods,—belonged likewise to the achievements of Aurignacian "civilization." Another "great power" of the Stone Age, the Azilians, produced experts in the painting of stones. The primitive painters and sculptors of mankind are to be credited with the faculty of seeing the "light that never was on sea or land" and trying to exhibit the "life beyond."[3] They are progenitors of the makers of gods and goddesses among the Pharaohs, Assyro-Babylonians, Mycenæans and Mohenjo Daro "Hindus." To the extent that religion implies the creation of unseen agencies and the bodying forth of mystical forces by imagination it is hardly possible to conceive a non-religious or "pre-religious" *stratum* of human evolution, —Lévy-Bruhl's assertions in *La Mythologie Primitive* notwithstanding. In other words, as a form or expression of spirituality, religion, even in its idealistic aspects, is, like technocracy and economy, one of the most primitive creations of mankind.

The devotion, mysticism and "religious" reverence as evident in the African masks have been appropriately sung of by the American painter, Max Weber. One of his poems in *Primitives* (Poems and Wood-cuts) reads as follows:

"Mask Bampense Kasai,
Crudely shaped and moulded art thou,
In weighty varied solid frightful form,
Through thy virility, brutality and blackness
I gain insight subtle and refined.
Then 'tis true, Kasai, that the sculptor in thy making

3 Quennell: *Everyday Life in the Old Stone Age* (London), Marshall: *Mohenjo Daro and the Indus Civilisation* (London, 1931).

Was not the jungle savage,
But high spirited and living soul.
In carving thy features, Bampense Kasai,
In the crudest geometric form,
Thy savage maker makes an art,
At once untrifling, big and powerful.
Surely not ignorance but fear and love and spirit high
Made him make you, Bampense Kasai."

The "primitives" of the past, as the undeveloped or "backwards" of to-day, undoubtedly deserve such homages to their "high spirited and living soul."

Modern Religions

"Forms" of technique as well as of economy have often changed initiating "industrial revolution" upon "industrial revolution," but man's creativeness, i.e., spirituality has kept on its more or less even tenor. Exactly in the same manner has religion changed its forms with the races, the regions and the epochs. Religion has come and religion has gone, but spirituality or man's rôle as creator of values has gone on for ever in this field as in the others.

It should, therefore, be possible to assert that the spirituality of man has been growing from more to more along with the advances in human creativeness. The expansion of spirituality is a most perceptible human or social fact of modern culture, "materialistic," industrialized, and capitalistic, as it is usually known to be. Mankind to-day is, perhaps, more spiritual than it ever was.

It is not only the tools, implements, machines and supermachines that belong to the range of man's creations during the last few generations of technocracy and capitalism. But, as during the Palæolithic and following epochs, modern man has created other values as well. The gods, goddesses or God, the hymns, prayers, rituals sermons, dissertations and lectures etc. created by modern religions in the East and the West are not less numerous and varied than in the past. And they point to at least as great, if not greater critical and rational as well as moral, humane and democratic attitudes of man *vis-à-vis* the fellow-men. The religious lore of modern mankind is born of a more soul-searching and profound spirituality than that of the previous generations.

The New Spirituality in Social Insurance and Poverty Control

The expansion of man's spiritual consciousness in the social sphere,—which may indeed be characterized as the sphere of ethical attitudes and activities,—is one of the most signal achievements of the "industrial" civilization of to-day. To take only one instance, that of the "social insurance" of Bismarck and Lloyd George, Comprising, as it does, the branches of insurance against sickness, maternity, accident, old age, invalidity, widowhood, orphanhood, and unemployment. The system of what may be called "neo-capitalism" and "neo-socialism" as embodied in state-controlled and partly state-financed social insurance is the characteristic of what for certain purposes ought properly to be described as the "second industrial revolution." The "first industrial revolution," which, for England, may be taken to be the phenomenon of 1785-1830 and, for France and Germany, of 1830-75, was the embodiment of orthodox or classical capitalism which used to treat labour according to the "iron law of wages." It evoked also orthodox or Marxian socialism in which capital was looked at from the viewpoint of class-struggle. In the *milieu* of social insurance as prevalent in the world since the eighties of the last century the workingman is not antagonistic to capital but seeks to utilize it in his own interest. Nor does the employer feel antagonistic but renders himself somewhat amenable to the aspirations of labour. A platform of mutual give-and-take has been reared and the interests of the "two poles" have obtained the chance of getting harmonized in the joint interests of the community, the ideal of national solidarity.

The dignity of man was never preached more eloquently than by the medieval Bengali poet, Chandidasa (c. 1350), who sang: *Sabâr upare mânus satya, tâhār upare nāi* (Above all is man the truth, beyond or above him is nothing). The humanism and fraternity, such as were thus developed in and through Vaishnavism, are superb.

The tradition of Buddhist Asia knows that "the Bodhisattva gives up the best excellent food to the beings who are suffering from hunger and gives security to those beings who fear. He is full of zeal for the complete healing of the sick and bears the burden of those who are weary and exhausted." The Jains of India are

nurtured in the doctrine of four gifts (*âhar-âbhaya-bhaisajya-sâstradâna*), namely, those of food, courage, medicine, and learning.

Nevertheless, it will be admitted that those ideals of social equality and personal charity or philanthropy, which are found embodied in "Hindu," Confucian, Christian, Moslem and other institutions, have assumed tremendously effective shapes in the modern methods of poverty-control and social services as represented, for instance, by the welfare activities of trade unions and other bodies as well as by social insurance. The normal measures of poor relief in England and extraordinary *Winterhilfe* (winter relief) of Nazi Germany have been serving to revolutionize the world's conception of charity, fraternity, fellowship and social "solidarism."[4] The new spirituality is not less grand than the old, whatever it may have been.

Spiritual Advances through "Unknown" Races and Classes

The emergence of new races and classes into prominence as creators of social values points likewise to the advances in spirituality and expansion of ethical sense as consummated by modern mankind. The recognition of the worth of the racial and social inferiors of yesterday is itself a mark of the contemporary expansion of social creativeness and spiritual reconstructions. The progress of man in *conscience collective*," to use an expression of Durkheim, is an outstanding social fact in inter-group, inter-tribal, and inter-racial intercourse.

Comparative sociography forces upon our attention the most diverse creative forces, such as are embodied in the experiences of the men and women of every region. Every people is thousand-handed, so to say, in its constructive and spiritualizing agencies.

In almost every district of North and West Bengal, for instance, the Santals have come to stay as agriculturists and are gradually becoming Bengalicized in language and social manners. Some Bengali-Santal blood-fusion is also in evidence. The contributions of the Santal, Garo and other "tribal" elements to the arts and crafts as well as the economic and religious structure of Eastern

4 B. K. Sarkar: "Winter Relief in Germany" and "Unemployment Insurance in England" (*Calcutta Review*, May, 1935 and 1936).

India deserve special attention. Another central fact of Hindu social morphology is the existence of several million men and women belonging to the so called "depressed" communities. Although depressed, they represent, be it noted at once, like the "tribes" none the less some of the most powerful forces that have contributed to the making of Indian culture. Further, the contributions of the "illiterates" to spirituality cannot by any means be ignored. Illiteracy does not necessarily mean ignorance, absence of brains, poverty in professional skill, proneness to criminality, or want of moral and society-building qualities. As long as the tribes, the depressed and illiterates are employed in some agriculture, cottage industry, mine, factory, railway, fishing, boat-plying and what not they are getting themselves "educated" intellectually and technically in the very process of work. And in the daily interests of their tribal, neighbourhood or occupational life they are factually developing solid ethical, social, civic and political virtues. The intellectual and moral discipline acquired by the illiterates on account of actual participation in life's work cannot be treated as of inferior grade in comparision with what the literates pick up in the elementary, secondary or collegiate institutions. Sociologically, it should be considered unscientific anywhere on earth to wait for universal literacy before thinking of endowing the illiterates, depressed and tribes with social and political privileges. It should rather be a first postulate to treat the masses as "educated" in every sense *minus* literacy as well as "creative" or spiritual in all spheres from cultivation and handicrafts to music and dance, engineering and commerce, heroes, gods and saints.

Many of the good or desirable biological "stocks" and "strains" remained unsuspected in the submerged and inconspicuous races and classes of the world. The humanitarian, philanthropic, social reform and etatistic activities of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have enabled some of these "unknowns" to display their mettle and "fitness" in Eur-America. The evocation of "eugenic" forces by "social" means and methods is continuing its work still and constitutes a remarkable testimony to the evolution of spirituality in modern times. The rise of new nationalities (Czechs, Poles, etc.) in Eastern and Central Europe as well as the birth of a regenerated Russia under Soviet auspices are some of the processes through which the repressed and inferior of yesterday have been proving themselves to be the culture-bearers, and world-

remakers of today.[5] The same process has been going on in India since the Mohenjo Daro times ; and at the present moment as in the past the culture-creating strains such as have remained hidden or unobserved in the biological make-up of India's alleged lower classes, inferior castes and worthless communities are being provided with fresh opportunities for the assertion of spirituality by social, legal and political methods.

New Eras of Spirituality

From the Mohenjo Daro epochs (c. 3500 B.C.) down to the beginnings of the nineteenth century it was the rôle of the Bengali people mainly but to assimilate the creations of the non-Bengali races and peoples of India. The instances of the Bengali people as having left substantial marks of their own creations on the culture of Northern, Western and Southern India as well as of "Greater India," i.e., in areas uninhabited by the Bengalis during five thousand years down to Rammohun Roy (1772-1833) were very few and modest.

In the nineteenth century, then, the Bengalis were one of the youngest races of India in the domain of world-spirituality. The Ramakrishna-Vivekananda (1836-1902) movement represents a very significant landmark in human civilization, inasmuch as it started the Bengali people, virtually for the first time, on to what may be regarded as a career of *charaiveti* (march on) and world-conquests. A Bengali period of creative endeavours, spirituality and culture-history was thus seen to be in the making. It is in the *Swadeshi* movement of 1905 that the new creative and spiritual forces engendered by the Bengali people got recognised as a power among the powers in the world of culture. An interesting chronological coincidence,—but which points to the same sociological agencies as the birth of Young Bengal—is the simultaneous recognition of Japan as a world-power in the political and military fields. Present-day Bengal, like modern Japan, furnishes us with the sociological data bearing on new epochs or the beginnings of fresh eras in human creativeness and spirituality.

5 T. G. Masaryk: *The Making of a State* (London 1927), K. Capek: *President Masaryk Tells His Story* (London 1934), *La Philosophie Tchécho-slovaque Contemporaine* (Prague 1935).

The beginnings of new epochs such as can be seen in the Japan and Bengal of "our own times" are but paralleled by such phenomena in the socio-cultural conditions of the German people during the period (1744-1835), say, from Herder to Humboldt.[6] It was then that for the first time German culture, still relatively "young" and "unknown" as it was, commenced its career of "world-conquests."

The Poor and the Traditionless as Creators

New epochs of spirituality have every often been started by races or "classes" which from the platform of the dominant races or classes, i.e., the *élites* of the age, were declared in so many words to be "inferior, *pariah*, semi-civilized, "dysgenic," "unfit," incompetent or *Sûdra* It is in such beginnings of new epochs in world-culture among the alleged "inferior" races or classes of the day that we find objectively and historically disproved the chauvinistic contention of Lapouge in his paper on *La Race chez les populations melangées* presented at the second International Congress of Eugenics (New York 1921). In his judgment *les blancs* (the whites) and *les riches* (the rich) were pronounced to be identical with *les éléments intellectuellement supérieurs* (the intellectually superior elements) and their work with *la civilisation elle-même* (civilization itself).

It is time for the students of spirituality, religion and social service to get emancipated from the unthinking proneness to establishing such equations between cacogenic (or dysgenic) factors and the "untried" (or "unhistorical") races on the one hand and the poorer and "lower" classes on the other. The scare propagated by Lapouge, Leonard Darwin and other eugenicists to the effect that the age of the rise of the "races" that are known to be "inferior" and of the poorer "classes" is tantamount to the epoch of *la barbarie des contemporains du mammouth* (the barbarism of the contemporaries of the mammoth) or that "the nation as a whole is slowly and steadily deteriorating as regards its average inborn qualities" ought

6 E. Spranger: "Das Wesen der deutschen Universitaet" (*Das akademische Deutschland*, Berlin 1930) and "Wilhelm von Humboldt" (*Research and Progress*, Berlin, July, 1935).

See Rabi Ghose's contribution on "The Alleged Inferior Races and Classes in Benoy Sarkar's Social Eugenics", *Supra*, pp. 177-179.

to have no place in positive or speculative science. For, neither the poor nor the young (the traditionless, the "unknown") can be postulated to be dysgenic *en masse*. Eugenic "fitnesses" or good, i.e. desirable stocks and strains are "widely distributed" among the diverse races and classes. The possibilities of progress in creativeness and spirituality may then be taken to be assured for mankind.

Our Krishna proclaimed in the *Gita*: "Forsake all other duties, seek refuge in me alone." Christ preached: "I am the way, the life, the truth." Mohammed taught the Arabs: "Verily, all believers are brethren." The religion or spirituality contained in these *dicta* is powerful with mankind still. But in the modern world there are groups, classes, races, and nations even among Hindus, Christians, and Moslems to whom such "monism" or faith in certain individuals or particular tenets is not necessary to awaken the spiritual sense or foster ethical life. Duty, truth, brotherhood, and equality have been making conquests among the most heterogeneous races and classes such as happen to be indifferent to Krishna, Christ or Mohammed. The area of the moral and religious world to-day is much more extensive than formerly, embracing, as it does, untold millions among the poor and the traditionless who have been exhibiting the results of their creative and spiritual *shakti*.

LIFE'S BATTLE NOT FINALLY WON

There should not be any difficulty to maintain with Herder[7] his thesis in *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* to the effect hat the stream of civilization indicates the progress and development of mankind, an eternal striving, a series of continuous strivings. It is to be understood in terms of *Gang Gottes ueber die-Nationen*, i.e., the march of God through all nations. "In spite of all apparent disorders the world is heading towards progress, and man will not rest until he has made the Earth his own. At the present moment, however, all the up-to-date achievements of the human spirit are nothing but the means to the more profound estab-

7 R. R. Ergang: *Herder and the Foundations of German Nationalism* (New York 1931). See Manmatha Sarkar: "Jatiyatar Rishi Herder" (Herder the Prophet of Nationalism) in *Samaj-Vijnan* (Sociology), Vol. I. (Calcutta 1939) edited by Benoy Sarkar, and Subodh Ghoshal: *Herder's Doctrine of the National Soul* (Calcutta, 1939).

lishment and wider expansion of the humanity and culture of our generation."

The alarm-signals of Dean Inge (*Idea of Progress*) and others are not to be ignored, however. We must not be blind to the great social reality that class-prejudice and race-prejudice continue still to be fundamental to almost every religious and ethical system. Political domination,—the government of one people by another,—is not yet a thing of the past. The advance of democracy has failed to check the overtures of despotism. *Matsya-nyaya* (the logic of the fish) obtains to-day as yesterday in international affairs. The world cannot afford to forget as yet the bitter complaint of Dante against political disunion and corruption which found expression in the following lines of his *Divine Comedy*:

"Ah, slavish Italy! thou inn of grief!
Vessel without a pilot in loud storm!
Lady no longer of fair provinces,
But brothel-house impure!* * * *
While now thy living ones
In thee abide not without war; and one
Malicious gnaws another; aye, of those
Whom the same wall and the same moat contains.
Seek, wretched one! around thy sea-coasts wide,
Then homeward to thy bosom turn, and mark
If any part of thee sweet peace enjoy."

Dante's censure would be valid even to-day and for a much larger number of men and women than in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. And those who are looking forward to a veritable international peace and national solidarity would be justified in complaining that the "Greyhound," *Veltro*, Deliverer or *Yugavatara*, eagerly awaited by Dante in order that the "beast" might be "destroyed with sharp pain" is yet to come.

Finally, poverty's rôle in human life and societal evolution is as powerful as ever. Unemployment and "underemployment" on nation-wide scale have grown into the normal feature of world-economy. The masses of dark clouds cannot all be dissipated because of the silver linings, few and far between, in the standard of living.

The progress in creativeness and spirituality is real and often statistically measurable. But the other side of the shield,—the limits of this progress for every race, region and epoch,—must by

no means be overlooked. Life's battle has not been finally won. It continues to be serious. The solution of the problem is far off. It is the privilege of man always to have a struggle ahead. That struggle involves automatically a condition of creative disequilibrium.

THE ETERNAL PRAYER AND COSMIC STRUGGLE

As long as the "earthly paradise" cannot be taken to have been established it behoves us all, optimists especially, to be modest. With the authors of the *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad* (I. iii, 28) the student of modern spirituality can then still offer the following prayer:

"*Asato ma sadgamaya*
Tamaso ma jyotirgamaya
Mirtyorma mritam gamaya."

(Lead me from unreality to reality,
Lead me from darkness to light,
Lead me from death to immortality.)

Here, indeed, we have the eternal prayer for every race and every region. This is the only correct prayerful attitude for struggling, creative, half-victorious, half-vanquished, spiritual man. The real desideratum of mankind is the absence of spiritual equilibrium.

For, spirituality, like everything else that is human, is relative and admits of degrees. At every epoch, nay, at every moment of our life-history we need more reality, more light, more immortality. It is not in the destiny of man ever to be able to say: "The last word of human welfare, spirituality, creativeness and progress has been said, and I can afford to sit tight on my achievements."

No. Following Confucius, the great teacher of China's millions, we should rather attempt always to "be a new man each day, from day to day be a new man, every day be a new man" (*The Great Learning*).[8] Let us recall the maxim, *nanasrantaya srirasti* of the *Aitareya Brahmana* (VII, 15).

Equally dynamic and interested in the immediate present is the Buddhist *Majjhima Nikaya*. And to-day as ever in the past

8 In Ku Hung-ming's translation the book is called *Higher Education* (Shanghai 1915); cf. B. K. Sarkar: *Chinese Religion Through Hindu Eyes* (Shanghai 1916), p. xii. The religions of China and India have been entirely misinterpreted by Max Weber in *Gesammelte Aufsaetze zur Religionssociologie* (Tuebingen 1922-23), Vols. I and II.

it should be worth while for us to act up to the following truth pronounced by Sakya the Buddha in regard to the life's attitudes of the *Bhaddekaratta* (Devoted to the Good):

"Atitam nanvagameyya
nappatikamkhe anagatam
yad atitam pahinantam
appattancha anagatam.
Ajjeva kichcham atappam
Ko janna maranam suve?
na hi no samgaran tena
Mahasenena macchchuna."

(Don't pursue the past,
Long not for the future,
The past is dead,
Not yet realized is the future,
Exertions are then to be made to-day;
Who knows death may come to-morrow?
Not possible any pact with Death and his army.)

It is when equipped with the hard-headed realism and objective methodology of Confucian and Buddhist energists that the optimist of to-day can look back to the past and acquire the moral right to proclaim with Walt Whitman his bold inductive generalization regarding the trend of man's spiritual evolution to the effect that

"Roaming in thought over the universe,
I saw the little that is Good steadily hastening
towards immortality,
And the vast all that is called Evil
I saw hastening to merge itself and
became lost and dead."

To the consummation of this noble world-view be harnessed the constructive futurism of all men and women,—of the present Convention of Religions at Rangoon as of the International Congresses on religion, science, philosophy, arts, technology, rationalization, politics, business etc. that mark the spiritual life of the modern world in East and West.

Industrial civilization has justified itself not only by developing the technique and the material power but by promoting the ethical and social sense as well. The "life beyond" and idealism have been served no less magnificently than the life in the now and the here. Objective records about the past do not reveal to us more

glorious evidences of mankind's factual spirituality in ancient or medieval times. In other words, spirituality has maintained itself in both its wings, positive and mystical, and has been widened; nay, because of the perpetual conflicts it has been intensified and deepened through the ages. We may then accept the following spiritual *credo* of another poet[9] while commencing our next chapter of creative disequilibrium, i.e. the cosmic struggle for more physical health and vigour, more material happiness, more democracy and social equality, more freedom, and more all-round creativeness or spirituality :

"And as I watch the struggling souls
Creating hopes and fears that the world heeds not,
How am I startled to discover
That each one of the race bears the divine spark
That urges to Paracelsus's and Sordello's tasks,
That every man and woman revolts with Promethean rage
Against repression, injustice and impoverishment of the heart!
Then as deeper into life's process I search,
In agreeable surprise I am happy to find
That nothing but the stream of infinite fire
Could have pushed mankind on so far,
And I conclude
That all of us have been leading another life beyond!"

Sarkar's Sociology among Sociologies

The sociological methods and conclusions of Sarkar are well known to the sociologists of the world on account of the numerous reviews of his works published in the journals of Europe, America, China and Japan.* Many of these reviews are extensive in dimension and deal substantially with the contents of his thought. His works have, besides, been made use of in a large number of standard books published at home and abroad. To mention a few foreign authors I should cite T. Kennedy, author of the *Chaitanya Movement* (Calcuta 1925), J. H. Hutton, responsible for the *Census of India 1931*, Vol. I. *India*, Part I. *Report*, Chapter XII, "Caste, Tribe and

9 Ida Stieler: *Edelweiss and Alprose* (New York 1920).

* See S. C. Dutt: *Conflicting Tendencies in Indian Economic Thought* (Calcutta, 1934), Appendices No. I and II. as well as Dr. L. M. Basu's Preface to Sarkar's *Introduction to Hindu Positivism* (Allahabad, 1937).

Race" (Delhi 1933), De la Vallée-Poussin, author of *L'Inde* (Paris 1930), P. Masson-Oursel, author of *L'Inde Antique* (Paris 1933), W. E. Hocking, author of *Man and the State* (New York, 1926), Hillebrandt, author of *Altindische Politik* (Jena 1923), P. Gettell, author of *History of Political Thought* (New York, 1924), J. J. Meyer, translator of Kautalya's *Arthashastra* into German, E. D. Thomas, author of *Chinese Political Thought* (London 1928), A. B. Keith, author of *History of Sanskrit Literature* (Oxford 1928), F. W. Thomas, author of chapters XIII and XIV of the *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I. (1922), M. Winternitz, author of *Geschichte der Indischen Literatur* (Leipzig, 1922), V. Smith, author of the *Oxford History of India* (1919), Piper, author of *Die Gesetze der Weltgeschichte* (Leipzig, 1933), R. Michels, author of *Il Boicottaggio* (Turin 1934), and Karl Haushofer, author of *Geopolitik der Pan-Ideen* (Berlin 1931) and *Jenseits der Grossmaechte* (Leipzig, 1934).

Besides, in P. *Sorokin's Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology* (Boston 1929), *Systematic Source-Book in Rural Sociology* (3 volumes, Minneapolis 1930-1932) and *Social and Cultural Dynamics* (3 volumes, New York 1937), L. von Wiese's paper on "Der gegenwaertige internationale Entwicklungsstand der Allgemeinen Soziologie" in *Reine und Angewandte Soziologie* (Leipzig, 1936), the commemoration volume published to celebrate the 80th birthday of Toennies, as well as in H. Barnes and H. Becker's *Social Thought from Lore to Science* (2 volumes, Boston 1938), the sociological contributions of Sarkar have been utilized in a liberal manner. In several numbers of the *Revue Internationale de Sociologie* (Paris) on which Sarkar is a collaborator A. Ouy has often discussed his works and views.

In Sarkar's sociological writings one encounters the free use of categories and technical terms adopted by other sociologists. But it is difficult to establish an ideological affiliation between him and them.* About a few items his antipathies are outspoken. For instance, in the introduction to his Bengali translation of Engels's

* See especially his *Sociology of Population* (Calcutta, 1936) and *Introduction to Hindu Positivism* (Allahabad, 1937) as well as *The Political Philosophies Since 1905*, Vol. I. (Madras, 1928), Vol II. (Lahore 1939, in the press). See also his "Acceptable and the Unacceptable in Bankim's Social Philosophy" (*Calcutta Review*, August, 1938) for his attitudes to Indian and Western sociological thought.

book known as *Parivar, Gosthi, O Rastra* (Family, Property and State, Calcutta, 1926) as well as in other works he endorses the Marxistic economic interpretation of history as a general proposition, but he is strongly opposed to it as a system of "monistic determinism." Similarly the religious determinism of Max Weber's *Religions-sociologie* or de Coulange's *La Cité Antique*, in so far as it is a monistic interpretation of culture, is denounced by him in his *Introduction to Hindu Positivism* (Allahabad, 1937).

As an exponent of pluralism in social institutions and values he is in general sympathy with Sorokin's criticism of the monistic systems in *Contemporary Sociological Theories* (New York 1928). But, on the other hand, Sorokin's treatment of the cultural facts and ideas of India in *Social and Cultural Dynamics* (New York 1938) is found by him to be in the main conventional and somewhat one-sided, untrue to historical realities, and therefore misleading. In this regard Sorokin according to him commits the same fallacies as the French scholars, Sénart, Bouglé and others. Sorokin's position in *Social and Cultural Dynamics* is, however, considered by Sarkar to be at variance with his previous ideas about Indian culture, for instance, as recorded in *Social Mobility* (New York 1927), which according to Sarkar is eminently acceptable.

Gini's demographic and raciological studies are appreciated by him as liberal and calculated to unsettle the settled questions in several particulars. But Sarkar objects to his demographic determinism He is in agreement likewise with Gini's ideas about the "rotation of world-leadership" and believes that the Latins and the Slavs are at present in the ascendant in Europe just as the Bengalis and the Gujaratis in India. But, on the other hand, he repudiates as unproven and groundless the conception of Gini that the Anglo-Saxons and the Teutons, the "leaders" or the "superior races" of yesterday, are bidding fair to retire from the world's stage.* In regard to India, similarly, he finds no reason for believing that the ascendancy of the Bengalis and the Gujaratis is likely to be detrimental to the position of the Marathas and the Punjabis, the historic "superior races" of the Indian people.

* B. K. Sarkar's Lecture on "Contemporary Social and Economic Transformations" at Asutosh College, Calcutta, 30 September, 1939. See also *Supra*, pp. 177-178, 358-359.

With von Wiese he believes that the emphasis in sociological investigations ought to be placed on the inter-human relations and forms. But he does not follow von Wiese in the latter's exclusive preoccupation with them. As a sociologist of problems Sarkar is prepared to include in the scope of sociology the anthropological, psychological, cultural, philosophical and ethical items also, i. e. all those topics which have arrested the attention of old sociologies.

The establishment of the fundamental distinction between the primitive and the modern mentalities and the formulation of the doctrines of pre-logical, pre-religious etc. in Lévy-Bruhl's writings are considered by Sarkar to be without adequate objective foundation. On the other hand, he is found to be in agreement with the psychologists like Pareto, Jung, and others who believe in the duality of the human *psyche*, the co-existence of the rational and the a-rational or the irrational in the same mental complex.

In this simultaneous orientation of his sociology to the two poles of the human personality he finds himself drawn to the position of Hocking, "the mystic multiplied by the realist," and indeed to that of Fichte. And on the other hand, in the generally relativistic and pluralistic behaviorism of Dewey, although on non-mystic basis, there is much that Sarkarism is in agreement with.

In moral and spiritual values Sarkar's sociology is out and out relativistic. Therefore Sarkar's sympathy with Hobhouse's position is quite natural. It is due to the latter's pluralistic and non-absolutist view-points in *Mind in Evolution* (1901) and *Morals in Evolution* (1906). In Hobhouse's repudiation of the monistic economic determinism, as evidenced in *The Material Culture and Social Institutions of the Simpler Peoples* (in collaboration with Wheeler and Ginsberg), 1915, Sarkar finds another link between himself and the British sociologist.

With Spengler Sarkar is prepared to cry "Back to Kant." But in Sarkar's conception of progress the thesis of Spengler to the effect that the nineteenth century is less creative than the eighteenth is found to be unsupported by the realities of the situation.

As sociologist Sarkar has supreme faith in the creativeness of the individual. He does not therefore have much sympathy for the sociology of Durkheim and others to whom the group, the society, the state, etc. is virtually the exclusive determinant in human institutions and *mores*. The rôle of the group is not ignored

by Sarkar but his dynamic individualism tends him automatically to the view-points, generally speaking, of Kant's categorical imperative, Bergson's *élan vital* and Lasbax's *renaissance de l'ésprit.* In Sarkar's doctrine of *vishwa-shakti* (world-forces) as enunciated during 1910-1911 and developed since then in diverse contexts it is possible to find some *rapprochement* with Haushofer's cult of *Geopolitik* as popularized since 1923.

Sarkar's sociology of Indian culture has systematically launched a front attack on all orientalists from Max Mueller downwards, because they have treated India exclusively as the land of mystics and metaphysicians or of philosophers about the other world. But it finds points of contact with the new tendencies in indology as represented by Formichi, Bottazzi, Tucci, Hillebrandt, Meyer, Breloer, Keith, Lueders, von Glasenapp, Winternitz, Masson-Oursel, Berr, and others who have tried in recent years to do some justice to the rationalistic, secular, worldly, materialistic and sensate achievements of the Indian peoples.

In Sarkar's sociology the state is multi-racial, hetero-cultural and polyglot as a matter of course. He rejects, therefore, the doctrine of the "national soul" as developed by philosophers, poets and statesmen from Herder* to Mazzini and from Mazzini to Masaryk, Rabindranath Tagore and others of the present day (cf. his *Politics of Boundaries* Vol. I. Calcutta, 1926, 1938). His nationalism is not mystical but positive and realistic. It is strongly opposed to the cult of "another language, another state," or "another culture, another state."

Sarkar's sociology would be generally in keeping with Franz Boas's anthropology of primitive mentality and Westermarck, Hobhouse, Goldenweiser and Lowie's of primitive society. In regard to contemporary problems it does not attempt to be identical with social pathology (cf. H. A. Phelps: *Contemporary Social Problems* New York, 1932) but takes interest in every item, normal as well as abnormal, such as has bearings on the re-making of man and societal reconstruction. On the other hand, although it seeks to attach due importance to the ethnocentric, culture-philosophical and

* Manmatha Nath Sarkar: *"Jatiyatar Rishi Herder"* (Herder as the Prophet of Nationalism) in *Samaj-Vijnan* (Sociology) Vol. I. (1938) edited by Benoy Sarkar; S. K. Ghoshal: *Herder's Doctrine of the National Soul* (Calcutta, 1939).

encyclopaedic aspects its interest in analysis and the analytical method draws it towards the investigations along the lines of Cooley, Ross, Park, and others.

American liberalism as manifest in Hankins, Eubank, Parmelee, Bogardus, and other sociologists is in tune with Sarkar's onslaughts on the climatological, geographical, regionalistic, raciological, economic, religious and other determinisms, especially of the monistic brand. He finds Barnes's historical studies in sociology marked by the absence of scientific vested interests and considers his *History of Western Civilization* (2 volumes, New York 1935) to be an embodiment of catholicity and intellectual freedom.[1] In Becker, the Americanizer of von Wiese and the colleague of Barnes, Sarkar finds likewise a kindred spirit.[2]

1 B. K. Sarkar. "Barnes's History of Western Civilization" (*Calcutta Review*, June 1938).

2 This portion is derived from Sarkar's talk on "Sociological Methods and Attitudes" at the Bengali Institute of Sociology on August 10, 1939.

THE RESEARCH INSTITUTES OF BENOY SARKAR*

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The Beginnings

Previous to April 1914 when Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar started on his first world-tour of some eleven years and a half he used to be known in Bengal as the founder and organizer of national schools. Since September 1925 when he came back and landed in Bombay one of his scientific activities has consisted in the establishment of Research Institutes. The first to be established is the *Arthik Unnati* (Economic Progress) monthly review, which made its appearance in April 1926. This journal became at once the nucleus of the *Bangiya Dhana-Vijnan Parishat* (Bengali Institute of Economics), formally announced in October 1928.

In the interview with the *Indian Daily Mail* of Bombay for September 22, 1925 Professor Sarkar had stated that the promotion of a reasonable understanding of Western institutions and theories among his countrymen would form a special aim of his work in India. This object was to a certain extent realized in a general manner with the establishment of *Arthik Unnati* and the Bengali Institute of Economics. But it was not before 1931, i.e. the time of his return to India after the second period of foreign travels (May 1929 to October 1931) that the beginnings of the "International Bengal" Institute and the Bengali Society of German Culture were laid. In November 1931 he issued two appeals through the press. The object of the two appeals was to ask the people to commemorate the centenary of two foreign heroes. One was the birth bicentenary of George Washington, which fell on February 22, 1932 and the other was the death centenary of Goethe on March 22, 1932. In these two celebrations organized by Professor Sarkar as Secretary, in which an humble part was played by myself also, are

* In the preparation of this statement I have been helped considerably by Mr. Manmatha Nath Sarkar, Dr. Moni Moulik and Advocate Pankaj Kumar Mukherjee.

to be seen the origins of the "*Antarjatik Banga*" *Parishat* ("International Bengal" Institute) and the *Bangiya Jarman Vidya Samsad* (Bengali Society of German Culture). Four or five other *Samitis, Tols, Maktabs, Parishats,* Seminars or Institutes have been established by Professor Sarkar since then.

Common Features

Each one of these seven or eight Institutes has a common aim. This consists in the promotion of research and expansion of knowledge. Discussions and publications are the general features of all these Institutes. The creation of writers in the different branches of inquiry is the chief motive behind them.

Another prominent aim is the preparation of papers in Bengali. The enrichment of Bengali language with contributions on economics, sociology, international relations, world-culture etc. has been a marked characteristic of Professor Sarkar's research activities since the *Swadeshi* period. This feature furnishes a strong connecting link between his Research Institutes since 1926 and his national schools of thirty years ago. English, however, has not been boycotted. Indeed, many of the papers discussed and published by these Institutes are in English. Besides, the publications comprise English brochures and books by Professor Sarkar as well as by others.

In regard to the views expressed none of the Institutes follow any particular bias in favour of or against certain theories or institutions, ideologies or regions. Each of these Institutes is, moreover, entirely non-political, non-party and non-sectarian. In any case Professor Sarkar himself is not associated with any party or propaganda, political, economic, social, religious or international. His views and publications are those of an intellectual or academician.

It should perhaps be added that the Research Fellows, Secretaries and Directors are all honorary workers. No financial interests of any sort bind them with the members and the Presidents.

There is no definite period of time, be it observed, for which a Research Fellow is bound to remain associated with the Institutes. All the same, many Research Fellows have maintained their contacts with the Institutes during the entire period.

As a rule, Professor Sarkar does not read papers or deliver lectures at these Institutes except with the object of introducing original French, German or Italian documents. His function is

generally that of the Chairman and the guide in regard to references, comparisons etc.

The discussions and lectures are of three categories:

1. For small groups of Research Fellows (Prof. Sarkar's residence, 45 Police Hospital Road, Calcutta).
2. Principally for Members (Indo-Swiss Trading Co. Ltd. 2 Church Lane, Calcutta).
3. For the general public (Morning functions: Dr. N. Law's residence, 96 Amherst Street. Evening functions: Buddhist Hall, 4A College Square, Calcutta).

In regard to the publications of these Institutes it is important to notice that in Calcutta there are no special journals (except *Arthik Unnati*) for economics, sociology, international relations political science etc. Indeed, as is well known, the only economic journal in English throughout India is the *Indian Journal of Economics*, a quarterly (Allahabad). Throughout India, besides, as my friends tell me, there are no journals of sociology, political science and the allied branches of learning. Under these circumstances the responsibilities of the Indian dailies are therefore great. And it deserves to be mentioned, as is being done by me with pleasure and appreciation, that the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, the *Ananda Bazar Patrika*, *Liberty*, *Advance*, *Forward*, and the *Hindusthan Standard* of Calcutta understand their responsibilities and devote their columns to lengthy reports and summaries of the academic discussions held at these Research Institutes.

And finally, not the least conspicuous item about these Institutes, *Tols*, or *Maktabs* is that each has a Bengali name.

With these preliminary observations I proceed now to describe the seven or rather eight Institutes in chronological order.

I. Bangiya Dhana-Vijnan Parishat (Bengali Institute of Economics)

Origin, January 1926

The beginnings of the *Bangiya Dhana-Vijnan Parishat* (Bengali Institute of Economics) are to be traced to the interview with Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar published in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* on 22 January 1926 and the establishment by him of the journal

Arthik Unnati (Economic Progress) in April of the same year.* The very first batch of writers for this journal comprised Sj. Sudha Kanta De, M.A., B.L., Sj. Sochin Sen, M.A., B.L. Maulavi Taheruddin Ahmed, and Sj. Narendra Nath Roy, B.A. The batch began to expand and the regular writers were called the Research Fellows, for whom the *Parishat* was formally announced in October 1928.

Objects

Through the medium of the Bengali language the Institute proposes to serve the following among other allied objects:

1. To carry on studies and researches in economic science in all its branches.
2. To investigate the methods and policies of economic statesmanship in the different countries of the world.

Presidents

1. Major Baman Das Basu, I.M.S. (Retd.), Allahabad, October 1928—September 1930.
2. Dr. Sir Brajendra Nath Seal, Ex-Vice-Chancellor, Mysore University; Calcutta; September 1930—December 1938.
3. Dr. Narendra Nath Law, M.A., B.L., Ph.D., Managing Director, Bangeswari Cotton mills Ltd., Director, Reserve Bank of India, Eastern Circle; President, Bengal National Chamber of Commerce; Editor, *Indian Historical Quarterly;* Director of *Arthik Unnati* (Economic Progress), Calcutta. Since December 1938.

Hony. Director of Researches

Professor Dr. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, M A. (Cal.), *Vidya-vaibhava* (Benares), *Docteur en géographie honoris causa* (Teheran), Decoration of the German Academy, Cavalier of the Crown of Italy, *Membre correspondant de la Société d'Economie Politique* (Paris).

Treasurer

Dr. Satya Churn Law, M.A., B.L., Ph.D., F.Z.S. (London), Ex-Sheriff, Calcutta, Treasurer and Trustee, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

* B K. Sarkar: *Greetings to Young India* Vol. I, second edition (Calcutta, 1938,) p. 40.

Advisers to the Research Fellows

1. Professor Banesvar Dass, B.S.Ch.E. (Illinois), College of Engineering and Technology, Jadabpur, Calcutta.
2. Mr. Satin Das-Gupta, B.Sc., Managing Director, Indo-Swiss Trading Co. Ltd., Calcutta.

Hony. Secretary

Mr. Sudha Kanta De, M.A., B.L.

Directors

(including the President, the Director of Researches, the Treasurer, the Advisers and the Secretary)

1. Mr Biren Das-Gupta, B.S.E.E. (Purdue, Lafayette, U.S.A.), Director, Indo-Europa Trading Co., Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi, Colombo, Madras, Rangoon and London.
2. Monsieur Siddheswar Mullick, Coal Merchant, Chandernagore.
3. Lt. Nalini Mohan Ray-Chowdhury, Publisher, Calcutta.
4. Dr. A. C. Ukil, M.B., Medical College Hospitals (Chest Department), Calcutta, Indian Research Fund Association (Tuberculosis Inquiry).

Hony. Research Fellows

1928

1. Sudha Kanta De, M.A. B.L.
2. Narendra Nath Roy, B.A.
3. Rabindra Nath Ghose, M.A. (Com.), B.L.
4. Jitendra Nath Sen-Gupta, M A. (Com.), B.L.
5. Professor Shib Chandra Dutt, M.A., B.L.

1930

6. Sudhis Ranjan Biswas, M.A.
7. Kamakhya Charan Bose, M.A., B.L.

1931

8. Bijay Krishna Saha, M.A. (Com.).

1933

9. Dr. Monindra Mohan Moulik, D.Sc. Pol. (Rome).
10. Jatindra Nath Bhattacharjee, B.A.
11. Gopal Chandra Roy, B.Sc. B.L.
12. Sochin Sen, M.A., B.L.

1934

13. Santosh Kumar Jana, S.B. (Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Boston, U.S.A.).
14. Atul Krishna Sur, M.A.

1937

15. Professor Subodh Krishna Ghosal, M.A.
16.* Santi Moulik, B.A.
17. Himangsu Sen.

1938

18. Professor Amulya Das-Gupta, M.A.
19. Amaresh Sarkar, M.A.
20. Ajoy Kumar Sarkar, M.A. (Com.), B.L.

1939

21. Professor Sachindra Nath Dutt, M. A.
22. Prafulla Ratan Biswas, M.A.

TOPICS DISCUSSED DURING 1938-1939

17 Jan. 1938. "Rice Output in Bengali Economy." Professor Benoy Sarkar.

4 February. "Elementary Statistics:" Gopal Roy, B Sc. B.L., Research Fellow, B.I.E.

9 April. "The Theory of the Gold Standard and the Regime of Imperial Preference and Economic Planning:" Professor Benoy Sarkar.

1 October. "Agrarian Revolution:" Ajoy Sarkar, M A. (Com.), Research Fellow, B.I.E.

4 December. Monsieur Siddheswar Mullick at home to the Research Fellows at "Janhabi--Nibas," Chandernagore. Topic for Discussion: "The Industrialization of Bengal." Speakers: Professor Banesvar Dass, Dr. Moni Moulik, Mr. Biren Das-Gupta, Advocate Pankaj Mukherjee, Mr. Jitendra Nath Sen-Gupta (Secretary, Bengal National Chamber of Commerce), Mr. Jitendra Nath Dutta (President, Calcutta Stock Exchange Association), Professor Dr. Meghnad Saha, D.Sc., F.R.S. (London), Monsieur Nagendra

* At present working for a doctorate in economics at the University of Rome.

Nath Chandra of the French Trade Commission, Dr. D. N. Maitra, Advocate Keshab Gupta and Professor Dr. Benoy Sarkar.

21 Jan. 1939. "The London Agreements on Nutrition and Adequate Diet:" Professor Benoy Sarkar.

14 May. "Economic Autarchy in Theory and Practice." Professor Benoy Sarkar.

2 July. "Contract by Post:" Ajoy Sarkar, M.A. (Com.), Research Fellow, B.I.E. Chairman: Mr. Biren Das-Gupta (Indo-Europa Trading Co.).

2 July. "Dairy Farming on a Small Scale:" Prof. Bhavadev Bhattacharya, M.A., Chairman: Dr. Naren Law.

9 July. "Savings Banks:" Surendra Kumar Banerjee.

6 Aug. "The Marketing of Swadeshi Goods:" Modhu Mozumder B.M.E. (Michigan), M.S. (Illinois).

7 Aug. "The Economics and Law of Central Banking:" Professor Sachindra Nath Dutt, M.A., Research Fellow, B.I.E. and B.I.S.

JOURNAL

Arthik Unnati (Economic Progress) edited by Professor Dr. h. c. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, since its establishment in April, 1926.

OTHER PUBLICATIONS

(excluding Professor Sarkar's works)

Banglay Dhana-Vijnan (Economics in Bengali), edited by Professor Benoy Sarkar.

Vol. I. 1925-1931. Pages 750. Portraits 6. Twenty-one Contributors.

Vol. II. 1931-1933. Pages 600. Twenty Contributors.

Dhana-Vijnane Sakreti (Apprenticeship in Economics) by Shib Chandra Dutt, Pages 330.

Conflicting Tendencies in Indian Economic Thought by Shib Chandra Dutt, Royal Octavo, 237 pages.

Desh-Bidesher Bank (Banks at Home and Abroad) by Dr. Narendra Nath Law and Jitendra Nath Sen-Gupta, Pages 300.

Takar Katha (On Money) by Narendra Nath Roy, Pages 100.

Labour Legislation in British India by Advocate Pankaj Kumar Mukherjee, Demy 242 pages.

La Politica Finanziaria Britannica in India (British Financial Policy in India) by Dr. Moni Moulik (Bologna), 254 pages.

Taka-kadi (Money) by Rabindra Nath Ghose, pages 220.

The Bengali translation of Ricardo's *Principles of Economics and Taxation* by Sudha Kanta De is in the press (under the management of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat, Bengali Academy of Literature).

The following pamphlets in Engilsh are to be included in this list :

1. *The Cotton Tariff, its Significance* by Sudha Kanta De.
2. *Colliery Labourers in the Jharia Field* by Professor Shib Chandra Dutt.
3. *How to Detect Counterfeit Coins and Forged Notes* by Narendra Nath Roy.
4. *The Economic Aspects of Khaddar* (*Homespun*) by Professor Shib Chandra Dutt.
5. *The Methodology of Research followed by the Bengali Institute of Economics* by Professor Shib Chandra Dutt.
6. *Seligman's Theory of Instalment Selling* by Sudha Kanta De.
7. *The Economics and Law of Central Banking* by Professor Sachindra Nath Dutt.

Some of Professor Sarkar's pamphlets in English may also be noted, for example :

1. *Trusts and Rationalization : Aspects of the New Industrial Revolution.*
2. *Shipping and Railway Policies in Economic Legislation.*
3. *Accident Insurance in Comparative Legislation and Statistics.*
4. *Bengali Banking in Comparative Bank Statistics.*
5. *Prosperity and Depression.*

Extensive summaries of the papers and reports of the proceedings have been published in the dailies of Calcutta as well as the *Calcutta Commercial Gazette* (weekly), the *Insurance and Finance Review* (monthly), the *Calcutta Review* (monthly), *India Tomorrow* (monthly), etc.

II. "Antarjatik Banga" Parishat ("International Bengal" Institute)

ORIGIN, NOVEMBER 1931

In November 1931 Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar issued two circulars through the Calcutta press. One was an appeal to the

public for organizing the birth bicentenary celebration of George Washington on February 22, 1932, and the other for organizing the death centenary of Goethe on March 22, 1932. The two dates were duly observed in Calcutta and at other places. The "*Antarjatik Banga*" *Parishat* ("International Bengal" Institute) arose out of these two functions and is to be traced back to November 1931.

Objects

1. To carry on studies and investigations about the diverse regions and races of the world in regard to their laws, constitutions, culture-systems, economic developments, and mutual relations.
2. To appoint Research Fellows and with their contributions to enrich Bengali thought and language in the domain of the sciences bearing on the topics indicated above.

Presidents

1. Dr. Narendra Nath Law.
2. Prof. Dr. Benoy Kumar Sarkar.

Vice-Presidents

1. Dr. R. Ahmed, D.D.S. (Iowa, U.S.A.), Principal, Calcutta Dental College and Hospital; Editor, *Indian Dental Journal*, Calcutta.
2. Mr. Birendra Nath Das-Gupta B.S.E.E. (Purdue, Lafayette U.S.A.), Electrical Engineer, Director, Indo-Europa Trading Co., Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi, Madras, Rangoon, Colombo, London.

Hony. Director of Researches

Professor Dr. Benoy Kumar Sarkar

Advisers to the Research Fellows

1. Prof. Banesvar Dass, B. S. Ch. E. (Illinois, U.S.A.), College of Engineering and Technology, Jadabpur, Cacutta.
2. Mr. Satindra Nath Das-Gupta, B. Sc., Managing Director, Indo-Swiss Trading Co. Ltd. (Calcutta).

Directors

(Including the two Presidents, the two Vice-Presidents, the Director of Researches and the two Advisers)

1. Mr. Satya Sundar Deb, Ceramic Engineer (Tokyo), Managing Director, Bihar Potteries Ltd. (Calcutta).

2. Prof. Nalinaksha Dutt M.A., B.L., Ph.D. (Calcutta), D. Litt. (London), University, Calcutta.
3. Dr. Subodh Mitra M.B. (Cal.), Dr. med. (Berlin), F. R. C. S. (Edin), M. C. O. G. (England), Visiting Surgeon, Chittaranjan Seva-Sadan (Maternity Home), Associate Professor of Obstetrics, Carmichael Medical College, Calcutta.
4. Advocate Nalin Chandra Paul, B. L., Councillor, Corporation, Calcutta.
5. Lt. Nalini Mohan Ray-Chowdhury, Director, N. M. Ray-Chowdhury & Co. Calcutta.
6. Prof. Kiran Kumar Sen-Gupta, M.A., B.Sc. (Cal.), B.Sc., Mining, M.Sc. (Birmingham), F. G. S. (London), Editor, *Quarterly Journal of the Geological, Mining, and Metallurgical Society of India*, Calcutta.
7. Prof. Shahedulla, D. Litt. (Paris), University, Dacca.

HONY. RESEARCH FELLOWS AND THEMES OF RESEARCH

1. Mr. Nagendra Nath Chaudhury, M. A. (North-Western University, Chicago, Author of *Markin Samaj O Samasya* (American Society and Problems), *The Tragedies of Modernism* and *Economic Dialectic*: Social Statistics.
2. Mr. Phanindra Chandra Majumdar, M.A., B.L.: Races and Classes.
3. Mr. Pankaj Kumar Mukherjee, M.A., B.L., Advocate, High Court, Calcutta; author of *Labour Legislation in British India, The Economic Services of Zamindars (Landholders) to the Peasants and the Public, Foreign Policies in China*: International Relations.
4. Mr. Haridas Palit, *Vidya-vinod* (Murshidabad), author of *Adyer Gambhira* (Social History of Bengal), *Bangla O Sanskrita Dhatur Goḍa Ek* (The Common Origins of Bengali and Sanskrit Roots): Economic Anthropology.
5. Mr. Promode Kumar Roy, B.L.: Criminology.
6. Mr. Manmatha Nath Sarkar, M. A., author of numerous papers in *Arthik Unnati* (Economic Progress): Labour Economics at Home and Abroad.

1933-38

7. Dr. Debendra Chandra Das-Gupta, M.A., Ed.D. (Calif., U.SA.), author of papers in *Arthik Unnati*: Pedagogics.

1934

8. Mr. Madhu Sudan Chakravarti, B.A.: Asian and African Questions.

1937

9. Mr. Sushil Roy, B. Com., author of economic articles in *Arthik Unnati* as well as of short stories in Bengali: Europe.

HONY. SECRETARIES

1. Mr. Nagendra Nath Chaudhury M.A. (North-western University, Chicago).
2. Advocate Pankaj Kumar Mukherjee, M. A., B.L.

TOPICS DISCUSSED DURING 1938-1939

25 Jan. 1938	New Moves in British Population Policy: Prof. Benoy Sarkar.
15 March	Cosmopolitanism in America: Prof. Banesvar Dass.
31 March	At home to Monsieur le Docteur Joanny Ray, *Lauréat de l'Ecole des sciences politiques* (Paris), author of *Les Marocains en France* (The Moroccans in France).
24 April	Czechoslovak Statistics: Manmatha Nath Sarkar, M.A., Research Fellow, "International Bengal" Institute.
9 May	The New Foundations of French Social Economy: Prof. Benoy Sarkar.
24 June	Business with England and America: Satin Das-Gupta, B.Sc., Managing Director, Indo-Swiss Trading Co. Ltd., Calcutta.
31 August	*The International Labour Review* (Geneva): Advocate Pankaj Mukherjee, M.A., B.L.
25 October	The Two Five-Year Plans of Soviet Russia: Prof. Benoy Sarkar.
10 November	Industrial Developments in France: Manmatha Sarkar, M.A., Research Fellow, I.B.I.
25 December	Mrs. Ida Sarkar at home to the Institute to meet Prof. S. R. Harlow, Smith College,

	Northampton, Mass. (U.S.A.) and Mrs. Harlow.
15 Jan. 1939	The British Empire-Economy: Prof. Benoy Sarkar.
2 February	Industrial Developments in Poland: Biren Das-Gupta, Director, Indo-Swiss Trading Co. Ltd.
15 February	The Balkan and the Baltic States: Manmatha Sarkar, M.A.
10 March	At home to Prof. J. E. Orchard, Columbia University, New York (U.S.A.) and Mrs. Dorothy Orchard.
13 March	Discussion on "Personality Researches in France" with Monsieur Jean Herbert, Editor, *Les Grands Maîtres Spirituels de l'Inde Contemporaine* (Paris) and Madame Lizelle Herbert.
17 March	At home to President F. B. Robinson of the College of the City of New York (U.S.A.) and Mrs. Julian Robinson.
17 April	The Agricultural Situation in America: Advocate Pankaj Mukherjee.
15 May	Economic Planning in France: Prof. Benoy Sarkar.
1 June	Life in Panama: Dr. Rogelio Sinan, Consul for Panama, Calcutta.
7 June	At home to Mlle. Marie-Louise Gommès, Secretary, *Association Française des Amis de l'Orient* (Paris) and Mons. Claude Rivière, artist, Paris.
17 June	Mr. Biren Das-Gupta, Director, Indo-Swiss Trading Co. at home to the Presidents of the Institute. Guests of honour: Prof. Shyam Sundar Goswami and Mr. Dinabandhu Pramanik, physical culturists and naturopaths, on the eve of their departure for Europe and America. Chairman: Hon. Mr. Justice Charu Chandra Biswas, C.I.E.
25 August	Indices of Economic Progress in France. Professor Benoy Sarkar.

PUBLICATIONS

Most of the papers and discussions have been published in the Bengali economic monthly, *Arthik Unnati* (Economic Progress), and in the *Calcutta Review* (Calcutta University). Lengthy reports about the proceedings have appeared in the Calcutta dailies.

A volume of *Banglay Dhana-Vijnan* (Economics in Bengali), in the press, contains a large number of papers on world-economy by Messrs Manmatha Nath Sarkar, Nagendra Nath Chaudhury, Rabindra Nath Ghose, Advocate Pankaj Kumar Mukherjee, Sudha Kanta De, Professor Subodh Krishna Ghoshal, Dr. Monindra Mohan Moulik, Sushil Roy, and others.

The following pamphlets in English by Professor Sarkar may also be noted:

1. *The Law and the Cultivator: The Example of France.*
2. *The Bank-notes and Note-Banks of Germany.*
3. *The Agricultural, Industrial and Commercial Banks of America.*
4. *Japan, Bengal and World-Economy.*
5. *British Agricultural Policy Since 1931.*
6. *Trade Balance and Public Finance: The Experience of Fascist Italy.*
7. *The Strength and Limitations of Economic Japan.*
8. *Hindu Politics in Italian.*
9. *Social Idealism in Goethe's Lyrics and Dramas*
10. *Land Reform in Czechoslovakia.*
11. *From Bonifica to Bonifica Integrale.*
12. *Modernism in Land-Legislation.*

III. Bangiya Jarman Vidya Samsad
(Bengali Society of German Culture)

ORIGIN, NOVEMBER 1931

This Society owes its origin to the Goethe death-centenary celebration at Calcutta (22 March 1932) for which an appeal was issued by Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar through the Free Press of India in November 1931. In that appeal is to be seen the initiation of the *Samsad*. On March 22, 1932 the Goethe day was duly celebrated in Calcutta with an At Home given by Mr. Jatindra Nath Basu, Attorney-at-law, Member of the Legislative Council, at the Calcutta University Institute.

Objects

To carry on and promote among our countrymen studies and investigations relating to German institutions, sciences and arts.

Presidents

1 Dr. Narendra Nath Law.
2. Professor Dr. h. c. Benoy Kumar Sarkar.

Vice-Presidents

1. Principal Dr. R. Ahmed
2. Mr. Biren Das-Gupta.

Hony. Secretaries

1. Professor Banesvar Dass.
2. Mr. Satin Das-Gupta.

Hony. Director of Researches

Professor Dr. h. c. Benoy Kumar Sarkar.

Chairmen in the Plan of Lectures

1. Travels in Germany. Birendra Nath Das-Gupta, B.S.E.E. (Purdue U.S.A.), Director, Indo-Europa Trading Co. (Calcutta Bombay, Rangoon, London, etc.) & Indo-Swiss Trading Co. Ltd. (Calcutta).

2. Contributions of Germany to the Exact Sciences. Prof. Sisir Kumar Mitra, D.Sc. (Cal.), D.Sc. (Paris), Wireless Laboratory, University, Calcutta.

3. Technology and Engineering in Germany. Dr. Birendra Nath Dey, D.Sc. (Glasgow), Chief Engineer, Calcutta Corporation.

4. German Achievements in Medicine, Surgery and Hygiene. Dr. Amulya Chandra Ukil, M.B., Indian Research Fund Association, Tuberculosis Inquiry, Medical College Hospitals, Calcutta.

5. Tendencies in Modern German Philosophy. Prof. Shishir Kumar Maitra, M.A. Ph. D., University, Benares.

6. German Literature. Prof. Rama Prasad Mookerjee, Senator, University, Calcutta.

7. The Architecture, Sculpture, Painting and Music of Germany. Ordhendro Coomar Gangoly, M.A., B.L., Artist and art-historian, Calcutta.

8. The Progress of Indology in Germany. Prof. Dr. Nalinaksha Dutt, Ph.D. (Cal.), D. Litt. (London), Calcutta University.

9. Women's Activities in Germany. Mrs. Sushama Sen-Gupta, M.A., Head Mistress, Ballygunge Girls' School, Calcutta.

10. The Educational Institutions of Germany. Tulsi Chandra Goswami, M.A. (Cal.), B.A. (Oxon.), Bar-at-Law, Member, Legislative Assembly (Calcutta).

11. German Influence on Indian Thought. Dr. Narendra Nath Law, M.A., B.L., Ph.D.

12. Economic, Social and Constitutional Developments of the German People. Prof. Dr. Benoy Sarkar M.A., *Vidya-vaibhava* (Benares), Dr. Geog. h.c. (Teheran), Hony. Member, *Hobbes-Gesellschaft* (Kiel), Decoration of the German Academy.

MEMBERS

(In addition to the Presidents, Vice-Presidents, Secretaries, the Director of Researches and the Chairmen)

1. Principal Mukul Chandra Dey, Government School of Art, Calcutta.
2. Mr. Tushar Kanti Ghose, Editor, *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, Calcutta.
3. Professor Dr. Jnanendra Chandra Ghosh, D.Sc., Director, Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, Mysore.
4. Principal Rabindra Narayan Ghosh, Ripon College, Calcutta.
5. Mr. Satyendra Nath Majumdar, Editor, *Ananda Bazar Patrika*, Calcutta.
6. Advocate Nalin Chandra Paul, Councillor, Calcutta Corporation.
7. Lt . Nalini Mohan Ray-Chowdhury, Landholder, Managing Director, N. M. Ray-Chowdhury & Co. (Publishing House), Calcutta.
8. Aviator Biren Roy, Chairman, South Suburban Municipality, Behala, Calcutta.
9. Professor Kiran Kumar Sen-Gupta, M.A., B.Sc. (Cal.), B.Sc. Mining, M.Sc. (Birmingham), F.G.S. (London), Presidency College, Calcutta.

TOPICS DISCUSSED

7 March 1932. "Goethe, Germany and the Indian People :" Professor Benoy Sarkar.

29 March 1932.	"Social Idealism in Goethe's Lyrics and Dramas :" Professor Benoy Sarkar.
26 December 1932.	"The Youth Movement in Germany from Herder to the Present Day :" Professor Benoy Sarkar.
21 November 1933.	"Experimental Psychology in Germany :" Prof. Dr. Suhrit Mitra, M.A. (Cal.), Dr. phil. (Leipzig), Calcutta University. Chairman : Professor Dr. Sisir Kumar Mitra, D.Sc. (Cal.), D.Sc. (Paris).
10 January 1934.	"Lessing and German Literature :" Dr. Kanai Lal Ganguly, M.Sc. (Cal), Dr. phil. (Munich), Calcutta University. Chairman : Professor Rama Prasad Mookerjee, Senator, Calcutta University.
27 March 1934	"Three German Sociologists : Toennies (Kiel), von Wiese (Cologne) and Freyer (Leipzig) :" Dr. Heinz Nitzschke, Dr. phil. (Leipzig), *Deutsche Akademie* Lecturer in German Language, Calcutta. Chairman : Dr. Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary, Kt., C.I.E., C.B.E., M.A. L.L.D., Ex-Vice-Chancellor and Senator, Calcutta University.
20 April 1934.	"Recent German Researches in Linguistics :" Dr. Bata Krishna Ghosh, Dr. phil. (Munich), D. Litt. (Paris). Chairman : Professor Dr. Nalinaksha Dutt, Ph.D. (Calcutta), D.Litt. (London), Calcutta University.
15 December 1934.	"Engineering and Industrial Germany." Professor Dr. Jatindra Nath Basu, Dr. ing. (Berlin-Charlottenburg), College of Engineering and Technology, Jadabpur, Calcutta. Chairman : Dr. Birendra Nath Dey, D.Sc. (Glasgow), Chief Engineer, Calcutta Corporation.
3 May 1935.	"Chemistry in German Industry and Commerce :" Professor Dr. Hiralal Roy, A.B. (Harvard), Dr. ing. (Berlin-Charlottenburg),

College of Engineering and Technology, Jadabpur, Calcutta, Chairman: Dr. Birendra Nath Dey.

13 September 1935. "Kant and Modern Thought:" Professor Humayun Kabir, M.A., (Cal.), B.A. (Oxon), Calcutta University. Chairman: Professor Benoy Sarkar (in the absence of Dr. Nares Chandra Sen-Gupta, M.A., D.L.).

14 May 1936. "German Winter Relief as a Form of Social Service:" Professor Benoy Sarkar. Chairman: Swami Sharvananda, President Ramakrishna Ashram, Delhi and Karachi.

18 July 1936 "Aviation in Germany:" Aviator Biren Roy, Executive Member, Bengal Flying Club. Chairman: Birendra Nath Das-Gupta, B.S.E.E (Purdue, U.S.A.), Electrical Engineer, Managing Director, Indo-Europa Trading Co. (Hamburg, Calcutta, Bombay and Delhi).

26 September 1936. "The Gestalt Theory in German Psychology:" Professor Dr. Suhrit Mitra, M.A. (Cal.), Dr. phil. (Leipzig), Calcutta University. Chairman: Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy, M.D., M.R.C.P., F.R.C.S. (Engl.), Senator, Calcutta University.

23 December 1936. "Eugenic Researches in Germany:" Dr. Prafulla Chandra Biswas, M.Sc. (Cal.), Dr. phil. (Berlin), Anthropological Department, Calcutta University. Chairman: Dr. Amulya Chandra Ukil, Tuberculosis Inquiry, Indian Research Fund Association, Calcutta.

7 April 1937. "The Papers of von Brockdorff, Keyserling, Thurnwald, von Wiese and Zahn at the International Parliament of Religions (Ramakrishna Centenary), March 1937, Calcutta" Read by five Swamis of the Ramakrishna Order. Chairman: Swami Sharvananda, President, Ramakrishna Ashram, Delhi and Karachi.

31 July 1937.	"Economic Aspects of the German Four-Year Plan:" Professor Benoy Sarkar.
21 August 1937.	"The People in German Thought from Romanticism to Neo-Democracy:" Professor Benoy Sarkar.
10 January 1938.	Mr. Surendra Mohun Bose, M.Sc. (Calif. U.S.A.), Managing Director, Bengal Waterproof Works Ltd., at home to the Chairmen of the *Bangiya Jarman Vidya Samsad* at the Great Eastern Hotel, Calcutta. Guests of honour: Prof. W. Bothe (Heidelberg), Prof. Baron von Eickstedt (Breslau), Prof. W. Straub (Munich) and Baron von Veltheim (Ostrau, Saxony). Chairman: Mr. Bejoy Chandra Chatterjee, Bar-at-law. Speakers: Mr. S. M. Bose, Prof. Sarkar, Dr. R. Ahmed, Mr. Tulsi Chandra Goswami, M.A. (Cal.), B A. (Oxon.), Member, Legislative Assembly (Bengal), Swami Vishwananda, President, Ramakrishna Mission, Bombay, Professor Humayun Kabir, Member, Legislative Council (Bengal), Prof. Straub, Mr. Chatterjee and Mr. Suresh Roy, M A., B.L., Manager, Aryasthan Insurance Co. Ltd., Calcutta.
20 August 1938	"German Studies in Geopolitik;" Professor Benoy Sarkar. Chairman: Professor Banesvar Dass, B.S.Ch.E. (Illinois, U.S.A.), College of Engineering and Technology, Jadabpur, Calcutta.
20 March 1939.	"New Tendencies in German Social Philosophy:" Professor Benoy Sarkar.

PUBLICATIONS

Most of the papers read have been published in *Prabuddha Bharata* (Awakened India), the *Calcutta Review*, the *Journal of the College of Engineering and Technology*, the *Insurance and Finance Review*, and *India Tomorrow*, Calcutta.

Extensive reports about these lectures appeared in the leading dailies of Calcutta. *Advance*, *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, *Ananda Bazar*

Patrika, Forward, Hindusthan Standard and *Liberty*. Summaries of the articles of economic importance were likewise published in the *Calcutta Commercial Gazette* (weekly).

IV. "Kalikatay Maldaha" Samiti

("Malda in Calcutta" Society)

Estd. September 1933

Objects

1. Discussion of topics relating to the general welfare of the people of Malda.
2. Social intercourse among the people of Malda residing in Calcutta.

Presidents

1933.	Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar.
1934.	Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar.
1935.	Mr. Khabiruddin Ahmed, Bar-at-law, M.L.A. (Central).
1936.	Mr. Khabiruddin Ahmed, Bar-at-law, M.L.A. (Central).
1937.	Mahamahopadhyaya Professor Vidhusekhar Sastri.
1938.	Mahamahopadhyaya Professor Vidhusekhar Sastri.
1939.	Dr. Mohini Mohan Agarwalla, M.B.

Secretaries

Professor Banesvar Dass, B.S.Ch.E. (Illinois, U.S.A.).
Sj. Atul Kumar, B.A., M.L.A.

Functions

11 September 1933. A Social to meet Mr. J. C. Mukerjea, Chief Executive Officer, Calcutta Corporation, Mr. S. C. Mitra, Industrial Engineer, Department of Industries, Bengal, President Nalini Ranjan Sarker, Bengal National Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta and Principal Dr. R. Ahmed, Calcutta Dental College and Hospital.

17 January 1934.	Dr. F. C. Bancroft, B.A., B.D. of New York lecturing on "Calcutta through American Eyes." Chairman: Hon. Mr. Bijay Kumar Basu, Member, Council of State, Ex-Mayor of Calcutta Corporation.
25 February 1934.	A social given by Dr. Mohini Mohan Agarwalla to meet Shrimati Saudamini Mehta, Secretary, Gujarati Stri-Mandal, Calcutta Prof. Dr. Qudrati Khuda, D.Sc. (London), Presidency College, Dr. Heinz Nitzschke, German Academy Lecturer in German language, Calcutta, and Kumar Krishna Kumar, M.A., B.L., Councillor, Calcutta Corporation.
13 September 1934.	Dr. Deben Das-Gupta, M.A., Ed.D (Calif., U.S.A.), Research Fellow, "International Bengal" Institute, lecturing on "The Need for Educational Reform." Chairman: Dr. Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary, Ex-Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, Vice-President, National Council of Education, Bengal.
13 September 1934.	Organization of Relief for the Flood-stricken areas in Malda.
27 December 1934.	Sj. Rabindra Nath Ghose, M.A., B.L., Research Fellow, Bengali Institute of Economics, lecturing on "Labour and Wages in Japan." Chairman: Mr. Satya Sundar Deb, Ceramic Engineer (Tokyo).
5 July 1935.	Kumar Munindra Deb Ray-Mahashay of Bansberia, President, All-Bengal Library Association, lecturing on "Spain To-day." Chairman: Mr. Nirmal Chunder Chunder, M.L.A.
7 March 1936	A social given by Professor Banesvar Dass to meet Mahamahopadhyaya Professor Vidhu Sekhar Sastri. Principal Dr. Surendra Nath Das-Gupta, Sanskrit College, Calcutta, Dr. Narendra Nath Law, Managing Director, Bangeswari

	Cotton Mills Ltd., and Principal Mukul Dey, Government School of Arts, Calcutta are the guests of honour. Chairman: Mahamahopadhyaya Prof. Phani Bhusan Tarkavagisa of Calcutta University.
5 August 1936.	Mr. Hemendra Kishore Rakshit, M.A. (Wisconsin, U.S.A.), Asst. Director International House, New York (1926-1933), lecturing on "The Rockefeller International House" of New York. Chairman: Dr. Satyananda Roy, M.A. (Tufts), Ph.D. (Clark, U.S.A.), Principal, Teachers' College, Calcutta Corporation.
7 October 1936.	Rai Bahadur Professor Khagendra Nath Mitra of Calcutta University lecturing on "Experiences Abroad." Chairman: Mr. Jitendra Mohan Sen, B.Sc. (Cal.), M.Ed. (Leeds), Asst. Director of Public Instruction, Bengal.
14 May 1937.	Dr. Sarasi Lal Sarkar, Civil Surgeon, Rtd. lecturing on "Words and their Meanings." Chairman: Prof. Vidhu Sekhar Sastri.
15 September 1938.	Organization of flood-relief for Malda.
10 July 1939.	Mr. Haridas Palit *Vidyavinod* (Murshidabad) discusses the social anthropology of North and West Bengal.

PUBLICATIONS

The proceedings have been extensively reported in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, *Ananda Bazar Patrika*, *Advance*, *Forward* and *Hindusthan Standard*, Papers of economic importance have been published in the *Calcutta Commercial Gazette*, *Insurance and Finance Review* and *Arthik Unnati*.

V. Maldaha Jatiya Shiksha Samiti
(District Council of National Education, Malda)

REORGANISED, 1934

The reader is referred to the contribution on the "National

Schools of Benoy Sarkar" by Mr. Birendra Nath Das-Gupta.[1] It may be added that Mr. Das-Gupta was like Professor Banesvar Dass one of the scholars of the Malda District Council of National Education in the U.S.A. and that my friendly contacts with them and some of their colleagues go back to my own American days (1910-1919).

VI. Bangiya Samaj-Vijnan Parishat
(Bengali Institute of Sociology)

Established April 1937[2]

OBJECTS

1. To carry on studies and investigations in sociology, theoretical and applied.
2. To use the Bengali language as the medium for these studies and investigations.

PRESIDENT

Professor Dr. h. c. Benoy Kumar Sarkar.

TREASURER

Dr. Narendra Nath Law.

HONY. DIRECTOR OF RESEARCHES

Professor Dr. h.c. Benoy Kumar Sarkar

Collaborator on the *Revue Internationale de Sociologie* (Paris) and Correspondent, *American Sociological Review*.

HONY. ADVISERS TO RESEARCH FELLOWS

1. Professor Banesvar Dass.
2. Mr. Satindra Nath Das-Gupta.

HONY. SECRETARIES

1. Dr. Monindra Mohan Moulik, D.Sc. Pol. (Rome).
2. Advocate Pankaj Kumar Mukherjee, MA., B.L.

1 Attention is hereby also drawn to the researches of Mr. Haridas Palit as well as to the Appendix VI. *Shiksha-Sopan* (Steps to a University) by Benoy Sarkar.

2 Previously sociological topics used to be discussed under the auspices of the *"Antarjatik Banga" Parishat* ("International Bengal" Institute), established November 1931.

DIRECTORS

(in addition to the President, the Treasurer, the Director of Researches, the Advisers and the Secretaries)

Principal Dr. Rafidin Ahmed, D.D.S. (Iowa, U.S.A.), Calcutta Dental College and Hospital.

Birendra Nath Das-Gupta, B.S.E.E. (Purdue, Lafayette, U.S.A.), Indo-Europa Trading Co., Calcutta.

Professor Banesvar Dass, B.S.Ch.E. (Illinois, U.S.A.), College of Engineering and Technology, Jadabpur, Calcutta.

Satya Sundar Deb, Ceramic Engineering (Tokyo), Bihar Potteries Ltd., Calcutta.

Professor Nalinaksha Dutt, Ph.D. (Cal.), D. Litt. (London), Calcutta University.

Dr. Subodh Mitra, M.B. (Cal.), Dr. med. (Berlin), F.R.C.S. (Edin.), M.C.O.G. (England).

Advocate Nalin Chandra Paul, Councillor, Calcutta Corporation.

Lt. Nalini Mohan Ray-Chowdhury, Publisher, Calcutta.

Prof Kiran Kumar Sen-Gupta, M.A., B.Sc. (Cal.), B.Sc., Mining, M.Sc. (Birmingham), F.G.S. (London).

Prof. Shahedulla, D.Litt. (Paris), University, Dacca.

HONY. RESEARCH FELLOWS

1937

1. Sushilendu Das-Gupta, B.Sc., B.L.
2. * Nabendu Datta-Majumdar, M.A., B.L.
3. Professor Sachindra Nath Dutt, M.A.
4. Sudhirendra Mohan Kar, M.A.
5. Amal Sen, M.A.
6. Hemendra Bijoy Sen, M.A., B.L.
7. Ramkrishna Sircar, M.A. (Com.).

1938

8. Asit Kumar Sarkar, M.A.

1939

9. Prof. Subodh Krishna Ghoshal, M.A.

* At present working for a doctorate in anthropology at the University of London.

ASSOCIATES

Professor Prabodh Chandra Bagchi, M.A. (Cal.), D.Litt. (Paris), Calcutta University.

Professor Durga Mohan Bhattacharya, M.A., Scottish Church College, Calcutta.

Dr. Prafulla Chandra Biswas, M.Sc. (Cal.), Dr. Phil. (Berlin), Anthropologist, Calcutta.

Mrinal Kanti Bose, M.A., Editor, *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, Calcutta.

Nagendra Nath Chaudhury, M.A. (North-western University, Chicago), Secretary, "International Bengal" Institute, Calcutta.

Sudha Kanta De, M.A., B.L., Secretary, Bengali Institute of Economics, Calcutta

Shib Chandra Dutt, M.A., B.L., Bengal Civil Service (Judicial).

Mrs. Anurupa Devi, novelist and story-writer, Calcutta.

Rabindra Nath Ghose, M.A., B.L., Research Fellow, Bengali Institute of Economics, Calcutta.

Professor Surendra Nath Goswami, M.A., Bangabasi College, Calcutta.

Advocate Keshab Chandra Gupta, M.A., B.L., Calcutta.

Prof. Suhrit Chandra Mitra, M.A., D. Phil. (Leipzig), Calcutta University.

Satyendra Nath Majumdar, Editor, *Ananda Bazar Patrika* Calcutta.

Dr. Asit Krishna Mukerji, Ph.D. (London), Bengal Publicity Co., Calcutta.

Haridas Palit, *Vidya-vinod* (Murshidabad), Bengali Manuscript Department, Calcutta University.

Professor Dr. Parimal Ray, M.A. (Cal.), Ph.D. (London), Islamia College, Calcutta.

Prafulla Kumar Sarkar, Editor, *Ananda Bazar Patrika*, Calcutta.

Dr. Sarasi Lal Sarkar, L.M.S., Retired Civil Surgeon, Calcutta.

Principal Bimalananda Tarkatirtha, Shyamadās Vaidyā Sastrapitha (College of Ayurvedic Medicine and Surgery), Calcutta.

Dr. Amulya Chandra Ukil, M.B., Visiting Physician, Chest Department, Medical College Hospital, Calcutta.

TOPICS DISCUSSED DURING 1938-1939

18 April 1938.	Principal Dr. R. Ahmed, Calcutta Dental College at home to the B.I.S. in order to celeberate the 81st birth day of Professor D. K. Karve, Founder, Indian Women's University, Poona (Bombay). Chairman: Lt. Col. Amulya Chandra Chatterji, I.M.S., Director of Public Health, Government of Bengal.
4 May.	"Society and Religion:" Haridas Palit *Vidya-vinod*.
7 May.	"Crimes and Punishments:" Professor Amulya Das-Gupta, M.A., Research Fellow, Bengali Institute of Economics, Calcutta.
1 June.	Mrs. Ida Sarkar at home to the B.I.S. in order to meet Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai, the Maratha historian, at Takdah near Darjeeling, Chairman: Mr. K. C. De, I.C.S. (Retd.). Topic: "Social Data in Marathi Documents."
12 June.	"Sociology in France:" Subodh Krishna Ghoshal, M.A., Research Fellow, Bengali Institute of Economics (Calcutta).
10 July.	"The Acceptable and the Unacceptable in Bankim's Social Philosophy:" Professor Benoy Sarkar.
15 August.	"Sociology as defined by Giddings:" Advocate Pankaj Mukherjee, Secretary, B.I.S., Calcutta.
12 September.	"Herder as the Exponent of Nationalism:" Manmatha Nath Sarkar, M.A., Research Fellow, "International Bengal" Institute Calcutta.
9 October.	Mr. Ramkrishna Sircar, M.A. (Com.), Research Fellow, B.I.S., Calcutta Manager of the New Asiatic Life Insurance Co. Ltd., at home to the Research Fellows of the B.I.S., Bengali Institute of Economics, "International Bengal" Institute and Bengali

	Asia Academy. Guest of honour: Mr. Birendra Nath Das-Gupta, Director, Indo-Europa Trading Co., Calcutta.
30 December.	"Brajendra Nath Seal's Political Ideas:" Professor Benoy Sarkar.
25 Feb. 1939	"Herder's Doctrine of the National Soul:" Professor Subodh Krishna Ghoshal, M.A., Research Fellow, B.I.S.
4 June.	"Juvenile Criminality:" Mr. Abul Hasanat, B.A., I.P., Police Superintendent, Rajsahi. Chairman: Advocate Keshab Chandra Gupta, M.A. B.L.
11 June.	"French Friends of the Orient:" Mlle. Marie-Louise Gommès, Secretary, *Association Française des Amis de l'Orient* (Paris). Chairman: Dr. Amulya Chandra Ukil.
25 June.	"Marriage Customs among the Kashmiri Pandits:" Nabendu Datta-Majumdar, M A., B.L., Research Fellow, B.I.S. Chairman: Principal Kaviraj Bimalananda Tarkatirtha (replaced by Dr. Narendra Nath Law) in the absence of Dr. Bhupendra Nath Datta, M.A. (Brown, U.S.A.), Dr. Phil. (Hamburg).
20 July.	Lt. Nalini Mohan Ray-Chowdhury, Director, Bengali Institute of Economics, at home at Park Restaurant, Calcutta: Farewell to Mr. Nabendu Datta-Majumdar M.A., B.L., Research Fellow, Bengali Institute of Sociology, on the eve of his departure for England.
10 August.	"Sociological Methods and Attitudes:" Professor Benoy Sarkar.*
27 August.	"My Ego:" Signor Gallo da Bormida of Italy. Chairman: Advocate Keshab Gupta.

* See "Sarkar's Sociology among Sociologies" in H. B Sen's "Aspects of Benoy Sarkar's Sociology", *Supra*, pp. 365-370.

1 October. "Feeblemindedness and Sterilization." Professor Benoy Sarkar.

PUBLICATIONS

Samaj-Vijnan (Sociology), Vol. I. edited by Professor Dr. Benoy Kumar Sarkar with papers from himself as well as Subodh Ghoshal, Haridas Palit, Nagen Chaudhury, Pankaj Mukherjee, Rabi Ghose, Sachin Dutt, Sushilendu Das-Gupta, Professor Humayun Kabir, Dr. Deben Das-Gupta, Binod Chakravarti, Dr. Naren Law, Manmatha Sarkar, and Professor Banesvar Dass, Pages 600.

In addition may be mentioned the following pamphlets:

1. *International Prison Legislation with special reference to Labour* by Advocate Pankaj Kumar Mukherjee.
2. *Samaj-chintay Bankimchandra* (Bankim Chatterji in Social Thought) by Professor Subodh Krishna Ghoshal.
3. *The Messages of Dante* by Professor Subodh Krishna Ghoshal.
4. *Herder's Doctrine of the National Soul* by Professor Subodh Krishna Ghoshal.
5. *The French Triumvirate in Social Thought: Bodin, Montesquieu and Rousseau* by Professor Sachindra Nath Dutt (in Bengali).

The following pamphlets by Professor Benoy Sarkar are also to be noted:

1. *The Doctrine of Progress.*
2. *The New Foundations of French Social Economy.*
3. *The Social Philosophy of Masaryk.*
4. *Employment Planning and Demographic Reconstruction.*
5. *The Sociology of Crimes and Punishments.*
6. *Religious Categories as Universal Expressions of Creative Personality.*
7. *Demo-despotocracy and Freedom.*
8. *The Acceptable and the Unacceptable in Bankim's Social Philosophy.*
9. *The Eugenic Potentialities of Alleged Inferior Races and Classes.*
10. *Secular and Social Strata in Buddhist Thought.*
11. *India in Exact Science Old and New.*
12. *Sociology in Bengal.*

13. *World-Culture in India Today.*
14. *The Might of Man in the Social Philosophy of Ramakrishna and Vivekananda.*

Most of the topics discussed have been published in *Arthik Unnati* (Economic Progress) and the *Calcutta Review* (Calcutta University).

The proceedings have been reported at length by the Calcutta dailies.

VII. Bangiya Asia Parishat
(Bengali Asia Academy)

ESTABLISHED: JANUARY, 1938*

OBJECTS

To promote among our countrymen (1) investigations and researches relating to Asia, and (2) the study of the languages of Asia.

PRESIDENTS

1. Bejoy Chandra Chatterjee, Bar-at-Law, Calcutta.
2. Prof. Dr. h.c. Benoy Kumar Sarkar.

VICE-PRESIDENTS

1. Birendra Nath Das-Gupta, Indo-Europa Trading Co. Calcutta.
2. Prof. Humayun Kabir, Calcutta.

TREASURER

Dr. Narendra Nath Law.

HONY. SECRETARIES

1. Principal Dr. R. Ahmed.
2. Prof. Banesvar Dass.

HONY. DIRECTOR OF RESEARCHES

Prof. Dr. h.c. Benoy Kumar Sarkar,
Docteur en géographie honoris causa (Teheran).

* It was under the auspices of the *"Antarjatik Banga" Parishat* ("International Bengal" Institute), est. November 1931, that Asian topics used to be discussed previously.

DIRECTORS

(In addition to the Presidents, the Vice-Presidents, the Treasurer, the Secretaries and the Director of Researches)

Surendra Mohun Bose, M.Sc. (Calif., U.S.A.), Managing Director, Bengal Waterproof Works Ltd., Calcutta.

Satindra Nath Das-Gupta, B.Sc., Managing Director, Indo-Swiss Trading Co. Ltd. (Calcutta).

Dr. Bhupendra Nath Datta, M.A. (Brown, U.S.A.), Dr. Phil. (Hamburg), Anthropologist, Calcutta.

Satya Sundar Deb, Ceramic Engineer (Tokyo), Managing Director, Bihar Potteries Ltd., Calcutta.

Principal Mukul Dey, A.R.C.A. (London), Government School of Arts, Calcutta.

Professor Dr. Nalinaksha Dutt, Ph.D. (Cal.), D.Litt. (London), Calcutta University, Translator of Lama Taranath's *Tibetan History of Buddhism*.

Ordhendro Coomar Gangoly, M.A., B.L., Author of *Moghul Paintings*, etc.

Advocate Keshab Chandra Gupta, M.A., B.L., author of *Biographical Study of Madame Halide Edib, Travels in Malaya* etc.

Dr. Monindra Mohan Moulik, D.Sc. Pol. (Rome).

Advocate Pankaj Kumar Mukherjee, M.A., B.L., Calcutta.

Advocate Nalin Chandra Paul, Councillor, Calcutta Corporation.

Prof. Dr. Parimal Roy, M.A. (Cal.), Ph.D. (London), Islamia College Calcutta.

Prof. Dr. S. Shahedulla, D.Litt. (Paris), University, Dacca.

Prof. Bimalananda Tarkatirtha, Shyamadas Vaidya-Sastra-Pitha (National College of Ayurvedic Medicine and Surgery), Calcutta.

Dr. A. C. Ukil, M.B., Senior Visitor, Government Medical College Hospitals, Tuberculosis Inquiry, Indian Research Fund Association.

HONY. RESEARCH FELLOWS

1. Professor Kalyan Kumar Banerjee, M.A.
2. Debendra Chandra Das, M.A., B.L.
3. Bejoy Krishna Datta, M.A., B.L.

DISCUSSIONS ON ASIA AT THE "ANTARJATIK BANGA" PARISHAT (1932-1937)

April 9, 1932.	*The Economic Expansion of the Japanese People*: Advocate Pankaj Kumar Mukherjee, M.A., B.L.
July 27, 1932.	*The Impressions of Persia To-day*: Kedar Nath Chatterjee, B.A. (Cantab), Manager, *Modern Review*, Calcutta.
October 16, 1932.	*The Ideas of 1905 in their Bearings on East and West* Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar.
June 3, 1934.	*Indians in South-East Asia*: Dr. Lanka Sundaram, M.A., Ph.D., (London), Andhra University, Bezwada (South India).
December 23, 1934.	*Sociologies in Ibn Khaldun's Mokuddemah and Abul Fazl's Ain-i-Akbari*: Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar
March 22, 1935.	*Japanese Labour Conditions*: Rabi Ghose M.A. B.L., Research Fellow, *Bangiya Dhana-Vijnan Parishat* (Bengali Institute of Economics), Calcutta.
July 4, 1936.	The Institute at home to Dr. R. Soetomo of Sourabaya (Java). Topic: "Cultural Developments in Indonesia."
January 28, 1937.	Mr. Osman of Istanbul (Turkey) discusses the economic conditions of the Turkish People.
February 5, 1937.	Mustafa Fadal Bey and Mme. Fatma Seadet Hanim of Cairo (Egypt) discuss Journalism in Egypt.
April 5, 1937.	Mrs. Ida Sarkar at home to Dr. Chang-lok Chen, Consul-General for China at Calcutta, and Md. H. Kashani, Merchant of Yezd (Iran).
June 1, 1937.	*Social Aspects of the Expansion of Buddhism in Asia*: Prof. Nalinaksha Dutt, Ph.D. (Cal.), D.Litt. (London), Calcutta University.
July 22, 1937.	*Labour Conditions in Kenya and Palestine*: Advocate Pankaj Kumar Mukherjee M.A., B.L.

December 5, 1937. Prof. Yusuf Baghdadi of Baghdad (Iraq), author of the *Teachings of Ramakrishna* (in Arabic), lectures on The Moslem States of Asia and Africa.

December 23, 1937. Prof. Dr. O. G. Ohanian, Vice-President of *Academia Asiatica*, Teheran (Iran), describes the activities of the Academy, and the *Université Libre* of Teheran.

DISCUSSIONS AT THE BANGIYA ASIA PARISHAT
(1938-1939)

January 14, 1938. *Zaghlul Pasha of Egypt and Sun Yat-sen of China as Contemporaries of Chitta Ranjan Das*: Prof Benoy Kumar Sarkar.

February 12, 1938. *Saiyad Jamaluddin of Iran and Prince Ito of Japan as Makers of Young Asia*: Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar.

March 16, 1938 *Asia in Bengali Thought*: Kalyan Kumar Banerjee, M.A., Research Fellow, *Bangiya Asia Parishat*, and Subodh Krishna Ghoshal, M.A., Research Fellow, *Bangiya Dhana-Vijnan Parishat* (Bengali Institute of Economics).

March 22, 1938. *India's Trade with Iran, Iraq, Arabia and Turkey*: Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar.

April 4, 1938. *Asia as Field for Japanese Trade*: Professor Benoy Sarkar.

September 18, 1938. *Indonesia*: Mr. Marjoenani, B.A. (Cal.) of Java.

November 11, 1938. *Asia as the Subject for Italian Researches*: Dr. Mario Carelli (Rome), Lecturer in Italian at the University of Bombay.
Reference to the death of Kemal Pasha, the father of Turkew, as an inspirer of Young India and as a maker of New Asia by Prof. Sarkar.

December 29, 1937. Mr. Y. Imagawa, General Manager, Yokohama Specie Bank, Calcutta, and Mr. T. Kurose of Nippon Trading Agency,

Calcutta describe their social experiences in India.

Feb. 26, 1939. *The Industrialization of Iran*: Professor Benoy Sarkar.

June 23, 1939. *Social Reform in Turkey*: Advocate Pankaj Mukherjee.

July 18, 1939. Dr. J. J. Brugmans, Secretary, Education Department, Batavia (Java) analyzes the factors of modernization in Southern Asia.

PUBLICATIONS

Most of the papers discussed have been published in *Arthik Unnati* (Economic Progress) and the *Calcutta Review*. Substantial summaries have appeared in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, *Ananda Bazar Patrika*, *Advance*, *Hindusthan Standard*, and *Calcutta Commercial Gazette*.

VIII. Bangiya Dante Sabha
(Bengali Dante Society)

ESTABLISHED: MARCH 1938*

OBJECTS

Lectures and publications on Italian literature, art as well as social and economic institutions.

PRESIDENTS

Dr. Narendra Nath Law.
Prof. Dr *h.c.* Benoy Kumar Sarkar.

VICE-PRESIDENTS

1. Dr. R. Ahmed, D.D S. (Iowa, U.S.A.), Principal, Calcutta Dental College and Hospital.
2. Mr. Biren Das-Gupta, B.S.E.E. (Purdue, Lafayette U.S.A.), Electrical Engineer, Director, Indo-Swiss Trading Co. Ltd., Calcutta, and Indo-Europa Trading

* Topics of Italian culture used to be discussed previously under the auspices of the "*Antarjatik Banga*" *Parishat* ("International Bengal" Institute) est. November 1931.

Co., Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi, Colombo, Madras, London.

HONY. SECRETARIES

1. Professor Banesvar Dass, B.S.Ch.E. (Illinois, U.S.A.), Chemical Engineer, College of Engineering and Technology, Jadabpur, Calcutta.
2. Dr. Monindra Mohan Moulik, D.Sc. Pol. (Rome).

TREASURER

Advocate Nalin Chandra Paul, Councillor, Calcutta Corporation.

HONY. DIRECTOR OF RESEARCHES

Prof. Dr. Benoy Kumar Sarkar,
Cavalier of the Crown of Italy.

MEMBERS

(Including the two Presidents, the two Secretaries and the Treasurer)

Major Prof. D. Ahmad, O.B.E., Medical College, Calcutta.

Mr. S. M. Bose, M.Sc. (Calif., U.S.A.), Managing Director, Bengal Waterproof Works Ltd., Calcutta.

Lt. Col. A. C. Chatterji, Director of Public Health, Government of Bengal, Calcutta.

Mr. Kalyan Chaudhuri (With factory experience from Milan).

Mr. Satin Das-Gupta, B.Sc., Managing Director, Indo-Swiss Trading Co. Ltd., Calcutta.

Principal S. N. Das-Gupta, Ph.D. (Cantab), Dr. *h.c.* (Rome), Sanskrit College, Calcutta.

Principal Mukul Dey, A.R.C.A. (London), Government School of Arts, Calcutta.

Mr. O. C. Gangoly, M.A. B.L., Art-historian and art-critic, Calcutta.

Mr. T. C. Goswami, M.A. (Cal.), B.A. (Oxon.), Bar-at-law, Member, Legislative Assembly, Calcutta.

Prof. Humayun Kabir, M.A. (Cal.), B. A. (Oxon.), Calcutta University, Member Legislative Council, Calcutta.

Dr. S. C. Law, Ph.D., F.Z.S. (London), Treasurer and Trustee, Indian Museum, Calcutta, Hony. Correspondent, Zoological Survey of India, Ex-Sheriff, Calcutta.

Dr. Nani Gopal Moitra, M.D. (Rome).

Dr. Asit Krishna Mukerji, Ph.D. (London), Director, Bengal Publicity Co., Calcutta.

Mr. Amrit Sankar Roy (With factory experience from *Aeroporto,* Rome).

Prof. Parimal Roy, M.A., Ph.D. (London), Islamia College Calcutta.

Prof. Pramatha Roy, M.A., Ph.D. (Rome), Hindu University, Benares.

Mr. Amiya Sarkar (With business experience from *Riunione Adriatica Sicurta,* the Insurance Company of Trieste).

Dr. Birendra Mohan Sinha, D.Sc. Econ. (Genoa).

FUNCTIONS

22 March 1938.	Advocate Nalin Chandra Paul at home. Guest of honour: Commendatore Camillo Giuriati, Consul-General for Italy at Calcutta.
12 April.	Prof. Dr. Benoy Kumar Sarkar discusses "Economic Autarchy in Italy."
20 June.	Dr. Asit Krishna Mukerji Ph.D. (London), Bengal Publicity Co., presents a paper on the Museums and other Cultural Institutions of Florence.
9 September	Mr. Subodh Krishna Ghoshal, M.A., Research Fellow, Bengali Institute of Economics, and Associate Editor, *Samaj-Vijnan* (Sociology), Author of *The Social Thought of Bankim Chatterji* (in Bengali) delivers a lecture on the "Messages of Dante." Chairman: Hirendra Nath Datta, M.A., B.L., President, Bengali Academy of Literature, and Vice-President, National Council of Education, Bengal.
8 November.	Dr. Narendra Nath Law at home. Guests among others: Comm. Giuriati, Count Dr. Milesi, Justice C. C. Biswas, Mr. J. N. Basu, Lt. Col., A. C. Chatterji, Prof. Humayun Kabir, Mr. W. R. Pepper, Mr. Y. Imagawa (Tokyo), Dr. Mario Carelli, Dr. Bocchetto, Prof. and Mrs. Benoy

	Sarkar, Rai Bahadur B. M. Das, Mr. Biren Das-Gupta, Dr. Rafi Ahmed, Signor Benasaglio, Advocate Keshab Gupta, Prof. Nalinaksha Dutt, Mr. O. C. Gangoly, Dr. Moni Moulik, Prof. Banesvar Dass, Dr. A. C. Ukil.
5 January 1939.	Dr. Luciano Petech, Lecturer in Italian at the University of Allahabad, delivers a lecture on "Pirandello's Dramas and Novels." Chairman: Prof. Dr. Benoy Sarkar.
9 March.	Principal Dr. R. Ahmed at home to the *Sabha* at Calcutta Dental College and Hospital. The Guest of honour, Prof. Giuseppe Tucci (Rome), Vice-President of Italian Academy, lectures on the "Romanticism of Leopardi." The Chairman, Professor Benoy Sarkar, speaks on" Indian studies in Italian culture."
26 June.	Mrs. Ida Sarkar at home. Mr. Satyendra Mukherji, F.S.A.A., Chartered Accountant, late Professor and Dean of Commerce, Lucknow University, and Mr. Satin Das-Gupta, Indo-Swiss Trading Co. Ltd. discuss India's trade relations with Italy Guest of honour: Count Dr. Milesi, Acting Consul-General for Italy at Calcutta.
29 August.	Dr. Moni Moulik, D.Sc. Pol. (Rome), Secretary, B.D.S. gives a talk on "New Tendencies in Italian Drama."

PUBLICATIONS

Some of the papers have been published in the *Calcutta Review*.

Professor Subodh Ghoshal's lecture has been published as a brochure, *The Messages of Dante*, by Messrs Chuckerverty Chatterjee & Co. Ltd. Calcutta.

Extensive summaries of the lectures as well as reports about the discussions have appeared in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika, Hindusthan Standard, Forward, Advance*, and *Ananda Bazar Patrika*.

THE WORKS OF BENOY SARKAR

EDUCATIONAL, CULTURE-HISTORICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIOLOGICAL

A CHRONOLOGICAL STATEMENT*

By Professor Banesvar Dass, B.S.Ch.E., (Illinois, U.S.A.),
Chemical Engineer, College of Engineering and
Technology, Jadabpur, Calcutta.

The present publication is in response to numerous requests which several publishers in Calcutta have been receiving from the reading public for a complete list of the works of Professor Dr. Benoy Kumar Sarkar. In the preparation of this statement I have made use of the many surveys of Dr. Sarkar's ideas written by scholars from 1910 (Mr. Hirendra Nath Datta) to 1939 (Prof. Sachindra Nath Dutt). I am indebted also to the publishers for helping me with newspaper cuttings and press opinions about Sarkarism.

Benoy Kumar Sarkar

HIS RESEARCHES, PUBLICATIONS, AND
OTHER ACADEMIC ACTIVITIES

1887 (December). Born at Malda (Bengal). 1905. B.A. (Calcutta), is offered the State Scholarship for higher studies in England by the Government of India. 1906. M.A. (Calcutta). 1912. Hony. *Vidya-Vaibhava* (Benares). 1937. *Docteur en Géographie honoris causa* (Teheran). 1937. Decoration of the German Academy (Munich) 1939. Cavalier of the Order of the Crown of Italy.

Chapter I

1906-1914

JUNE 1906—APRIL 1914. PUBLICATIONS

(Contributions to Bengali and English journals begin in 1906 *Maldaha Samachar*, Malda, June, and *Amrita Bazar Patrika* Calcutta, July-August.[1] Only the books are listed below).

* First edition published by Chuckervertty Chatterjee and Co. Ltd., Calcutta in 1938.

1 See Appendix VII. *National Education and the Bengali Nation* by Benoy Sarkar.

1. *Bange Nava Yuger Nutan Siksha* (The New Learning of the New Age in Bengal) in Bengali, 56 pages, 1907.

2. *Siksha-Vijnaner Bhumika* (Introduction to the Science of Education), 64 pages, Calcutta, 1910.

3. *Prachin Griser Jatiya Siksha* (National Education in Ancient Greece), in Bengali, 175 pages, published by the *Bangiya Sahitya Parishat* (Bengali Academy of Literature). Calcutta, 1910.

4. *Bhasha-Siksha* (The Study of Language) in Bengali, 120 pages 1910.

5. *Aids to General Culture Series*: (a) *Economics*, 193 pages (b) *Political Science*, 84 pages, (c) *Constitutions*, 131 pages, (d) *Ancient Europe*, 100 pages, (e) *Mediaeval Europe*, 165 pages, (f) *History of English Literature*, 232 pages, 1910-12.

6. *Lessons on Sanskrit* (320 pages), 1911.

7. *Lessons on English* (220 pages), 1911.

8. *The Science of History and the Hope of Mankind* (Longmans Green & Co. London, 84 pages), 1912.

9. *Siksha-Sopan* (*Steps to a University*) A course of modern intellectual culture adapted to the requirements of Bengal (64 pages) 1912.

10. *Aitihasik Pravandha* (Historical Essays), in Bengali, 125 pages, 1912.

11. *Siksha-Samalochana* (Educational Observations), in Bengali, 150 pages, 1912.

12. *Sadhana* or Strivings (National and Cultural Problems) in Bengali, 200 pages, 1912.

13. *Introduction to the Science of Education* (Longmans Green & Co. London, 173 pages), 1913.

14. *Vishva-Shakti* (*World-Forces*) in Bengali, 325 pages 1914.

15. *Nigro Jatir Karmavir* (Bengali Adaptation from the Autobiography of the American Educator Booker T. Washington) 280 pages 1914.

16. *Sukraniti* (Hindu Politics, Economics and Sociology) translated from Sanskrit into English (306 pages) Panini office, Allahabad, 1914.

17. *The Positive Background of Hindu Sociology*, Vol. I. Non-political (300 pages, Allahabad), 1914.

18. *Rabindra Sahitye Bharater Vani* (India's Message in the Works of Rabindra Nath Tagore) in Bengali, 150 pages, Calcutta, 1914 (on the occasion of the award of the Nobel Prize, 1913).

1906—April 1914. Other Academic Activities

1. Joins Bengal National College, Calcutta (National Council of Education) as Hony. Professor of History and Economics, 1907.

2. Establishes the *Maldaha Jatiya Siksha Samiti* (District Council of National Education, Malda), June 1907, and secondary and primary schools both for boys and girls in Malda, and at his paternal village, Sanihati, in the district of Dacca, with elementary technical departments attached (1907-1908). The ideas on which these schools are run are set forth in the brochure entitled *Shiksha-Sopan: Steps to a University* (1912) Appendix VI. (pp. 215-256).

3. Trains a number of teachers through and for these institutions, organises a fund on the strength of which fifteen of these scholars are sent out to the U.S.A. for higher University education in the arts and sciences (1910-1911).

4. Directs the *Grihastha* (House-holder), a Bengali monthly of world-culture, economic welfare and social reconstruction (1911-1914), and contributes pedagogic articles to the *Collegian* (1911-1914).

5. Obtains the honorary distinction of *Vidya-Vaibhava* from the *Bharata-Dharma-Mahamandala* of Benares, 1912.

6. Is elected the Secretary in charge of the *Patrika* (Journal) and other publications of the *Bangiya Sahitya Parishat* (Bengali Academy of Literature), 1912.

7. Undertakes educational and research tours in Bihar, U.P., Punjab, Bombay, Orissa and Assam (1910-1914).

8. Participates in the Bengali Literary Conference (1909-1914).

9. Contributes articles to the *Modern Review* (Calcutta), *Hindustan Review* (Allahabad), *Indian Review* (Madras), *Modern World* (Madras), *Vedic Magazine* (Hardwar), etc., 1910-1914.

10 Places a fund with the *Bangiya Sahitya Parishat* to promote the Bengali translation of Western works as a souvenir of Tagore's 50th birthday, 1911 (two years before the Nobel Prize is awarded to the poet).

1911-1914. Sarkarism as seen in India[1]

In regard to Professor Sarkar's scheme for fostering the mother-tongues the *Leader* of Allahabad wrote on the 13th October 1911 as follows:

1 See the section "1913. Sarkarism as Viewed in India during the Swadeshi Period" in Shib Chandra Dutt's contribution, *Supra*, pp. 6-13, and

"Every lover of vernacular literature will welcome the nice little pamphlet, *The Man of Letters,* from the pen of Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, Lecturer in the Bengal National Council of Education. It sets forth in a forcible manner a scheme for the fostering of vernacular literature in India.

Prof. Sarkar holds that literature in common with everything else requires protection in its infancy. He says that our literature is still in its non-age and it is due to this backwardness and poverty of our language and literature that it has been accorded only a position of second language in the Government's scheme of higher education and has not been entitled to the dignity of the first language.

But this can be achieved if learned bodies like the *Bangiya Sahitya Parishat* of Calcutta and *Nagri Pracharini Sabha* of Benares undertake to employ some of the best students of our country to work together for the development of our literature under the guidance and control of such literary men as Dr. Seal of Bengal and Dr. Jha of our Provinces. But to secure the services of these students it is essentially necessary that they should be free from all pecuniary wants.

The *Bangiya Sahitya Parishat* of Bengal took up the suggestion of Prof. Sarkar and on the occasion of the fiftieth birth-day anniversary of Babu Rabindra Nath Tagore, the greatest living poet of Bengal, have collected a decent fund the proceeds of which will be utilized in the manner indicated above.

The *Nagri Pracharini Sabha* of Benares can do the same. The *Sabha* can raise funds on similar occasions and spend them likewise. If this can be done, perhaps it will not be then too much "to expect that in the course of ten years we can have the best literary treasures of the world in our own national literature, that we can have the thoughts and investigations of Plato, Herbert Spencer, Guizot, Hegel and other European philosophers through

M. N. Sarkar's contribution on "Educational Reform in Benoy Sarkar's *Steps to a University*", pp. 43-48.

For the estimates of Sarkar's work down to 1914 see also Dr. L. M. Basu's preface to his *Introduction to Hindu Positivism* (Allahabad, 1937), pp. 3-11 and Major B. D. Basu's preface to his *Introduction to the Science of Education* (London, 1913).

the medium of our own language and that in no time the education of these provinces can grow into one that is natural and really national."

The following are the observations of the *Collegian* (No. 1, March 1912), about Sarkar's historical ideas as prominent during this period:

"Messrs. Chuckervertty Chatterjee and Co. have published a collection of essays in Bengali on historical subjects from the pen of Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar M.A. of the National College, Calcutta. These *Historical* Essays open a new chapter in the history of Bengali prose literature. The author commands the power of expressing high and serious thoughts in clear, simple and yet powerful language. The chaste and dignified style as well as the masterly treatment of the subject matter give the handy volume a unique place in our literature and indicate the new spirit and tone that have begun to enliven the national life of our people.

There are altogether nine essays in the volume each marked by freshness and originality that instruct as well as suggest. The Professor's conception of History as the science of the whole of human affairs is sufficiently indicated in the preface where he also throws out suggestions as to how the facts and phenomena of Indian history through the ages should be interpreted and explained so that the idea of a living, moving, growing and expanding people may always be before the mind's eye. His close and acute analysis of the Greek character and explanation of the contrast with the Hindu culture and civilisation, his study of the place of the Sikhs in Indian history and description of the forces that underlay the intellectual and social life of the Hellenistic world are all applications of the comparative-philosophical method that is the life of modern historical science. The paper on the *Science of History and the Hope of Mankind* is an application of the truths of Biology to the social world and explains the ups and downs of nations by referring to the laws of life. It contains an original interpretation of the facts of European history. The truth that the destiny of a nation is not the making of its own people solely but is moulded by the interaction of world-forces is very ably brought out. All teachers of History should take note of this. The essay on the *Teachings of History* is the product of a thoroughly Hindu mind, bringing out, as it does, the Vedantic and transcendental conception that History is the record of the progress of the human soul, it is

the positive register of the truths of morality and religion and that it is essentially a branch of *Dharma-Sastra*.

We wish the author had published some of these essays in English for the ideas throughout are intensely original and in many points different from the accepted views of Western scholars. We however, welcome this collection as a contribution to Bengali philosophical literature which, unfortunately, as yet has been very slender. As Principal Ramendra Sundar Trivedi laments in the Preface he has contributed for the volume before us, there has been nobody to continue the work of the late Babu Bhudeb Mookerji the eminent litterateur and scholar, and hopes that Prof. Sarkar has in this little work given an earnest that will fitly give him place as the successor of that great man. Yes, Professor Sarkar is continuing the work of Bhudeb Mookerji not only as historical scholar and man of letters but also as an educational missionary."

Professor Monmohan Basu of Ripon College, Calcutta wrote in the *Collegian* (No. 1, April 1912) as follows on Sarkar's ideas about the value of Hindu literature for contemporary world thought:

"A paper on the propagation of Hindu Literature was read by Professor Benoy Sarkar M.A. of the National College, Calcutta at the last Literary Conference of North Bengal held at Gauhati in the first week of April (1912). The Professor dealt with the subject from linguistic and literary as well as religious standpoints.

He believes that the Romantic movement in European art and literature and Transcendental movement in Western philosophy generally can be traced to Hindu mystical and metaphysical speculations that found their way into the social life of Europe through travellers' tales and tourists' caricatures. He has suggested various lines of work that should be undertaken by friends of the provincial vernaculars in incorporating and adapting literary legacies of the ancient and mediaeval Hindu thinkers. Books should be written in the vernaculars giving the history of Indian literature from the earliest times. Then, again, a series of books should be compiled in the provincial languages summarising the best works of the greatest Hindu men of letters. So that corresponding to the series of ancient classics for English Readers edited by Collins we may have *Hindu Classics for Readers in Bengali, Hindi, Marathi, &c.* We are glad to be able to say that some work along the lines indicated has been done by the *Panini Office* of Allahabad controlled by the Society for the Propagation of Hindu Literature.

Professor Sarkar has discussed the question from the educational stand-point also. He has very forcibly expressed his arguments for imbuing students of elementary classes with ideals and aspirations from the literary treasures of the Hindu world. And the University courses also should emphasise the study of Indian History and Philosophy from original materials and compel students to go through Sanskrit literature, Pali texts, inscriptions and other sources, learn to use them as *data*, and construct history and philosophy out of them in an independent way. The education of Hindus cannot be real, effective and calculated to produce good results until and unless the national traditions, national ideals and national performances in art and achievements in literature begin to take important place in the higher and lower stages.

Nor is Hindu Literature to be propagated in the interest of Indian education alone. For, as Professor Sarkar concludes, the world of universities at large, educated humanity, in short, lovers of science and priests of the temples of learning cannot neglect it. It is certainly very astonishing to find that the graduates of the highest order in European and American Universities should go out into the world with a very perfunctory knowledge of Hindu literature, philosophy or sociology. It is absolutely necessary in the interests of comparative literature and science that types of culture and ideals, whether high or low, spiritual or non-spiritual, highly developed or very rudimentary, should be studied in a most dispassionate and unprejudiced fashion.

Professor Sarkar therefore concludes with an appeal that the universities of the modern world that are advancing the bounds of human knowledge and are adding to the stock of world's science should make it a point to have Hindu Literature and Philosophy as compulsory subjects for all advanced courses in historical, sociological and philosophical subjects. Time has arrived, he believes, when educated Hindus should be forth-coming to take up the work of propagating Hindu literature in foreign countries in a scientific and non-religious or non-racial spirit and try to influence the distinguished Universities by extension lectures, pamphlets, dissertations and books specially written for the purpose. The objects of these missionaries should be wholly non-sectarian and non-political and they should work in such a way as to promote an interest in the study of Hindu literature and life and prepare the way for comparative philosophy and sociology."

In January 1913 the *Collegian* (Calcutta) wrote the following about Benoy Sarkar's research plans:

"Some time ago we reviewed '*The Science of History and the* Hope of *Mankind* (Longmans, London) from the pen of Prof. B. K. Sarkar, M.A. In that treatise the professor dealt with one or two of the general principles which according to him underlie the course of Universal History. We understand that the professor has been engaged in the preparation of a History of Indian Civilisation in which there will be a philosophic attempt to elucidate the working of the forces, both national and international, as well as political and non-political, that have moulded the character of the Indian people from the earliest times. The author will try to bring out into prominence the secular or non-religious, e.g. the economic, political, administrative and material aspects of Indian Civilisation and give due importance to the racial, ethnical, and extra-Indian or foreign factors that have contributed to the growth and expansion of the culture of the people of India. The design of such a work is splendid, no doubt, and a work on these lines has become absolutely necessary in these days. But the execution seems to be too much for the diligence and ability of a single individual. Professor Sarkar, however, would not care so much about discovering new facts and evidences but confine his energy solely to a study and interpretation of available material from the biological standpoint he has suggested in his *Science of History*. A comparison of notes, therefore, as he has been doing by tours, with men who have been working at the different departments of Indian history, especially with those whose reputation is in the vernaculars, would help a great way in forming correct notions about Indian civilisation in its manifold aspects.

Several auxiliary works, also, he has undertaken as preparation for the monumental work. Of these his *Studies in Sanskrit Literature* is intended to throw light on the literary achievements and sociological conditions as depicted in the Sanskrit classics. *Raj Tarangini* or the Annals of Kashmir by the poet-historian Kalhan has been already rendered into Bengali. *Sukraniti* or Sukracharyya's System of Morals (Social, Economic and Political) has been rendered into English with Introduction and Notes for the *Sacred Books of the Hindus Series* edited by Major B.D. Basu I.M.S. (Retired) and is being published in monthly instalments. And a contribution to the study of Hindu sociology is in the press under the name of

A Socio-religious Institution of Bengal based on materials supplied by Mr. Haridas Palit, a painstaking research scholar in the field of folklore and Bengali manuscripts. Thus Professor Sarkar is trying to attack the problem from all sides and he has been receiving the co-operation of Professor R. K. Mookerji, the author of *Indian Shipping* and several Pandits well up in Hindu and Buddhistic literature and philosophy. We wish this undertaking all success."

In the *Annual Report of the National Council of Education, Bengal* (Calcutta)* for 1914 the following statement was published about Benoy Sarkar by the Secretaries, Mr. Abdul Rasul, M.A., Bar-at-law, and Mr. Hirendra Nath Datta, M.A., B.L., Attorney-at-law, Calcutta :

"Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, M.A. who was elected last year to one of the Probodh Chandra Basu Mallik Fellowships for researches in Indian History under the terms of S. C. Mallik endowment published a very comprehensive work on the *Positive Background of Hindu Sociology* during the year under report. This work is replete with information regarding the secular and material achievements and developments of Hindu culture and civilisation and is an important contribution to the existing rather meagre literature on the subject. The Professor treats of the data of ancient Indian Geography, Ethnology, Mineralogy, Botany and Zoology and has secured very valuable contributions on the Positive Sciences of the ancient Hindus from Dr. Brajendra Nath Seal, M.A., Ph.D., the King George V. Professor of Philosophy in the Calcutta University, which have very greatly added to the utility of the whole work. Professor Sarkar has been away on an extensive world-tour to study the educational and industrial work of the West and has already published a series of very informing articles on the principal English Universities such as those of Oxford, Cambridge, Edinburgh, Glasgow and the like. He has just completed in England another work on the *Folk-element in Hindu Culture* which is now in the hands of his publishers in the U.S.A."

* Statements from the *Reports* for other years are to be seen in Biren Das-Gupta's contribution, *Supra*, pp. 199-206.

Chapter II

1914-1925

APRIL 1914—SEPTEMBER 1925. TRAVELS AND INVESTIGATIONS ABROAD

1. Devotes 11½ years to first-hand studies bearing on industry, education, literature, art, science and social service in Egypt (1914), England, Scotland and Ireland (1914), the United States of America (1914-15), Hawaii Islands (1915), Japan (1915), Korea and Manchuria (1915), China (1915-16), Japan (1916), U S.A. (1916-20), France (1920-21), Germany (1921-23), Austria (1922-23), Switzerland (1923-24), Italy (1924), Austria and Germany (1924-25) and Italy (1925).

2. Writes an objective series of Bengali books on the economic, cultural as well as social institutions and movements in each country visited under the general title, *Varttaman Jagat* or "Modern World" (nearly 4,500 pages).

3. Is invited by the Royal Asiatic Society, North China Branch, Shanghai (1915), California (1916), Iowa (1916), Columbia (1917), Clark (1917), Pittsburg (1918), Western Reserve (Cleveland), 1918 and other Universities in the U.S.A. (1916-1920) and the Universities of Paris (1921) and Berlin (1922) and delivers courses of lectures before Faculties, students and the general public.

The lectures in France are given in French and in Germany in German.

4. Contributions to *School and Society* (New York 1917), *International Journal of Ethics* (Chicago 1918, 1920), *Political Science Quarterly* (Columbia University 1918, 1919, 1921), *Scientific Monthly* (New York 1919), *American Political Science Review* (1919), *Open Court* (Chicago, 1919), *Journal of International Relations* (Clark University 1919), *Giornale degli Economisti e Rivista di Statistica* (Rome 1920), *Séances et Travaux de l' Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques* (Paris 1921), *Revue de Synthèse Historique* (Paris 1920), *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (Philadelphia, 1921) *Deutsche Rundschau* (Berlin 1922), *Mittcilungen Vereins Deutscher Ingenieure* (Berlin 1924), etc. 30 papers, 1917-1925.

5. Lectures in French at the *Institut de France* on two different occasions:—(1) *Académie des Beax-Arts*, (2) *Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques*, 1921, also at the *Musée Guimet* (Paris) 1921, *Société Asiatique* (Paris) 1921; and in German at the *Deutsche*

Gesellschaft 1914 (Berlin), 1922, *Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft* (Berlin), 1922.

6. One of the contributing editors of the *Journal of International Relations* (published from Clark University, U.S.A.; Chief Editor, G. Stanley Hall), 1919-1922.

*7. Elected *Membre Correspondant de la Société d'Economie Politique de Paris*, 1920.

8. Member, Royal Asiatic Society (North China Branch, Shanghai), 1915, and *Deutsche Morgenländishe Gesellschaft* (Leipzig), 1921.

9. Editor of *Commercial News* (Berlin) 1922-1923, published by the Indo-Europaeische Handelsgesellschaft (Mr. B. N. Das-Gupta).

10 Organizes at the National Gallery, Berlin, 1923 the exhibition of modern Indian water-colours obtained from the Indian Society of Oriental Art, Calcutta.

11. Publishes in the *Collegian* (Calcutta) regular fortnightly newsletters describing the bibliographical, cultural and educational events re. journals, learned societies and savants in Europe, America and Japan, 1919-1924.

12. Contributes papers on art to *Rupam*, the journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, Calcutta, 1922-1925.

13. Contributes numerous articles on post-war world economy and applied economics with special reference to currency, banking, industrialism, agricultural reconstruction, technical education, and economic legislation to the monthlies, weeklies, and dailies of India, 1921-1925.

APRIL 1914—SEPTEMBER 1925.

PUBLICATIONS (IN BOOK FORM)

1. *Egypt* (in Bengali, 210 pages), modern economic and cultural progress, 1914.

2. *Vimsha Shatavdir Kurukshetra* (*The Armageddon of the Twentieth Century*) in Bengali 126 pages, 1914.

3. *Ingrajer Janmabhumi* (*The Homeland of the Briton*) in Bengali, 600 pages, educational institutions, industries and economic movements etc. 1916.

4. *Chinese Religion through Hindu Eyes* (Shanghai, 353 pages), based on the lectures at the Royal Asiatic Society (North China Branch) and the International Institute of Shanghai, 1916.

* For other memberships of learned societies see *Infra*, 1931-39. Other Academic Activities.

5. *Love in Hindu Literature* (Tokyo, 85 pages), a comparative study of Kalidas, Vidyapati, and Tagore, 1916.

6. *The Folk-Element in Hindu Culture* (Longmans Green & Co. London, 332 pages), 1917.

7. *Hindu Achievements in Exact Science* (Longmans Green & Co. New York, 100 pages), 1918.

8. *The Bliss of a Moment* (A book of verse containing 75 poems, Boston), 1918.

9. *Hindu art: Its Humanism and Modernism*, An Introductory Essay (New York), 1920.

10. *The Positive Background of Hindu Sociology*, Vol. II. Political. Part I. (Economic). 126 pages (Panini Office, Allahabad) 1921.

11. *Cheena Sabhyatar a, ā, ka, kha* (*The A.B.C. of Chinese Civilization*) in Bengali, 247 pages, 1922.

12. *The Political Institutions and Theories of the Hindus* (Leipzig, 256 pages) based on lectures in American, French and German Universities, 1922.

13. *The Futurism of Young Asia* (Moslem, Chinese and Hindu) and other essays on the Relations between the East and the West, economic and cultural (Berlin, 410 pages): based on lectures in American, French and German Universities, 1922. In the second edition (Calcutta 1939) this work is known as *The Sociology of Races, Cultures and Human Progress* (Studies in the Relations between Asia and Eur-America).

14. *Die Lebensanchauung des Inders* (Leipzig, 66 pages) based on lectures before the University of Berlin and other German academic institutions as well as articles in German journals, 1923.

15. *The Aesthetics of Young India* (Calcutta 124 pages), comparative art-criticism, 1923.

16. *Yankeestan* (*The United States of America*) in Bengali, 824 pages, a study in the development of modern civilization, 1923.

1917—1923. SARKARISM IN JAPAN AND EUR-AMERICA

Benoy Sarkar's *Chinese Religion through Hindu Eyes* (Shanghai 1916) was described by the *Journal of the Indo-Japanese Association* of Tokyo (April 1917) in the following manner: "Our countryman Mr. Okakura wrote *The Ideals of the East*, which began with the sentence, "Asia is one." But according to him the unity of Asia consisted in the religion, literature, art and philosophy of Buddhism. We have now received a copy of *Chinese Religion*

Through Hindu Eyes by Professor Sarkar of Calcutta. This book is a "study in the tendencies of Asiatic Mentality." The author says that "even without Buddhism Asia would still be one." He has made a parallel study of pre-Buddhist Japan, pre-Buddhist China, and pre-Buddhist India and come to this conclusion: "The unity rests on a common psychology supplying a fundamental basis. It is this psychological groundwork that makes Asiatic Unity a philosophical necessity in spite of ethnological and linguistic diversities." The conclusion is arrived at by comparing, both historically and philosophically, the superstitions, rituals, dogmas, daily practices, moral notions, theological ideas, and philosophical thought associated with Shinto, Confucianism, and the earliest Vedic religion of India. The author claims that this line of investigation is entirely his own original.

Another new idea has been stated and proved in this book. The author has catalogued and compared the Bentens, Jizos, Fudos, and other gods of Japanese Buddhism with the Shivas, Kalis, Saraswatis and other gods worshipped by the Indians of the present day. His conclusion is emphatically worded thus: "What pass for Buddhism to-day in the lands of Confucius and Shinto cult are but varieties of the same faith that is known as Tantric and Pauranic Hinduism in modern Tienchu or Ten-jiku, the land of Sakya the Buddha." "Trans-Himalayan Buddhism is really a euphemism for Shaiva-*cum*-shaktaism." "The Chinese and Japanese Buddhists are Hindus of the Pauranic and Tantric sect." "Neo-Hinduism and Sino-Japanese Buddhism are the same."

The author has drawn his materials from over 100 English books and journals on Japan, China, and India, and his work comprises over 300 pages. He has devoted several chapters to Japan, and we notice that he is familiar with the writings of Professors Takakusu, Anesaki, Suzuki, Kume, Harada, Michizane, Sugawara, Inouye, Nitobe, Marquis Okuma, and other Japanese scholars.

The book is not only a volume on comparative religion but may be useful to those who want to get the Oriental interpretation of Oriental history. And Japanese thinkers who want to be in touch with modern Indian scholarship must read this work, of which every page is full of references to European and Asian authorities.

There are a few interesting phrases in this book which we may call "Indo-Japanese." Thus we see "Hindu Bushido," "Indo-Damashii," "Shinto, the Swadeshi (one's own country) religion of Japan"

etc. The Samurai morality of the Hindus is to be found in the Sanskrit work, *Sukraniti*, translated into English by the author of this book. The "Educational Rescript" of Japan "breathes," according to Mr. Sarkar, "the simple eloquence of the Ten Commandments though there is no mention of God in it." He has also compared "Mutsuhito the Great of Japan" with Asoka the Great of India. Asoka was one of the greatest Emperors whose imperial, international, and missionising activity brought within Hindu sphere of influence the whole of Western Asia, Egypt, and Greece in the third century B.C.

The book is dedicated to three great sages of Mediaeval Asia, of whom one is the national Saint of Japan, Kukai or Kobo Daishi, who, in the words of Mr. Sarkar, "inspired by the example of his illustrious predecessor Prince Shotoku Taishi, devoted himself to Hindu sciences for three years in China and became the first native pioneer to propagate Indo Damashii in the land of the *Kami*, thereby developing in manifold ways its infant civilization."

Sarkar's *Love in Hindu Literature* (Tokyo 1916) evoked the following observations of *Current Opinion* (New York) for April, 1919: "Love between man and woman has always been a theme of Radha-Krishna literature, which has always been regarded as an allegory of the mystical union between God and the soul, and to secularize it is the task of Professor B. K. Sarkar, in a volume called *Love in Hindu Literature* recently published by the Maruzen Company of Japan. His claim is that this singing of the love of man and woman not only as exemplified by the Radha-Krishna literature but through the moderns as well is the distinct gift of India to the culture of the world. With the new humanism has come in the dignity of sex, and it is through Hindu poetry, which has always pictured love in its "naked dignity," that the concept of the value of love will enrich the world. He says: "The love of Radha and Krishna is human love, generally speaking. But it became the conventional symbol also of Love Divine, the attraction between the soul and God in medieval Indian thought, the 'plasm' of *Bhakti* cult. Radha may then be said to have stood for the Beatrice of Hindu Dantes, who began to 'write concerning her what hath not before been written of any w ıan.....But to see one grand allegory of spiritual experience in the whole mass of Radha-Krishna lyrics is more than can be accepted." Professor Sarkar holds that a frank acceptance of sex is preferable to the

usual film of religious and spiritual interpretation which is thrown over much of so-called religious poetry."

The *Literary Digest* of New York (29 September 1917) reviewed Sarkar's *Folk-Element in Hindu Culture* (London 1917) in the following manner:

"The newer method of writing history deals with majorities rather than minorities, with the multitude of the people more than the few leaders. For while the latter often seem to have had their way, the momentum of the masses has influenced the movement of governors and governed. This is especially true of that indefinite thing called "culture," especially if, as in India, 'culture' so nearly spells "religion." The authors of the present volume realize this, and their labour has been to show the influence of popular belief and norms upon the religious practice which have become orthodox or 'regular.' Just as in Greece originally rural festivals give their tone to what became institutions of religion, so in India folk-songs, folk-plays, music and the dance have contributed their quota alongside the authoritative scriptures, and, in the later phases even in these scriptures, to developed religious cults. The start is made with description of the *Gambhira, Gajan, or Nila,* a modern "socio-religious festival" and a tracing of its influence on Shiva-Shakta cult. Then a review is given of popular elements, including ascetic customs, in other sectarian faiths and of Hinduism in Buddhism, and Jainism, even in Indian Mohammedanism. A chapter is given to "Invention of Gods and Goddesses by the People."

"There is, therefore, here presented a study of popular Indian religion which has had its parallels in other countries—Egypt, Babylonia to a lesser degree, and especially in Greece. It breaks ground in an area where the phenomena are so many and so involved as to be bewildering. The accounts of the various celebrations add greatly to the general knowledge of Hindu worship. The result is of especial importance for those who would know the heart of Tantric cult.

"It is a book for the specialist and for him has unique value."

Professor T. W. Rhys Davids while analyzing the contents of this book for the *Manchester Guardian* (18 June 1917) wrote the following lines:

"Professor B. K. Sarkar here adds still another to his voluminous writings on social and educational topics. The book is

really a study of the spring festivals as held, under different names, in several districts in Bengal. It is well known that such festivals often survive a change of religious belief. Our own winter and spring festivals existed as festivals long before they were adopted, and in our opinion beautified, by Christianity. So in Bengal the ancient celebrations changed in character with the changes in population and belief. And it would be an interesting chapter in history to investigate exactly when and where and why the changes took place. Perhaps the most important evidence in this respect would be the actual words of the songs that often mingled with the music and the dance. The author gives four specimens of such songs, unfortunately without being able to assign a date or place to them. They cannot be very old; but modern as they are they contain allusions, both in the doggerel and in the patter, to beliefs that are now no longer held. They are traces of the debased Buddhism that is known from other works to have survived down to the Mohammedan conquests in Bengal, and the author quotes from a Bengali poet, half Buddhist and half Hindu, who flourished as a preacher in the 12th century, opinions very like those that can be traced in verses sung, perhaps in the 14th century, at the festivals."

About the same book the *Scotsman* of Edinburgh wrote in its issue of May 7, 1917 as follows:

"Professor Sarkar's interesting and profoundly learned study of some of the folk-arts, folk-traditions, folk-songs and folk-festivals of Bengal forms a valuable supplement to his prior work, the *Positive Background of Hindu Sociology*, and will be welcomed by all students who wish to be well informed as to what modern scholarship is doing for the reconstruction of Indian history. Based upon evidences derived from an original exploration of oral tradition and folk-lore, and from a numerous body of old manuscripts in the Indian vernaculars collected by Mr. Palit, of the District Council of National Education at Malda, the book studies the relations between Shaiva-*cum*-Shaktaism and Buddhism in Eastern India, and shows how the masses have contributed to the making of Hindu culture no less than the Court and the classes, how the caste system is "most probably a very recent institution;" and how (among other things) Hinduism is an eclectic socio-religious system built up by the assimilation of various elements through successive ages of history. It throws a noteworthy light on the development of the *Gambhira*, a popular form of Shaiva cult in Eastern India,

that has puzzled many observers and investigators, and is an important contribution to the scientific study of Hindu sociology."

Professor A. B. Lamb of Harvard University, the Nobel Prizeman, wrote about Sarkar's *Hindu Achievements in Exact Science* (New York 1918) in the *Journal of the American Chemical Society* (March 1919) as follows:

"The spirit of nationalism is a very potent force to-day. To it, under the name of patriotism, we owe an infinity of brave and noble deeds during the past four years. This small book is also a product of the same spirit; it is an attempt to show within a narrow compass the remarkable scientific and intellectual achievements of Indian peoples upto 1700 A.D. There are chapters on the branches of mathematics from arithmetic to calculus; on physics, astronomy, chemistry, metallurgy, medicine, natural history, etc. Westerners or Eur-Americans, as we are called, can't but be surprised and impressed by the very many important discoveries in which India anticipated Europe by centuries. As a chemist, I was particularly impressed by the record of their achievements in mathematics. One main thesis of the book is that Indian and European culture and attainments are not fundamentally so very different after all, at least if we neglect the last 100 years. "There was hardly any difference between Europe and Asia at the time of the French Revolution (1789). The real and only cause of the parting of ways between the East and the West, nay, between the medieval and the modern, was the discovery of steam, or rather its application to production and transportation. The steam engine effected an industrial revolution during the first three decades of the nineteenth century. It is this revolution which has ushered in the 'modernism' of the modern world in social institutions, science, and philosophy, as well as brought about the supremacy of Eur-America over Asia." Perhaps we are too much inclined to think of Indians only as introspective dreamers, theosophists, and tireless grammarians. It seems that "India was the great industrial power of antiquity. To the Romans of the Imperial epoch, and the Europeans of the Middle Ages, also, the Hindus were noted chiefly as a nation of industrial experts." This record of achievements is so formidable that the reader cannot help but be impressed with the power, originality and subtlety of the Hindu mind."

According to *La Nature* (Paris), *Hindu Achievements in Exact*

Science (New York 1918) is a brochure having for its object the exhibition of chronological links and logical affinities between Hindu science and that of the Greeks, Chinese and the Arabs. The author shows that there was no essential difference between the oriental and the occidental spirit. European readers will find in this book a good survey of ancient and medieval Hindu science such as is very little known to us."

The American literary critic, Miss Agnes Smedley, wrote an article for the *New York Call Magazine* (June 22, 1919) in order to review Sarkar's *Bliss of a Moment* (Boston 1918). The article is reproduced below:

"We in the West are accustomed to thinking of Hindu poetry as mystical, nebulous, essentially spiritual. No other poet, save Tagore, has found his way into our conscience, and he sent to our mind the entire range of Hindu philosophy. It has not occurred to us that India has great living poets, whose works never are translated into English, and that even some of the best of Tagore is unavailable to us; nor that other Indians can have other ideas on, say, love, life and destiny, than those of the immortal author of *Gitanjali*.

"Poetry lends itself more readily to the expression of dreams, desires, sentiments, than to facts. Seldom do poets poetize the hard realities of life, and seldom, indeed, do people look to poetry to read of realities. India is known to us through poetry, and the picture is, therefore, unreal. Yet a modest book of verse, translated from the Bengali, has been recently published by the Poet Lore Company of Boston. The title, *The Bliss of a Moment*, is far from representing the spirit of the verses, and the author and translator, Benoy Kumar Sarkar, is far from representing in any way the ideas or philosophy of Tagore.

"The book is not one of songs, of music, of rhythm, of the dance. It is the voice of revolt, materialism, defiance. It is a challenge to every accepted convention, to every recognized standard of culture and thought, of art, nationality, patriotism. The "bliss" of a moment is, to the poet, the eternal fact of change, conflict, defiance, revolt. It is an unusual concept, but one which is vitalizing, energizing; one which accepts the world of reality, miserable or wretched as it may be; constructs a real-ideal world, for the ideal, to be enduring, must have its basis in reality. This viewpoint is seldom found in verse, and we in America do not

expect to find it in the verse of an Indian. Yet it can be called nothing less than the spirit of young India, of young Asia as well. The author questions and answers:

What is progress but revolt and failure?
The real heroes are those that fail;
Endless existence belongs to that race
That is not deterred by the fear of defeat.

These lines express the futurism of Young Asia. Asia has known much of failure and defeat. But it is now learning to accept the fact of past defeats, and accepting them, to use them as battle cries. 'Question, challenge, and challenge again' is the cry of the poet throughout the pages, thus—

Man that is man is bound to break
And demolish barriers old;
All human blood, no matter whose,
Seeks to challenge the questions closed.

His lines on *The Atlantic in Storm* end thus:

Thou in love with storm, inviting ruin,
Thy waves bombarding the highest decks,
Oh, Atlantic, my companion long,
Aeons thy spirit in me dwells!

The same passionate cry is heard in the lines of *The Sea in Motion*:

Up thy million hands something to grasp,
Watchful inconstant thy myriad eyes.
Full of desires is thy possionate face,
Thy breast surges with bitter griefs and pangs.
Surely, of thy treasure art thou deprived,
Parted from beloved, perchance thou art.
Or what thou seekest eludes even thy grasp.
Is this what maddens thee and stirs thy frame?
It is wants that awaken thy spirit.
Oh, thou beauty in destruction's guise!
Whosoever carries a hungry heart
Must embody the soul of revolt.

The smooth rhythm which is typical of most verse, the searching for novel expression, the unique word, is not to be found in the *The Bliss of a Moment*. The rugged lines, the rugged verse, are wedded to the thoughts of struggle and revolt. Even the poem, *On the Hilltop*, which might well be one of peace and tranquillity, ends thus:

My heart was swelling as I greeted was
With the soft kisses of the ozoned breeze.
And I was spurred by the tall pines that urged:
"Dare the skies, or die a lifeless death!"
Down below, the bluish bay bore its freight
Of little barges such as fishers use.
And I felt I had climbed a height, indeed.
But, alas, the highest was yet to come!

The characteristics of the poet himself and the *motif* of the entire book are found in the closing lines of the poem, *Death*:

Not like a dead animal I would die
Not like one whose heart hides no cosmic heat;
My last testament I would write at death
Myself, to declare the glories of the earth:
'It is energy that is life, its forms
Craving, lordship, love, warfare, defeat;
This ambrosia is not to be had
Except on this earth of mud, trees and stones.
If God there be, and if it be His might
To satisfy man's prayers and demands,
And if death is bound to come, I would pray
For a death full of madness, unrest, life.

"There are 75 poems in this little volume, and they cover every phase of human experience. In these days, when famine and disease have claimed within six months nearly 30,000,000 Indian lives, the mind of Asia is of particular interest. One poem in the volume, entitled *The Creed of Poverty*, in a few lines draws a picture of Indian wretchedness:

Two full meals in one day? That is a tale
Which we all remember the year throughout;
The winter we pass in beds of straw and hay,
And wallow in the mire during the rains.
To see a silver coin in others' hands
Is a matter of good luck in our lives;
And from the streets in fear our children see
How the inside of a school building looks.
Poor I am, not Hindu or Christian;
Poverty is my description complete;
Poor I am, not above the beastline yet;
I am a soulless being, wheresoever born.

"The voice of Young Asia is coming to us more and more distinctly through poetry, art, science, political aspirations. And while it brings to us a picture of wretchedness almost inconceivable, the hopeful element is that it is conscious of its condition, of its status in the world, and that it is only a matter of time until the seething and ever-accumulating thoughts of revolt, as expressed in this little volume, become a reality."

About Sarkar's *Hindu Art: Its Humanism and Modernism* (New York 1920) the monthly *L'Amour de l'Art* (Paris) said (1921): "The author establishes a parallel between the grand tendencies of Hindu art and the aesthetic principles accepted by the Occidentals. He insists not only on the identity but on the universality of artistic inspiration and furnishes convincing examples in support to his thesis."

According to *L'Information* (Paris, 1921) "Monsieur Sarkar denies that there was any spiritual opposition between occidental art and oriental art. The role of mystico-religious inspiration appears to him to be as important in European art of the Middle Ages as in Hindu art. He establishes the points of contact between the great currents of art which traverse the history of the world. This Indian savant gives us a splendid example of realism and intellectual elevation."

The *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (London) wrote in 1922 about Sarkar's *Political Institutions and Theories of the Hindus* (Leipzig 1922) as follows:

"This book is a study in comparative Hindu political constitutions and concepts, the outcome of lectures delivered in American Universities during 1916 to 1918. The author says he has based his views as regards India exclusively on inscriptions, coins, and contemporary reports and has eschewed Sanskrit and Prakrit treatises (which he estimates aright). He deals with the whole subject in two parts, the first sketching the private, municipal, religious and governmental laws and institutions that obtained, and the second expounding political literature and the theories of the constitution of States. He seeks to give a readable account, and this he has done with frequent allusions and much elegant writing."

Writing in the *Scientia* (Milan) Prof. Masson-Oursel of Paris observes as follows: "In this work Sarkar studies comparative politics. He has lived long enough in foreign countries to be able to examine the ideas of his race in the light of those of other

civilisations. It is therefore from a standpoint similar to that of the Westerns that he studies the classics of Hindu politics. His work is therefore all the more easily assimilable. A work like this is welcome because it reveals those aspects of Indian life which are little known to us, even those aspects which most resemble our own social tendencies."

L'Europe Nouvelle (Paris) said (26 August 1922): "It is a work of a remarkable Asian sociologist and studies all the fields comparing the Indian and the European through the ages. The economic and military parallel between the Roman Empire and that of Asoka the Great is surprising." According to *La Renaissance* (Paris): "This mysterious India appears to us with a familiar face, with the same features of all the civilizations which Europe knew until the beginnings of the nineteenth century. Here then we have a thesis which enables us to hope for the organization of the United States of the World in the near future."

Prof. Geiger of Munich wrote in the *Orientalische Literaturzeitung* (Leipzig, 1923) as follows: "Undoubtedly an interesting and stimulating book on account of the richness of its contents The author is obviously quite at home in the historical, economic and historico-philosophical literature of the West. The value of the work lies in the manner in which the author has handled the vast material and thereby certainly prepared the way for future researches."

In the *Frankfurter Zeitung* (1923) Prof. Jolly wrote a long article, part of which is quoted below: "Of a still more general interest is the work of Benoy Kumar Sarkar because the author has not only, as translator of *Sukraniti* from Sanskrit into English, furnished evidence of his knowledge of the special field of Hindu politics but is also a scholar of universal equipment and has made himself well versed in the European literature of constitutional law and political science so that he is in a position to examine the Indian theories of politics from a higher watch-tower. His extensive knowledge of the European culture-languages has enabled him. besides, to deliver lectures on Hindu political institutions and theories in English in the U.S.A., in French at Paris, and in German in Berlin."

The *Deutsche Rundshau* (Berlin) published an appreciation from Professor John Nobel as follows in part: "The researches of Benoy Kumar Sarkar deserve our special study because he has intimate

knowledge not only of the conditions in his own country but also of the political institutions of Western nations. This manysided knowledge enables him to examine the Indian conditions from a higher standpoint as well as to utilize the theoretical and practical teachings of the statesmen of all countries."

About the *Futurism of Young Asia* Professor A. Hillebrandt wrote in *Asia Major* (Leipzig, 1923) as follows:

"The fine volume in which Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar has collected his various essays, reviews, lectures written or delivered on various occasions and republished here (under the 5 headings: the Futurism of Young Asia, Asia and Eur-America, revolutions in China, tendencies in Hindu culture, Young India, and Appendix, Young India in Exact Science) will not fail to attract the interest of Orientalists as well as of politicians who pay attention to the spiritual movements and stirring political questions of the East.

The events of the year 1905 which Professor Sarkar characterizes as the year of the birth of Young Asia, and the still more impressive facts of the Great War against the economical rivalry of Germany, and last but not least, the proclamation of the principle of the right of nations and their self-determination have revolutionised the minds of Young Asia, producing an effect probably unexpected to those, who thought it wise to remodel the European map in a manner betraying more the hatred against competitive Germany than the insight of leading statesmen. They did not, or would not foresee that this principle so eagerly effectuated in Europe from a more political point of view, would equally apply to the once highly cultivated, and now subdued nations of the East. The conflict, says Professor Sarkar, has been potentially at least, a mighty factor toward Asia's advance in the near future. For the war has given Asia the one thing she needed, a complete change in the diplomatic grouping of powers and in the values obtaining in the political psychology of all nations (p. 23).

Young Asia appears now on the stage and puts in a claim to its own rights. It does not understand why the boons granted to Lithuania or Poland should be withheld from peoples of the East who enjoyed a high civilization long before anything like it was dreamed of in the home of their oppressors, and who show even now their capabilities in a way not at all inferior to the European mind. Benoy Sarkar accuses Western scholars of committing three fallacies in the application of the comparative method to the study

of race-questions. In the first place, they do not take the same class of facts. They compare.....the thoughts and activities of the higher intellectual and economic grades of the Occident with those of the illiterates and paupers and half-fed masses of the Orient....., secondly, the Eur-Americans do not apply the same method of interpretation to the data of the Orient as to those of the Occident; .....in the third place,.....they compare the old institutions of the Orient with the latest achievements of the Occident, and they ignore the fact that it is only in very recent times that the same old conditions have disappeared from the West (14ff.).

Young Asia reminds the West that it is no longer willing to believe in the long held-up dogma of the 'superior race' or 'the white man's burden' (p. 18, 287), which he was not invited to take upon his shoulders and might easily throw off on those who think themselves the legitimate heirs and proprietors of the East.

Sarkar has taken up the case of Young Asia and pleads in a most skilful manner. His astonishing acquaintance with the history of European civilization and its most celebrated representatives as well as his familiarity with the modern history of the East render his book fascinating reading, his sense of sarcasm adding to it a peculiar charm, which makes the reading the more attractive. The time, he says, is fast approaching when Europe and America will have to admit that their peoples must not possess greater claims or privileges in Asia than the peoples of Asia can possibly possess within the bounds of Europe and America' (34). He wishes to show that the civic sense and political genius of the Western races are nowhere superior to those of the Hindus, Chinese and Mohammedans (289) and depicts in vivid colours the sad lot of China, which may serve as a model for the fate awaiting a people which because of its inward discord and military unpreparedness despite its soldierlike qualifications falls a prey to the aggressive and egoistic instincts of well-armed nations. To-day, he says, in China every important undertaking of the Government, every work of public utility, the management of post offices, railways, or iron and steel factories is being directed by foreign advisers and experts (243). In international relations, not to have the sinews of war is tantamount to inviting thraldom and submitting to oppression (239). The expulsion of the West from the East is the sole preliminary to the discussion of fundamental peace terms' (25, 303). The book deserves to be strongly

recommended as a sign of the inquietude of the Eastern mind and its awakening. The many names of Indians mentioned in the Appendices, who have won great estimation as scientists, poets, scholars justify the hopes that the author sets on the rising generation and India's future."

Chapter III

1925-1931

SEPTEMBER 1925—MAY 1929. BOOKS PUBLISHED SINCE RETURN TO INDIA

1. *Economic Development: Studies in Applied Economics and World-Economy*. Vol. I. Post-War World-movements in commerce, economic legislation, industrialism and technical education (Madras, 464 pages), based chiefly on French, Italian and German sources, 1926.

2. *The Politics of Boundaries and Tendencies in International Relations*, Calcutta, 340 pages, Vol. I. Analysis of Post-War World-forces, based chiefly on French, Italian, and German sources, 1926.

3. *Parivar, Gosthi O Rastra (Family, Property and State)*: Economic Interpretation of History, Bengali translation from a German book by Engels, 344 pages, 1926.

4 *Hindu Politics in Italian* (Calcutta, 64 pages) based exclusively on untranslated Italian originals, 1926.

5. *Duniyar Abhawa (The Atmosphere of the World)* in Bengali, Studies in Foreign Affairs, 280 pages, 1926.

6. *Hindu Rastrer Gadan (The Morphology of the Hindu State)* in Bengali, a study in comparative politics, 380 pages, 1926

7. *Navin Asiar Janmadata (The Parent of New Asia: Japan)* in Bengali, 500 pages, economic, political as well as cultural institutions of to-day 1927.

8. *The Positive Background of Hindu Sociology*, Vol. II. Political, Part II. (150 pages), Panini Office, Allahabad 1927.

9. *Greetings to Young India*: Messages of cultural and social reconstruction, Part I. (Calcutta 182 pages) 1927.

10. *Dhana-daulater Rupantar (The Transformation of Wealth)*, Bengali translation from a French work by Lafargue (226 pages), 1928.

11. *Varttaman Yuger Chin Samrajya (The Chinese Empire To-day)* in Bengali (445 pages), economic, cultural and political, 1928.

12. *The Political Philosophies Since* 1905 (Madras, 410 pages), American, British, French, German, Italian, Russian as well as Asian. Based substantially on untranslated original documents, 1928.

13. *The Post-Graduate University at Calcutta*: An objective study (Calcutta, 136 pages), 1929.

14. *Comparative Pedagogics in relation to Public Finance and National Wealth* (Calcutta 133 pages), 1929.

15. *Shipping and Railway Policies in Economic Legislation* a brochure, Calcutta, 1926.

16. *The Law and the Cultivator*: *The Example of France*, a brochure, Calcutta, 1926.

17. *Types and Tendencies in American Banking*, a brochure, Calcutta, 1927.

18. *Trusts and Rationalization*: *Aspects of the New Industrial Revolution*, a brochure, Calcutta, 1927.

1926—May 1929. Other Academic Activities

1. Founds and edits *Arthik Unnati* (Journal of Economics, theoretical and applied), a monthly in Bengali, 1926; Edits the *Journal of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce*, a quarterly in English, 1926.

2. Contributes papers to *Rupam*, the journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, Calcutta, and is interviewed on art exhibitions 1926-1929.

3. Edits *Indian Industry and Commerce*, a monthly journal of technology and economics published by the Indo-Swiss Trading Co. Ltd., Calcutta. 1929.

4. Takes part in the discussions of the Indian Economic Conference, Calcutta (1926-1927), Indian Industrial and Commercial Congress, Calcutta (1927), etc.

5. Presides over the District and Provincial Conferences of Bengali teachers, students and young men as well as over conferences of ministerial officers, bank-organizers etc., e.g., at Darjeeling (May, 1926), Maju, Howrah (April 1927), Santipur, Nadia (April 1927), Shillong, Assam (June 1927), Dacca (August, 1927).

6. Delivers public lectures on economic problems under the auspices of the National Council of Education (1925-1926), Bengal Technical Institute (1926, 1927), Rotary Club (1926), Bengal National Chamber of Commerce (1927), Kashi Vidyapitha (Benares), 1928 etc.

7. Offers advice and suggestions to insurance promoters, bankers, exporters and importers, landowners, as well as proprietors and managers of industrial concerns as honorary consulting economist, 1926-1929.

8. Is invited to contribute industrial and commercial articles to, and in response writes for, the special numbers of the *Bombay Chronicle, Bombay Samachar, Indian Review* (Madras), *Searchlight* (Patna), *Calcutta Municipal Gazette, Forward, Amrita Bazar Patrika, Ananda Bazar, Atmashakti, Banglar Katha* etc., likewise reviews economic literature in German for the *Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv* (Kiel) on invitation from the editor.

9. Helps persons intending to proceed to foreign countries for higher education or business with directions as to the choice of studies, educational centres, industrial regions etc.

10. Participates in the administration of Bengal Technical Institute as a member of the governing bodies and as Hony. Rector.

11. Establishes formally the *Bangiya Dhana-Vijnan Parishat* (Bengali Institute of Economics), October 1928, and directs the researches of half a dozen M.A., B.L.'s in different branches of economic inquiry.

12. Accepts a position offered by the Calcutta University in the Post-Graduate Departments of Economics and Commerce, 1926.

*13. Gets public addresses at Bengal Technical Institute, Jadabpur, Calcutta (December 1925) and at *Bangiya Sahitya Parishat* (Bengali Academy of Literature), April 1927.

MAY 1929—OCTOBER 1931. SECOND PERIOD OF TRAVELS IN EUROPE

1. Visits Europe for the second time: Italy, Switzerland, France, England, Germany, Czechoslovakia and Austria.

2. Investigates the recent industrial and commercial transformations with special reference to rationalization, bank-technique, insurance legislation, and agricultural credit as well as the Institutes of Economic Research.

3. Makes a special study of the methods and achievements of the League of Nations, International Labour Office and the International Institute of the Scientific Management of Labour at Geneva (October 1929—February, 1930).

* For other public receptions see *Infra*, 1931-39. Other Academic Activities.

4. Delivers lectures, in French, at the University of Geneva and the *Institut National Genevois* (November 1929 and January 1930).

5. Delivers lectures, in Italian, at the Università Bocconi of Milan and at the Royal University of Padua (February 1930).

6. Accepts for two semesters (March 1930-February 1931) a *Gastprofessur* i.e. Visiting Professorship at the *Technische Hochschule* (Technological University) of Munich offered by the Bavarian Ministry of Education on the nomination of the *Deutsche Akademie* (Munich). The lectures, which are delivered in German, are 39 during the summer semester and 49 during the winter semester.

7. Delivers lectures, in German, at the Universities of Jena, Eucken-Bund (May 1930), Kiel (May 1930), Stuttgart (Tech.), Nov. 1930, Berlin (Agri.), Nov. 1930, Innsbruck (Nov. 1930), Karlsruhe (Tech.), Dec. 1930, Nürnberg (Com.), (Dec., 1930), Würzburg, (January 1931), Leipzig (February 1931) and Dresden (Tech.), July 1931, as well as at the Chambers of Commerce of Bielefeld (January 1931), Soligen (February 1931), Augsburg (March 1931), etc. and at Radio-Wien of Vienna (October 1930).

8. Lectures, in Italian, at the University of Rome (March, 1931).

9. As a President of the Economic Section attends the International Congress of Population at Rome (September 1931) and presents a paper in Italian.

The reports of these travels are available in English in the following papers by Prof. Sarkar published in the *Journal of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce*:

1. The Geneva Complex in World-Economy, June 1931.
2. Contacts with Economic Italy, June and December 1931.
3. Industrial Centres and Economic Institutions in Germany, September 1931.

MAY 1929—OCTOBER 1931. PUBLICATIONS

1. *Ekaler Dhana-Daulat O Artha-Shastra* (The Wealth and Economics of Our Own Times), Vol. I. The Forms of New Wealth (Calcutta, 1930), 440 pages.

2. *Switzerland*, in Bengali (Calcutta 1930), 75 pages.

3. Aspects économiques et politiques de la civilisation hindoue (*Revue de Synthèse Historique*, Paris, June 1930).

4. Three papers in Italian in *Annali di Economia* (Milan 1930) and *Commercio* (Rome, June 1931).

5. *I Quozienti di Natalità, di Mortalità e di Aumento naturale nell'India attuale nel quadro della demografia comparata* Rome 1931.

6. Sixteen papers in German in the *Deutsche Rundschau* (Berlin 1930), *Wirtschaftliche Nachrichten* (Vienna, 1930), *Berichte über Landwirtschaft* (Berlin, 1931), *Neumanns Zeitschrift für Versicherungswesen* (Berlin, 1931), *Bankwissenschaft* (Berlin 1931), *Geopolitik* (Berlin 1931), *Maschinenbau* (Berlin, 1931), *Allgemeines Statistisches Archiv* (Jena, 1931), *Kölner Vierteljahrshefte fuer Soziologie* (Cologne, 1931) and other journals.

1926-1931. Sarkarism at Home and Abroad

The first volume of *Economic Development* (Madras 1926) was reviewed by Professor Hashagen of Bonn University in the *Technik und Wirtschaft* of Berlin (September 1929) in the following manner:

"The book lying before us, a most highly substantial work of the well-known Indian scholar, pursues the practical aim of precisely studying the post-war economic phenomena of Europe in order to utilize them for a more or less similar future of India in economic fields on account of which Indian data have been placed in the midst of European developments from time to time. The material for this industriously prepared survey consists partly of numerous printed sources of varied character, partly also of oral information which the author has untiringly collected from businessmen and experts during his travels since 1920 in France, Germany, Austria, Northern Italy and Switzerland. The forty-six chapters, conceived with a view to furnish general surveys and clearly written as well as rich in dependable material for reference, are praiseworthy because they present us with a really many-sided picture of the post-war developments in different branches of economic life, and this in many respects is much more than what the somewhat simple title would lead us to infer. A more intimate acquaintance with this carefully designed and painted picture would be of considerable use even to critical European theorists and practical men whose demands are more extensive. The technical side of latest developments also has been plentifully exhibited. In regard to this item as well as other parts of the book the author has laid under contribution plenty of German writings."

About the same book Professor Patrick Geddes of Edinburgh wrote in the *Sociological Review* of London (1928) as follows:

"This book is of interest to us Westerns on its own merits of extensive knowledge of us; as well as for its presentment of Indian outlooks beyond those commonly current. To the general student of economics this treatment should be suggestive; indeed at its best it is exemplary. With all descriptive concreteness there are large and bold generalizations and frequent passages of social criticism and interpretation."

The book was described by the *Bombay Chronicle* in 1927 as follows: "The author rightly maintains that the problem of Indian poverty is a question of unemployment on a large scale. We are in full agreement with the author's diagnosis of the disease and we approve of the prescription suggested. Professor Sarkar divides the population of India into eight groups and discusses with great ability the methods of increasing their respective incomes. He makes very valuable and useful suggestions. We congratulate Mr. Sarkar on attempting a rough sketch of the programme."

The Hindu of Madras made the following observations in 1926: "The book is a mine of information in regard to the economic revolution, in some cases proclaimed, in others silent, that is going on in the world at large today both in economic ideas and in economic practice. It deals with many aspects of applied economics in many countries—France, Germany, Italy, Denmark, the Balkans, Austria. The experiments in Bolshevik Russia do not escape attention. The survey of the industrial and agricultural conditions is in some cases topical rather than regional. This is the case especially with the small holdings movement in many European countries, the nature of the problems it has raised and the difficulties and the principles of the legislation connected with it. Not a few of the chapters deal with modern systems of banking and currency, chiefly the latter. Industrial research, industrial insurance, post-war public finance are specially studied."

The American Journal of International Law wrote about Sarkar's *Politics of Boundaries and Tendencies in International Relations*, Vol. I (1926) as follows: "The best part is the discussion of developing nationalism in Europe and Asia, the attempt to make coincident the territorial, justice state with the national economic, "spiritual" state. There are suggestive comparisons between political units like India and China with a loose congeries like the Holy Roman Empire rather than with the compact states of Western Europe.

To him Turkey is an encouraging example of a people choosing to be a small really national state in preference to a wide heterogeneous empire. Of the Islamic world and struggling nationalism since 1919 the author thinks we have much likeness to the church-state of Europe in Reformation times....The book is a well-tempered treatment of the limited topics to which it is confined."

According to the *Servant of India* (Poona), "Readers who are interested in recent history and to whom the volumes of Prof. Toynbee are not readily available will distinctly profit by a study of Prof. Sarkar's work. Prof. Sarkar appears in his true role as a political philosopher and student of social institutions in the admirable introduction to his present book, with a penetrating grasp of all that happened in post-war Europe."

In the opinion of the *Modern Review* (Calcutta), "this work suggests points of view startlingly new to the Indian reader. Mr. Sarkar is the one Indian who has studied international relations, especially in their economic aspect, at first hand in France, Germany and Italy, and has his own original contributions to make. As against the romantic Mazzinian cult of the nation with unity of language, race and culture Prof. Sarkar presents the realistic and positive theory of the state."

Sarkar's *Greetings to Young India*, Vol. I. (Calcutta, 1927) was reviewed by *United India and Indian States* (Delhi) as follows: "This book contains his views on various questions, mainly economical, formed as a result of first hand study of conditions in the European countries, in Egypt, China and Japan, another on the Currency Report, still another on the Indian Mercantile Marine, and speaks out frankly that India must for some time play the second fiddle. It is to be welcomed as thought-provoking contribution."

The observations of *Forward* (Calcutta) were the following: "His appreciation of industrialism, his advocacy of the eighteen-pence Rupee, his sympathy with Empire Development Schemes, all these might be a a rude stimulus to Young India's brain. His writings wake us up to the stern actualities of the world. Prof. Sarkar's study marks a welcome departure from the narrow hide-bound vision which has blinded the majority of Indians."

In the *Zeitschrift fuer Geopolitik* (Berlin 1930) Professor Karl Haushofer's observation about Sarkar's *Political Philosophies Since* 1905 Vol. I (Madras 1928) were the following: "The book is surely to be appreciated by many because of its excellent review of

Young Asia's intellectual life and its interpretations of Western political philosophy. It exhibits the spiritual currents and attitudes underlying the regeneration of monsoon-lands, a fundamental analysis such as can be obtained only from the declarations of great Asian leaders as Sun Yat-sen was and Sarkar is and especially in regard to China through impartial and yet understanding Indian eyes. A complete man fully equipped with all preparatory work and qualified not only to see, touch and compile but also to penetrate, to examine and to feel stays behind the work."

The book was described by Professor Ernest Barker of the Universities of Oxford, London and Cambridge, President of the British Institute of Sociology as follows (June 6, 1929): "I look forward to using it in my reading and my lectures at Cambridge. Professor Fairlie (U.S.A.) and I agreed that the book would be of genuine service to students in directing their attention to the scope of literature in our subject during the last quarter of a century." On December 12, 1929 Barker wrote again: "I have been using your work. I have found it singularly useful. What amazes me is the way in which you have kept abreast of all the most recent literature and sought to master its contents. You have put all who are interested in political philosophy under a great debt and I am glad to acknowledge myself, as I do most sincerely, your grateful debtor."

The Journal of Indian History (Vol. IX. Part I.) wrote as follows: "The author has brought to bear all the resources of his scholarship in a variety of European languages. He has tried with success to be just to the views he expounds. He has attempted to make the thoughts of the period he is specially interested in intelligible in the light of their earlier history. His attempts to mark off the stages in each period are interesting."

Chapter IV

1931-1939

OCTOBER 1931—OCTOBER 1939. PUBLICATIONS: BOOKS AND PAPERS IN FOREIGN JOURNALS

(Articles in Indian journals are not enumerated)

1. *Naya Banglar Goda-Pattan* (The Fundations of New Bengal, Economic and Social, Calcutta, 1932.

Vol. I. Theoretical, 530 pages.

Vol. II. Practical, 450 pages.

2. *Swadeshi Andolana O Samrakshana-Niti* (The Indigenous Industry Movement and the Policy of Protection), translation from Frederick List's *Das Nationale System der Politischen Oekonomie* (Calcutta, 1932), 230 pages.

3. *Economic Development: Studies in Applied Economics and World-Economy.*

Vol. II. Comparative Industrialism and its Equations with special reference to Economic India (Calcutta, 1932), 330 pages 9 charts. For Vol. I. see 1930, *Supra.*

4. *Parise Dash Mas* (Ten Months in Paris), Calcutta 1932, 312 pages. Seven illustrations.

5. *Italite Bar Kayek* (Several Times in Italy) Calcutta, 1932, 302 pages. Four illustrations.

6. *Comparative Birth, Death and Growth Rates*: A Study in the Vital Statistics of the Nine Indian Provinces in the Back-Ground of Eur-America and Japan 1932. Folio 36 pages (of two columns each). Nine Charts.

7. *Indian Currency and Reserve Bank Problems* (Calcutta 1933, 1934), 94 pages. Fourteen charts.

8. *Badtir Pathe Bangali* (Bengalis in Progress, Economic and Social), Calcutta, 1934, 636 pages. Fortyfive portraits.

9. *Imperial Preference vis-à-vis World-Economy* in relation to the International Trade and National Economy of India (Calcutta 1934), 172 pages. 15 charts.

10. *Ekaler Dhana-daulat O Arthashastra* (The Wealth and Economics of Our Own Times). Vol. II. *The New Foundations of Economics* (Calcutta, 1935), 710 pages. Fortyfour portraits. For Vol. I. see 1930, *Supra.*

11. *Parajita Jarmani* (Germany under Defeat), Calcutta, 1935, 707 pages. 94 Illustrations.

12. Japanese Expansion through Bengali Eyes (*Oriental Economist,* Tokyo, July, 1936).

13. La Sociographie hindoue aux débuts du capitalisme moderne (*Revue Internationale de Sociologie* Paris, November-December 1936).

14. *Social Insurance Legislation and Statistics,* A study in the Labour Economics and Business Organization of Neo-capitalism (Calcutta 1936). 470 pages. Nine Charts, Two portraits.

15. *The Might of Man in the Social Philosophy of Ramakrishna and Vivekananda* (Madras, 1936). 28 pages. Two portraits.

16. Neuorientierungen in Optimum und wirtschaftlicher Leistungsfähigkeit (*Bevölkerungsfragen* Munich, 1936).

17. *I Dati Secolari e Sociologici nella Letteratura Buddistica Pali* (International Congress of Orientalists, Rome, 1936).

18. *The Sociology of Population* with special reference to optimum, standard of living and progress. A Study in societal relativities (Calcutta 1936) 144 pages. Six charts.

19. *India's Advances in Industrialism during the Period of the Depression*, a brochure, Calcutta, 1936.

20 *The Theory of Wages in the Light of Social Insurance and Public Finance*, a brochure, Calcutta, 1936.

21. *The Sociology of Crimes and Punishments*, a brochure, Calcutta, 1937.

22. *Religious Categories as Universal Expressions of Creative Personality*, a brochure, Calcutta 1937.

23. Le Métabolisme social (*Revue de Synthèse*, Paris, February 1937).

24. Die Soziologischen Wechesebeziehungen der demographischen Dichte (*Archiv für Bevölkerungswissenschaft*, Leipzig, April 1937).

25. *The Social Philosophy of Masaryk* (Calcutta, 1937), a brochure.

26. *Creative India* (Lahore, 1937), 725 pages.

27. Social Metabolism in its Bearings on Progress (*Social Forces*, Chapel Hill, N.C., U.S.A., December 1937).

28. *The Positive Background of Hindu Sociology* (Second Edition in three volumes). Vol. I. *Introduction to Hindu Positivism* (Allahabad 1937) 770 pages.

29. *Banglay Dhana-Vijnan* (Economics in Bengali) Vol. I. Calcutta, 1937, 750 pages, 6 portraits (edited by Professor Sarkar in co-operation with 20 writers).

30. *India in Exact Science Old and New*, a brochure, Calcutta, 1937.

31. *The Problem of Correlation between Exchange Rates and Exports*, a brochure, Calcutta, 1937.

32 *La Situation démographique de l'Inde actuelle vis-à-vis les récoltes, les industries et les capitax* (Paris 1938).

33. *Les Equations de la Mobilité Sociale* (Paris 1938).

34. *The New Foundations of French Social Economy* (Calcutta, 1938), a brochure.

35. *The Politics of Boundaries and Tendencies in International Relations*. Vol. I. Analysis of Post-War World-Forces, Second Edition (Calcutta, 1938), 350 pages.

36. *Greetings to Young India*: Messages of Cultural and Social Reconstruction. Part I. Second Edition (Calcutta, 1938) 200 pages.

37. Geopolitik von Indien aus gesehen (*Geopolitik*, Heidelberg, October 1938).

38. *Samaj-Vijnan* (Sociology), Vol. I. (Calcutta 1938). 600 pages. Edited by Professor Sarkar in co-operation with 13 writers.

39. *La Morphologie sociale des villes et des villages. Etude statistique internationale* (Bucharest 1939).

40. "India and the West" translated into Polish for the *Wiadomosci Literackie* (Warsaw, 1939).

41. *The Political Institutions and Theories of the Hindus*, second edition (Calcutta, 1939), 270 pages.

42. Prinzipien der Geopolitik mit Anwendung an indisches Volk (*Zeitschrift für Geopolitik*, Heidelberg, September 1939).

43. *The Sociology of Races, Cultures and Human Progress* (Calcutta 1939), second edition of *The Futurism of Young Asia* (Berlin 1922), 410 pages.

44. *Banglay Dhana-Vijnan* (Economics in Bengali), Vol. II (Calcutta 1939), 600 pages (edited by Professor Sarkar in co-operation with 19 writers).

Oct. 1931—Oct. 1939. Other Academic Activities

1. Organizes in Calcutta the George Washington birth bicentenary (February 1932), the Goethe death centenary (March 1932), the Dhondo Keshava Karve Eightyfirst birthday (April, 1938), celebrations.

2. Establishes the *"Antarjatik Banga" Parishat* ("International Bengal" Institute), 1931, *Bangiya Jarman Vidya Samsad* (Bengali Society of German Culture), 1931, *"Kalikatay Maldaha" Samiti* ("Malda in Calcutta" Society), 1933, *Maldaha Jatiya Siksha Samiti* (District Council of National Education Malda) on new foundations, 1934, *Bangiya Samaj Vijnan Parishat* (Bengali Institute of Sociology), 1937, *Bangiya Asia Parishat* (Bengali Asia Academy), 1938, and *Bangiya Dante Sabha* (Bengali Dante Society), 1938, and directs in an honorary capacity the researches and publications of some three dozen well-qualified Hony. Research Fellows in connec-

tion with these Institutes as well as the *Bangiya Dhana-Vijnan Parishat* (Bengali Institute of Economics), est. 1926-1928.*

3. Opens the Industrial Exhibitions organized by the All-Bengal Provincial Conference at Berhampore (December 1931) and by the District Board of Chittagong (February 1936), delivers the inaugural address at the Indian Insurance Companies Agents' Conference, Calcutta (April, 1933), presides over the opening of a Branch of the Bengal Central Bank Ltd. at Pabna (October 1937), opens the Art Exhibition of the Government School of Arts, Calcutta (December 1937), inaugurates the foundation of a new generating set of the Electric Supply Co. Ltd. at Jalpaiguri (March 1938), opens the Calcutta Branch of the Sylhet Industrial Bank Ltd. (June 1939), opens the University Tutorial College, Calcutta (October 1939).

4. Contributes monthly reports on world-economy and modern sociological thought to the *Calcutta Review* (Journal of the Calcutta University) since 1927; Edits the *Indian Commercial and Statistical Review*, Calcutta, 1934; Elected Correspondent, *American Sociological Review*, 1936; Collaborator, *Revue Internationale de Sociologie* (Paris), 1937.

5. Contributes papers to the *Indian Journal of Economics* (Allahabad, 1934, 1936, 1937, 1938, 1939), *Indian Historical Quarterly* (Calcutta, 1934, 1936, 1937, 1938), *Indian Culture* (Calcutta, 1937, 1938), *Mahabodhi* (Calcutta 1937, 1938), *Arthik Unnati* or *Economic* Progress (Calcutta, 1926-1939), *Prabuddha Bharata* or Awakened India in English (Calcutta, 1932, 1934, 1936-1939), *Mysore Economic Journal* (1937), *Hindustan Review* (Patna, 1936, 1937), *Indian Review* (Madras, 1937), *Mayurbhanj Chronicle* (1935, 1936, 1937), *Science and Culture* (1939).

6. Contributes papers to the International Congress of Sociology, Brussels (1935), Paris (1937), and Bucharest (1939) in French, the International Congress of Population, Berlin (1935), in German, and Paris (1937) in French, the International Congress of Orientalists, Rome (1935), in Italian, the conference for the celebration of Hobbes's 350th birthday at Kiel (1938) in German.

7. Presides over and delivers lectures at a large number of economic, social, educational, library, religious and physical culture conferences, meetings or institutes in and out of Calcutta, e.g. at

* See Dr. R. Ahmed's "Research Institutes of Benoy Sarkar," *Supra*, pp 371-405.

Berhampore, Murshidabad (December 1931), Kushtia, Nadia (February 1932), Malda (Sept. 1932, June 1936), Chandernagore (April 1933), Mymensingh (September, 1933), Howrah (October 1933), Jhenidah, Jessore (May 1935), Andul, Howrah (March 1936), Rangoon, Burma (April, 1936), Midnapore (May, 1936), Rajsahi (October, 1936), Lahore, Punjab (October, 1936), Karachi, Sind (November 1936), Delhi (November 1936), Pabna (October 1937), Diamond Harbour, Twenty-four Parganas (January, 1938), Jalpaiguri (March, 1938), Khalna, Howrah (March, 1938), Jalkhura, Twenty-four Parganas (April 1938), Krishnagar (September 1938), Gauhati, Assam (September 1938), Deoghur, Bihar (October 1938), Andul, Howrah (October 1938), Basirhat, 24 Pargs. (March 1939), Uluberia, Howrah (May 1939), Asansol, Burdwan (July 1939), Howrah (October 1939), Nangi, 24 Parganas (October 1939).

8. Interviews and observations published in the Indian dailies and weeklies on questions relating to the labour movement (1931), world-economic depression (1931, 1932), tariff policy (1932, 1933), exchange ratio (1933, 1934), unemployment (1936), public finance (1936), art exhibitions (1931-1938), jute situation (1939), progress planning (1939), etc.

9. President, Folk-section of the Taltala Literary Conference at Calcutta (1933), People's Literary Conference at Mymensingh (1933), Economic Section of the Taltala Literary Conference at Calcutta (1934), Vice-President, International Congress of Population, Berlin (1935), President, Sociological Section of the First Indian Population Conference, Lucknow (1936), Ramakrishna Centenary Convention of Religions at Rangoon (1936), Malda (1936) and Karachi (1936), Secretary, International Parliament of Religions (Ramakrishna Centenary), Calcutta (1937), Vice-President, International Congress of Population, Paris (1937), President, Positive Sciences Section of the Second Indian Culture Conference, Calcutta (1937), President, Bengali (Domiciled) Students' Conference (Gauhati, Assam), 1938, Opener, History Congress at Scottish Churches College, Calcutta (1939), President, All-Bengal Students' Literary Conference, Economic Section, Calcutta (1939).

*10. Gets public addresses at Kushtia, Nadia (February, 1932), Malda (September, 1932), Tarun Mandir, Calcutta (September, 1935), Chittagong (February, 1936), Andul, Howrah (March, 1936),

* For public receptions see *Supra*, 1926—1929.

Rangoon (April, 1936), Rajsahi (October, 1936), Pabna (October, 1937), Jalpaiguri (March, 1938), and Gauhati (September, 1938).

11. Obtains the Hony. Doctorate in Geography (*Decteur en Géographie honoris causa*) from the *Academia Asiatica* of Teheran (Iran) as well as the *Ehrenzeichen* or decoration of the *Deutsche Akademie* (Munich) on the occasion of his completing the fiftieth year on December 26, 1937.

12. Obtains the distinction of the *Cavaliere dell 'Ordine della Corona d'Italia* (Cavalier of the Order of the Crown of Italy), 1939; elected Vice-President, *Fédération Internationale des Corps Savants de Recherches* (Teheran), 1939

†13. Member, Academy of Fine Arts, Indian Museum, Calcutta, 1933, Indian Economic Association, 1935, Royal Economic Society (London), 1935, *Institut International de Sociologie* (Paris), 1935, American Sociological Society, 1935, Rotary Club, Calcutta, 1937, Indian Institute of International Affairs (affiliated to the Chatham House Institute, London), 1939, *Institut International des Sciences Economiques* (Paris), 1939, *Philosophia* (England), 1939, Indian Political Science Association, 1939, Indian Penal Reform League, 1939.

14. Elected Hony. Member, *Comitato Italiano per lo Studio dei Problemi della Popolazione* (Rome), 1932, Bengal National Chamber of Commerce (Calcutta), 1933, *Indischer Ausschuss der Deutschen Akademie* (Munich), 1933, *Institut Oriental* (Prague), 1937, *Fédération Internationale des Corps Savants de Recherches* (Teheran), 1937, *Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente* (Rome), 1938, *Hobbes-Gesellschaft* (Kiel), 1938, *Komisja Orientalistyczna* (Warsaw), 1938.

15. Lectures (since 1926) at the Calcutta University Post-Graduate Department on modern British economic history, contemporary political theories, applied sociology with reference to population, poverty, public health, punishment, pedagogics etc., and contemporary economic developments in Czechoslovakia (and the Balkans), France, Germany, Italy, Japan, and Russia; as well as at the College of Engineering and Technology, Jadabpur, Calcutta (Hony. Professor since 1907) on banks and bank administration.

† For other memberships of learned societies see *Supra*, 1914—1925. Travels and Investigations Abroad, p. 416.

1933-39 SARKARISM IN CONTEMPORARY WORLD-THOUGHT

To understand Sarkarism in all its phases it would be necessary to be acquainted with the views of several European and American writers who have sometimes extensively studied his writings and reviewed his works.* The purpose will be best served if we simply reproduce one of the many reviews and remarks representing the trend of analysis by the Western writers. Let us quote from *Ethics* (the International Journal of Ethics), Chicago (July 1938) a rievew of Sarkar's *Creative India* (1937) by Professor Kurt F. Leidecker of Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, New York.

"Here is a different voice that speaks to us in the West who are still accustomed to time events in India by years of the gods, which an Emerson used to experience yet in the drowsiness of a summer noontide." Thus begins Prof. Leidecker in his estimate of *Creative India* and goes on as follows: "No longer the language of non-political other-worldlyism,' not a word of apology, and no pompous prophecy; instead a brilliant acclaim of a great and glorious past and a staunch faith in the forces now stirring or still pent up. Perhaps for the first time has the subject been presented in such a readable, Western garb which makes us almost forget that India lies in Asia.

"From a deep well of knowledge, a versatility without surrender of accuracy, and an astonishing familiarity with up-to-the-minute American, English, French, German and Italian sources, often cited in the original, Professor Sarkar has written a most delightful work. It is a gift to charm with scholarship, and it is eminently possessed by our author, the internationally known economist and sociologist of Calcutta University. Being a scientist, he is aware of the difficulties of a radical re-orientation, re-interpretation and sometimes even transvaluation of a voluminous material ranging from metaphysics

* For the reactions to Sarkar's ideas in the European and American journals see S. C Dutt: *Conflicting Tendencies in Indian Economic Thought* (Calcutta, 1934), Appendix I, pp. 131-133 and Appendix II, pp. 194-195. During the last quarter of a century extensive summaries and detailed reviews of Sarkar's works have been published in the scientific press of the Western world. It has been possible to reproduce, make extracts from or refer to a few of them. Some of them may be seen in Major B. D. Basu's Preface to Sarkar's *Political Philosophies Since 1905*, Vol I (Madras 1928) and Dr. L. M. Bausu's Preface to his *Introduction to Hindu Positivism* (Allahabad, 1937).

to maternity hospitals. Not only would we be the poorer, if he had not put his case so vigorously, but indologists and students of the East who are progressive have long felt the lamentable insufficiency of viewing India merely under the aegis of such slogans as mysticism, religion and caste. Idola do not fall without a crash. Though the fragments will mar the solid floor—who would leave the idols ensconced?

"The pallor is taken from Indian philosophy. With rosy cheeks she appears as an activism in the *Bhagavad Gita* and seeks her equal. If pessimism in Buddhism cannot be altogether denied, why should it colour, however, our whole view of Indian mentality any more than Job's or Schopenhauer's our own? We too would be puzzled, would we not, if English literature were treated as a purely denominational phenomenon from Roman paganism to Christian Science. Our author shows that an anti-Hegelian spirit, speaking retrospectively, was rampant at all times in India, that positivism and downright materialism were flourishing amid what a onesided indology pictured as a society of non-industrial, non-political, airy speculators. Such there were, of course, but now as then and here as there they needed the bakers of bread.

"Professor Sarkar undertakes putting Hindu culture back on the main track by telling how discussions ranged from "the tamarind to the pole-star" and "human passion and activity from sex to salvation." He refuses to see differences in mentality, "ideals," *Weltanschauungen* or so-called race-genius between Hindu and Eur-American. Three Hindu ideas or traditional cults, as he says, are presented to the startled reader: *saktiyoga* (energism), *charaiveti* (march on), and *digvijaya* (world-conquest), all giving testimony to *l'exuberance de vitalité* of Hindu energism. Their dynamism is then traced through Hindu history from the Mohenjo Daro culture to neo-Vedantic positivism. Typically modern is always put in quotation marks to indicate that much of western history has its prototype in India, such as social mobility, horizontal and vertical, practically all features of economic, political and social life and institutions, from city-planning to hospitals and taxes. The parting of the ways from East and West really came only with the discovery of the power of steam.

"However, Asia, we are assured, has "never been reconciled to the cultural and other backwardness in which she finds herself *vis-à-vis* Eur-America in recent generations." Particularly in India

one has done something about it. "The spirit of modern India is the spirit of constructive protest and assimilative challenge" (p. 413), so that everybody who is anybody there is a fighter against some social obscurantism, whether Hindu or Moslem, some alien chauvinism, some vassalage in art, some industrial thraldom, or some subjection in scientific, sociological, economic and philosophical theory" (p. 415).

"Interesting are the socio-philosophical and economico-technocratic equations on pp. 533 ff. They show how India is "catching up" with the West, lagging behind the best countries only a generation or two. The "tonic of machinery" and production of the *Produktionsmittel* are beginning to function. The time-old martial and social forces in the land of India are awaking to new life. Religion becomes the handmaid to worldly progress (p. 347), Kali, the patron goddess of energists, exerts her powers. Worship of Durga becomes or is worship of the Motherland. The poets sing of "progress of the world through revolutions," having for generations made the masses "ever expectant for a change in the *status quo* (p. 305). Symptomatic of modernism is that "hardly any institution, organization, or movement" to-day is exclusively masculine. An aggressiveness and patriotism (geopolitic in Haushofer's sense, "linguistic" and even *Machtpolitik*) is however, balanced by "the Carnegie spirit." Intensely nationalistic, this "youngster nation" with its Gandhi complex, its Tata, "the *avatar* of industrialism and technocratic efficiency," and the "ideas of 1905" which spell national development in education, science and social fields, is also swayed by the world-spirit in literature and outlook, endeavouring to march *with* the West. She wants to be known as a "colleague of the other creative members of the world system." Proud of her Rammohun Roy, India's Adam Smith, her Tilak, "the Goethe of Poona," her Vivekananda, the positive and constructive counterpart of Nietzsche, her Rabindranath Tagore, "a Dante Refaelising," and so many others, she presents a singular spectacle that brings to naught indeed "hemispheroidal generalizations" reared on erroneous premises.

"What impresses us most is the assurance that Young India is really one in endeavour. The renaissance has caught up all, Mussulman and Hindu, and whether they are writing Bengali, Hindi, Marathi, Urdu, Tamil or Telugu, they have one progressive tendency: Greater India, greater in the sense of alleviating social ills

or creating a national life on a par with Western achievements, as well as in the sense in which India has figured again and again historically as the teacher of Asia.

"To become truly appreciative of "hydra-headed creative India" it is necessary to put oneself under the guidance of Pandit Sarkar." Thus concludes Leidecker's estimate.

A French estimate of *Creative India* is to be seen in the review by Professor Carcassonne published in the *Revue Internationale de Sociologie* (Paris, January-February, 1938). In English the estimate is in part as follows:

"Doubly valuable in the interest of India as well as of truth will be the standpoint of the author. He invites us to place the things in a larger and truer perspective. While furnishing us with plenty of facts he renews even the physiognomy of those whom we thought we knew. We must have to modify from now on our scale, and if one may also venture to say, our chart of human values, no longer imagine India as immobile but understand that her history like that of all the great peoples is made up of alternate phases of conquest and stagnation, of generous magnificent contributions as well as of occasional borrowings. Nobody is more qualified to tell us that by the side of her great mystics or often in their persons India has produced her scholars, artists and men of action, that the most diverse political institutions were acclimatized on her soil, and finally, that the knowledge and domination of Nature made there as much progress as in any other region of the civilised world. The author is a representative of modern India, an economist and a sociologist who while practising the methods of occidental science has known how to enrich and not to deny the moral patrimony of his nation. The author does not ignore the grand monuments of literature and religious philosophy such as are generally known to be the creations of India. He is specially interested in supplementing them with the evidences of a more temporal and secular activity."

Sir Edward D. Maclagan writes in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (London) for April 1938 as follows: "There is little that escapes the notice of the writer whether it be in literature, art, science, sociology, philosophy or modern politics, and the book displays a very wide range of interest and a great facility of diction based on the most modern standards. Students who wish to see the claims of India to influence and to progress set forth and

championed in full detail will find much to interest them in these pages."

Writing about Sarkar's *Introduction to Hindu Positivism* (Allahabad, 1937, Pages 770) Jean Herbert, French translator of the works of Ramakrishna, Vivekananda and Aurobindo, and editor of the *Great Spiritual Masters of Contemporary India Series* in French says the following in the monthly *Action et Pensée* (Paris, September 1938):

"The author, Dr. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, wellknown in all the countries of Europe as one of the best representatives of modern Indian thought in the fields of sociology and education is a veritably encyclopaedic spirit. His work in Bengali and English as well as in French, German and Italian, is immense and concerns itself with the most diverse subjects and from the most diverse viewpoints. In the preface to the present work the publisher, Dr. L. M. Basu, has indicated the author's four declarations of faith, namely, the *Creed of Life* (1914), the *Postulates of Young India* (1916), the *Programme of Economic Planning* (1925), and the *Scheme of National Welfare* (1932). These texts, solid and heavy in sense, exhibit the spirit of the author and help us as a conductor through the book.

"This is perhaps the most important work of B. K. Sarkar. Attention may be drawn to the special features. The author has presented an admirable explanation of the relations, often so mysterious for us, between the classical philosophy of India and the problems of the modern society. We should simply observe that if the Westerners wish to understand best the thought of modern India in sociology it is absolutely impossible to pass this work by. We wish to add also that if the author promenades so comfortably in the social history of some five millenniums he does it in the full consciousness of all the most modern doctrines of the Occident and elsewhere. Let us hope that translations into French, German and Italian will soon bring this monumental volume of capital importance to the knowledge of those who cannot read it in English."

The economic aspects of Sarkarism have called forth the following remarks of Professor Vergottini while reviewing Sarkar's *Applied Economics* (known later as *Economic Development Vol. II.* (1932, 1938) in *La Vita Economica Italiana* (Rome) for October 1933:

"This is the first volume of a series of studies which the author intends to carry on diverse economic problems (business organiza-

tion, finance and technique). The present volume contains six studies on the following subjects: (1) principles of control relating to foreign insurance companies, (2) the reorganization of the *Reichsbank* and the *Banque de France*, (3) the bank capitalism of Young Bengal, (4) the railway industry and commerce of India in international railway statistics, (5) traces of rationalization in Indian industrial enterprises, (6) the world-crisis in its bearings on the regions of the second and the first industrial revolutions."

"Seeing that the author is an Indian, the studies relating to India, especially, the last four chapters possess a special importance. The chief aim of the author consists in continually comparing the development and the condition of the varied economic phenomena of India with those of European states. These comparisons are calculated in relative economic indices per inhabitant and per territory.

In the study entitled the "Bank Capitalism of Young Bengal" a large part is given over to a rapid examination of the banking systems of principal European countries. Such an examination enables the author to calculate his equations relating to banking. The equations yield, first, the territorial index numbers, and then the year in which the same phenomena of certain European states correspond to the present condition of India. The author finds, for instance, that the average bank wealth of India per head in 1932 is equal to that of Germany in 1860-70, of Italy and Japan in 1900-05, and of the Balkan states in 1925-32.

"The most plentiful in comparison with other countries and often interesting is also the study on railway industry and commerce by which the author calculates the relative equations for India.

"A different character from these two studies presents the one on rationalization in which the author describes and examines the various fields of Indian economic life. He brings into relief the influence exercised by the War on rationalization in India.

In the last chapter the author examines the characteristics of the world-economic depression on the basis of principal indices.

"The work of Sarkar has the merit of making some important economic problems of India known from the Indian standpoint."

The same book has been described by Professor Wehrle in the *Weltwirtschftliches Archiv* (Jena) for October (1933) as follows:

"Special significance is attached to the method of quantitative comparisons which Sarkar designates as 'comparative industrialism' or 'comparative capitalism.'

"Of the wide field of applied economics the most varied parts have been discussed in these chapters. Common to them all is the comparison of India with other countries and the tendency to draw the necessary conclusions for India from these comparisons, in order that India may be enabled to rise to the next higher stage of economic development.

"In the first chapter are discussed the laws of Germany, France, Italy, a number of Balkan states, etc. controlling the activities of foreign insurance companies. The author invites attention to the foreign legislation in order that the Indian Insurance Companies Act may be modified in some important points.

"The most important pioneers of central and note banks, namely, Great Britain, Germany and France have been studied in the second chapter. Of universal interest is, further, the exhibition of the development and present condition of Indian banking with a large amount of figures as well as of the role of foreign banking in India. The banking system of many countries is described in detail with especial reference to historical growth in each. In one of his equations we find that every Italian possesses 1·7 times as much bank deposit as every Bengali.

"Many readers will learn for the first time the fact that India is one of the greatest railway regions of the world. According to some of Sarkar's railway equations, France = 6·3 India, Germany = 4·8 India, India = 6·8 China or 9·5 Persia. In historical statistics India (1925) = Germany between 1850 and 1860 or = Italy between 1860 and 1870.

"According to Sarkar the Indian economy admits of rationalization in every form, but he is conscious of the limitations that arise out of the actual conditions of industry. The examples he has cited from the textile industry, railway, iron and steel enterprise, the hydro-electric and chemical industries, as well as from agriculture furnish valuable insight into Indian economic life.

"In the chapter on the world-crisis Sarkar brings the conclusions together. Great Britain, Germany and other countries can recover if they can expand their markets, and this can happen only when the purchasing power of agricultural regions is restored. These latter are described as the "youngsters' in economic develop-

ment. They are again not only dependent on the expansion of exports of their agricultural produce. But they are themselves getting industrialized and even industrializing their agriculture. Besides India, there is a large number of countries belonging to this complex which exhibits the stage of the 'first industrial revolution.' The old industrial countries will have to undertake a reorganization in the line of export of specialized industries as well as reagrarization in a certain sense. In this manner is described the complex of the 'second industrial revolution.'

"The work furnishes plenty of well worked-out Indian economic statistics. The statistics of other countries cited by the author are specially interesting because of the comparative method introduced. Certainly the economic equations calculated by Sarkar give a clear picture of India's economic position in the perspective of the countries compared with."

The *Polish Bulletin of Oriental Studies* (Warsaw) Vol. II. (1938) describes *Samaj-Vijnan* (Sociology) Vol. I. (1938) edited by Sarkar with contributions from himself as well as from his colleagues in the following words:

"Professor Sarkar and his eminent collaborators are at least not hazy about their own 'Bengaliness.' Judging by the speedy rise of a nation numbering at least fifty millions and the miracles done by this spiritually virile race in all branches of thought during the last hundred and fifty years this standpoint should be hailed as a healthy one. *Samaj-Vijnan* is a scientific exposition of this thesis. To one acquainted with *Adhyapak* Benoy Sarkar's countless works and articles this orientation is fairly known. It is one of hope and faith in the past, present and future of the Bengali and Indian people. That the Bengali and Indian mind is rapidly finding its balance to-day by discarding its namby-pamby 'spirituosity' and realizing its true physico-spiritual self is in a large measure due to the teaching of this modern Bengali *mantradrasta.*"

In the *American Sociological Review* for April 1939 Dr. R. Clyde White of the University of Chicago writes about Sarkar's *Social Insurance* (Calcutta, 1936) as follows:

"From a theoretical viewpoint Sarkar's work is more interesting than the usual book on social insurance in general. Neo-capitalism results from the process of integration of management, machines, labour and society, says Sarkar. It is a technique for spreading national income as a supplement to earned income

but it occurs in extensive form only in those countries with strong labour organization."

About Sarkar's *Sociology of Races, Cultures and Human Progress* (1939), the *Mysore Economic Journal* for September 1939 says: "The encyclopaedic knowledge of Dr. Sarkar is seen here to great advantage. The entire volume bears the impress of the man, its author. His experiences and investigations form its basis and his ideas are of the constructive ideologist."

In the *Servant of India* (Poona) for June 8, 1939, Mr. K. E. Matthew describes Sarkar's *Politics of Boundaries* (second edition 1938) as follows: "The essays are marked by a correct appreciation of the principal trends at work and effort has been made throughout to direct attention to the essential inter-relation of the apparently divergent forces animating recent political leadership in the more important countries of Europe and Asia."

The same work is described in *Forward Bloc* (Calcutta, October 7, 1939), the political weekly edited by Subhas Bose, ex-President, Indian National Congress, as follows:

"Professor Sarkar's exposition has a practical significance and a pragmatic value in the formation not only of states, but what is of more importance, of a federated world-order. As the book was written almost a decade and a half ago, it contains many predictions some of which have become facts. The accuracy of the analysis of the events from 1919-1925 based on the current data which the book contains, gives adequate food for reflection. Hence follows the most important conclusion which is vital for India. 'If the state be a voluntary partnership, considerations of race, language, religion, etc. are robbed of any special significance. For, the sole consideration would be the deliberate and conscious agreement of the members of the corporation."

The *Hindustan Review* (Patna) of July 1939 describes Sarkar's *Introduction to Hindu Positivism* (1937) as follows:

"This comprehensive presentation of the Hindu socio-cultural data, and the application of a correct methodology for their elucidation and interpretation are sure to react forcefully on the vigorous growth of a new ideology discernible in the country."

In September 1939 *Prabuddha Bharata* (Calcutta) says as follows about Sarkar's *Greetings to Young India* (second edition, 1938). "They reveal a truly remarkable foresight on the author's

part with regard to the direction that the Indian movement in its different aspects took in subsequent years."

The same number of the above journal describes Sarkar's *Economic Development* Vol II. (1938) as follows:

"Special significance attaches to the distinction he draws between the regions of the first and second industrial revolutions, for a firm grasp of the relationship between these two regions will help to expose the fallacy of citing and emulating the contemporary development of the great powers of today while formulating schemes of economic and societal reconstruction for India in reference to the near future, without realizing the essentially primitive condition of the industrialization such as has been achieved up till now."

About Sarkar's *Economic Development* Vol. II. (1938) *Commerce* (Bombay) of 24 June 1939 says as follows:

"Being the outcome at once of a genuine search for determining the exact economic status of India and of an ardent desire to suggest a correct economic policy for India, the book is of the utmost topical importance to-day when vigorous arrangements are going on for a nation-wide economic planning for India.

Chapter V

Works about Prof. Sarkar

1910-1914

1. Attorney-at-Law Hirendra Nath Datta's Preface to Sarkar's *Siksha-Vijnaner Bhumika* (Introduction to the Science of Education), Calcutta, 1910.

2. Prof. Benoyendra Nath Sen's Preface to Sarkar's *Prachin Griser Jatiya Siksha* (National Education in Ancient Greece), Calcutta 1910.

3. Prof. Dr. Brajendra Nath Seal's Preface to Sarkar's *Aids to General Culture Series*, Calcutta, 1910.

4. Principal Ramendra Sundar Trivedi's Preface to Sarkar's *Aitihasik Pravandha* (Historical Essays), Calcutta, 1912.

5. Judge Barada Charan Mitra's Preface to Sarkar's *Siksha-Samalochana* (Educational Observations), Calcutta, 1912.

6. Akshay Chandra Sarkar's Preface to Sarkar's *Sadhana* or Strivings (National and Cultural Problems), Calcutta, 1912.

7. Major B. D. Basu's Preface to Sarkar's *Introduction to the Science of Education* (London, 1913).

1926-1939

1. Messrs. N. M. Ray-Chowdhury & Co's Preface to Sarkar's *Greetings to Young India*, Part I. (Calcutta, 1927, 1938).

2. Major B. D. Basu's Preface to Sarkar's *Political Philosophies Since 1905* (Madras, 1928).

3. Messrs. Chuckervertty Chatterjee & Co's Preface to Sarkar's *Naya Banglar Goda Pattan* (The Foundations of New Bengal) 2 vols., Calcutta, 1932.

4. Shib Chandra Dutt: *Fundamental Problems and Leading Ideas in the Works of Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar*, a brochure, Calcutta, 1932.

5. Advocate Pankaj Kumar Mukherjee; *The Economic Services of Zemindars to the Peasants and the Public as analyzed by Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar*, Calcutta, 1934.

6. Prof. Banesvar Dass's Preface to Sarkar's *Badtir Pathe Bangali* (Bengalis in Progress), Calcutta, 1934.

7. Shib Chandra Dutt: *Conflicting Tendencies in Indian Economic Thought*, a detailed study of Sarkar's contributions, Calcutta, 1934.

8. Dr. Lalit Mohan Basu's Preface to Sarkar's *Introduction to Hindu Positivism*, Allahabad, 1937.

9. Professor Subodh Krishna Ghoshal: "Sarkarism," four articles in *Forward*, Calcutta, 10-31 October 1938; available as a book, Calcutta, 1939.

10. Professor Sachindra Nath Dutt: *The Population Studies of Benoy Sarkar*, a brochure, Calcutta, 1939.

11. Shib Chandra Dutt and Manmatha Nah Sarkar: *Samajchintay Benoy Sarkar*, "Benoy Sarkar in Social Thought," an article in *Sonar Bangla* (Dacca), October 1939.

APPENDIX VII.

National Education and the Bengali Nation*

By Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar

[Editorial Note: In this Appendix is reproduced the first English writing of Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar.]

The agitation-period of our educational movement is now over. As a fruit of it we have the National Council of Education, Bengal, which has held its first public examinations in the second week of July. It is now time for every man of Bengal to maintain and promote its growth in any way he can—for the moneyed people to encourage it with scholarships and endowments,—for the guardians and parents to send their boys up to it, and for the students to keep up the feelings that inspired them during the days of excitement. For, the permanence and progress of the Council can depend only on the active co-operation and the silent and steady work of all classes of the community. The following considerations would show why at the present day it is absolutely necessary that every body should in his own way work for the success of the Council.

The Bread-problem Solved

The maintenance of the body and the soul together is gradually becoming more and more expensive and burdensome. But government service and the liberal professions are the only sources of income which the educated classes can think of. They cannot even dream of other means of earning one's bread than treading over the beaten paths. As a rule nobody willingly deserts one or other of these and tries to make out a new path for himself; and as a consequence livelihood is becoming more and more difficult to earn; and innumerable families are insufficiently fed and clothed. These

* First published in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (Calcutta) on July 31, 1906. It was based on the author's original Bengali paper entitled *Banglar Jatiya Siksha Parishat O Banga Samaj* (The National Council of Education, Bengal and the Bengali Society) published first in the *Maldaha Samachar* (Malda) and in the Bengali weeklies of Calcutta See *Samaj-Vijnan* (Sociology), Vol. I. edited by Benoy Sarkar (Calcutta 1938), pages 536-556.

circumstances, the inadequate supply of the ordinary material wants of life, food and raiments, can be remedied only if new sources of income be opened up to men's eyes. It is this pressing need of the country—the discovery of new paths of earning livelihood—that the National Council of Education seeks to supply by its system of technical and professional education. It would train boys for industrial, commercial and agricultural, in addition to the educational, medical and other careers. And it would devote its energies specially to qualify them for developing the natural resources of the country by scientific and technical methods and increasing its national wealth.

Hence is it that the guardians and parents of every district should educate their boys under the National Council. This course of action does not involve any sacrifice of their personal interest; for while it adds to the national wealth it does not leave their private pockets empty. But, of course, those who have established themselves as lawyers of high repute and those who have other interests vested in the education of the Calcutta University may find it rather unwise to send their boys for education under the National Council. For by this step they would be but imprudently giving up the special advantages which would accrue to them from the Calcutta University education. But even such men ought to consider that it is not really prudential to follow one's immediate interests which affect only one self, but that real interests are those that are beneficial in the long run and to the whole community, and that self-interest is really best served when immediate and personal considerations are sacrificed to future and public, i.e. national ones. Therefore, since such bright prospects of general and private national welfare are held out by the National Education Scheme and since at present even the ordinary wants of life cannot be supplied adequately by the education imparted by the Calcutta University, it should be the interest of all classes to educate their boys "along national lines and under national control," as devised by the National Council. This should apply to those who have no fixed sources of income and even to those whose present prospects are not very dark.

The Swadeshi Movement and the Persecution of Students

It is still living in the memory of every Bengali that the students of Rangpore, Madaripore, Dacca, and other places were compelled to leave the Government institutions and established national schools

of their own because of the persecution by the authorities who were bent on forcing them to give up their noble vow of serving the mother-country. The students preferred no education to such humiliating and demoralising treatment as was to be dealt to them in the Government schools; and so to keep up their vow and at any cost to serve their country they decided upon the step of cutting off all connections with the Government University. Is it not now the duty of every Bengali to actively sympathise with them, those first martyrs for the national cause, that vanguard of sacrifice for Mother Bengal—by willingly giving consent to his sons to join that band and participate in their fate and by pronouncing *ashirvads* on their future career? With what heart can any man think of leaving that band of patriots to their own fate and of wishing for his own son a pleadership or a Deputy Magistrateship? There is certainly no such man in Bengal and if such there be he is certainly not a man of flesh and blood with the human feelings of sympathy and love. Bengal expects that every true-born son of hers should willingly send his own boys and induce his friends to send theirs to join the College which is under the same control as the national schools founded by those martyrs. Can any man at this national crisis think of his own vested interests, of the personal losses he would have to incur by wilfully neglecting the opportunities at his command? Such men as have immediate personal and worldly interests in the education of the Calcutta University ought to remember that some of these boys also who might have equal prospects here had given them up in view of more permanent and national interests. What lessons have we learnt from, and what good is there in, conducting the *Swadeshi* movement, if we desert a part of our community, some sections of the *Swadeshi* Volunteers and do not join them because by doing so we would have to sacrifice a little of our own private interests? If our humanity be narrowed down to such low views of personal welfare, if our hearts do not weep at the distress of a section of the community joined together for the furtherance of the same common interests we had better give up the *Swadeshi* movement altogether than keep up a show of patriotism and public-spiritedness.

The Partition of Bengal and National Unity

But besides these considerations of material prosperity and sense of self-respect there are other reasons for which every Bengali

ought to send his sons to the Bengal National College and School. The sentiments of nationality and love for the mother-country, the ideas of unity and corporate social life are, as a consequence of the *Swadeshi* movement, nowadays in the air of Bengal. That in spite of the Partition of Bengal, the Bengalis are one, forming one nation, having the same ideals and looking forward to the same future is the sentiment that pervades all classes of the Bengali people. And in order that this feeling may permanently take possession of their hearts, in order that this national sentiment may for ever continue to animate and guide them in all their thoughts and actions, the leaders have established this Council, where the students of Eastern Bengal and Western Bengal, of the old and new Bengals (and whatever other Bengals may for administrative purposes be created) would receive the same instructions, would have their character moulded according to the same traditions, and would continue to live for ever in the same intellectual, moral and social atmosphere. Those, therefore, who know that unity is strength and that brotherly feelings must at any cost be preserved between the people of the several parts of the same community, would certainly send up their boys for education under this unifying system and control. This is the most effective means of nullifying the effects of the forced separation. No Bengali ought, under these circumstances, to have doubts about the stability of the National Council.

Everybody ought to remember that national welfare and the success of a public cause depends only on the whole-hearted and active support of the entire community, and that it is on every individual shoulder that the responsibility lies. If the *Swadeshi* movement with its bright prospects of national prosperity is to succeed, every individual, however mean he be and insignificant the means at his command, must exert himself with all his heart. If the National Council with its objects of unifying and federating the dismembered province is to succeed, every man likewise must work for it in anyway he can, the rich people by helping it with money, the educated by offering service to it, the guardians and parents by sending their boys to it, and the students in their capacity of learners by prosecuting their studies under it. What man can under these circumstances calculate the chances of his private loss and gain and determine his conduct accordingly? If any such man there be, he is certainly an enemy to the country; for he thus tacitly believes that disunion is no weakness and that there is no need for trying

to unite Bengal by our own efforts. Therefore since national unity is to be preserved at any cost, every Bengali student, Hindu or Mussalman, with the consent of his family should venture to march along the new path of our national salvation, and not be deterred by the fear of personal difficulties, and move forward boldly, believing that it is the divine command that he is going to fulfil and without caring if the movement is to be crowned with success or if others are following him.

HIGHER AND LIBERAL EDUCATION IMPERILLED

The results of the examinations under the Government University for the last few years have made it evident to the public that they have nothing to hope for from the education under it. Not less than ten thousand students appear annually in all the examinations but not more than three thousand get passed. What is to become of the remaining seven thousand? Their failures are due not so much to want of parts as to the cumbrous system of education and examination. And what prospects have they at present? They can neither join one or other of the liberal professions nor enter the Government services. Is it now the duty of parents to tell their own boys, if they be clever enough to pass, to try somehow to get through? Or should they devise other means by which the generality of student community can derive benefit? Again, we ought to consider that the full effects of the Education Commission of Lord Curzon have not yet begun to be felt. Its results would be not only a rise in the cost of education and hence discouragement of education to a large number of students, but also the gradual diminution in the number of successful candidates owing to the encumbrance of unnecessary difficulties and unimportant details and the necessity of attaining proficiency in a multiplicity of subjects. What is then to be done? Are the boys of our country to remain illiterate and half-educated? Is it not the duty of every Bengali to try from now to prevent that national calamity—general ignorance and illiteracy—by all means at his command? This is not surely the time for looking to one's own interests. The time is now come when every body should sacrifice his immediate and personal interests for the furtherance of future and public ones.

These are the occasional reasons for joining the National Council. But besides these temporary and removable grievances there are grounds more deep and permanent which necessitate the

whole-hearted and active support of all our countrymen to the Naional Council of Education. Even if the material wants of human existence were adequately supplied by the education of the Government University and the country presented an aspect of flourishing condition and national prosperity, the reasons for the establishment of a National Educational Council would not cease. Even if the students were not persecuted, or those persecuted students were now cordially welcome into their respective schools; even if there were no Partition of Bengal, and if at present the Partition were withdrawn; even if a larger number of students passed in the examinations of the Calcutta University, and if now easier methods were introduced even then the need of a National University would be felt in Bengal. Every nation on the earth's surface feels that need for national education. The Bengalis also have been feeling it. It is now the time when they should rise to the height of the occasion and strain every nerve to supply it.

National Individuality and National Character

The men and women of Bengal constitute a distinct nationality, separate from the other peoples of the world. The Bengali people has its own language, own literature, own history, own character, own ideals, own traditions and own civilization. But in the official schools and colleges of Bengal there is no dignity attached to the Bengali language and Bengali literature. Nothing about Bengali culture, character, traditions etc. is to be found in these institutions. Every nation on the surface of the earth tries to maintain its individuality and distinctiveness. In order to maintain and further that national individuality and national character arrangements are made by every nation in its teaching and examination systems. But do the Bengali students get any chance to learn anything in the schools of Bengal through their mother tongue, the Bengali language? Is it possible for Bengali students to get familiar with the writings of Indian authors about Indian history, philosophy etc.? Have any Indian scholars been able to enjoy reputation by writing books about Indian culture etc. under the system as established by the Government Universities? Can the students or Professors of the Government Universities get information about national glory in regard to India's historical and philosophical evolution? As soon as one begins to ask and answer these

questions one finds that the Government Universities of India are not of the same type and ideals as the Universities among the other peoples of the world. There is no arrangement for awakening national self-consciousness or promoting national glory in the atmosphere of the official University of Bengal. Even until a short time ago the men and women of Bengal were not very alert to these defects and shortcomings of the educational system. But at the present moment the consciousness of the Bengali people in regard to such needs and wants has been awakened in a special manner.

The leaders of the Bengali people have established the National Council of Education with the object of imparting the highest education through the medium of the Bengali language. One of the principal aims of this Council is to make such arrangements as enable the students to direct special attention to Indian literature, philosophy, history and civilization. With this object in view the Council has, on the one hand, made arrangements for researches through Sanskrit and Pali. The claims of Arabic and Persian also have been duly recognized. On the other hand, one of the specialities of the National Council is to be seen in the facilities for the creation of interest in Hindi, Marathi and other modern Indian languages. The object of teaching Hindi and Marathi is to develop the students' knowledge about the medieval and modern conditions of the whole of India. From all sides it would be possible for Bengali youths under the National Education system to be self-conscious about the national individuality and national character. National character cannot be built up, in reality genuine men cannot grow up in those schools and colleges which do not have provisions for the spread of education in regard to national ideals. Judged by this standard the official schools, colleges and Universities of India are bound to get plucked. The National Council of Education has succeeded in drawing the attention of the Bengali people to the national individuality and distinctiveness by following the example of the Universities of the other countries of the world which seek to create real men and build up personalities.

Consequently, it is not necessary to explain afresh as to why the men and women of Bengal will be encouraged to send their sons to the Bengal National College and School. A Bengali National University is wanted for the Bengali nation. This is the fundamental principle of the Bengali educational revolution. The Bengali nation has established the National Council of Education with the object of

increasing the love for national language, literature, history and philosophy, promoting the national ideals, building up the national character, awakening the sense of pride in the nation's past and spreading hopes about the nation's future. It would be insulting the national welfare of the Bengali people if one were to attempt comparing this Council with the Government Universities in India.

SWARAJ AND INDEPENDENCE

There remains another very important consideration which must also be mentioned. The National Council of Education is the very first institution of *Swaraj* established by the people of Bengal. Nowadays the men and women of Bengal are very eager to win *Swaraj*. The ambition to rule their country independently has been occupying the chief place in their hearts. This National Council, as the instiution that lies outside the Government University and educational system and is entirely controlled by the people of the country, is the embodiment of that independence and self-government. In every thing that the Bengalis will do to strengthen and develop this institution they will taste something of the enjoyment of *swaraj*. Along with this strengthening and development the Bengali nation will gradually advance along the path of *swaraj*, self-government and self-direction. As a consequence we can all feel hopeful that the true sons of Mother Bengal will all combine to increase the *swaraj* aptitudes of the Bengali society and nation by sending their wards to the Bengal National College and School as students.

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APPENDIX VIII

The National Council of Education—and the National School at Malda—in Bengal*

By Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar

INTRODUCTORY

The history of the National Education Movement furnishes proofs of the new capacity for organised self-help and co-operation which has begun to manifest itself as an element of the Indian character. The Council of Education that has been established is quite independent of the Government and is exclusively under national control. Its constitution is thus wholly novel and unique in India as it has sedulously eschewed all foreign help and is wholly managed by indigenous capital and labour. The Council is only an infant institution but during the one year of its existence it has made its influence felt. The Bengal National College at Calcutta is under its immediate supervision and holds out an example of teaching and organisation to the districts in the mofussil. In spite of the absence of propagandism and missionary work on the part of the members of the Council owing to pressure of work at the centre, there have been founded over twenty schools in the course of the last twelve months such as at Rangpore, Dacca, Comilla, Dinajpore, Kishorgunje (Mymensingh), Magura (Jessore), Mymensingh, Chandpore (Comilla), Noakhali, Giridih, Sylhet, Majpara (Dacca), Jalpaiguri, Bogra (two schools), Khulna, Kamargram (Jessore), Baniachang (Sylhet), Malda and a few other places.

Eastern Bengal has no doubt taken the lead in this respect; but Western Bengal is not far too behind and has already given birth to two or three very promising institutions. Some three or four of these daughter-schools have arrangements, literary, scientific as well as technical, only up to the primary standard; but most of them

* *The Dawn and the Dawn Society's Magazine* (Calcutta, August, 1907) edited by Satis Chandra Mukherjee, Founder of the Dawn Society.

This paper of Sarkar's was the subject of an editorial article by Aurobindo Ghosh in the daily *Bande Mataram* (Calcutta, August 1907) and an editorial appreciation by Bipin Chandra Pal in the *New India* weekly (Calcutta, September, 1907).

are fully equipped for all the classes up to the Fifth Standard of the Council (corresponding to the Matriculation Standard of the Government University). Thus the National Council of Education has during this very short term of its life grown into a big workshop for the training of youngmen who are to work towards the realisation of their common national ideal. The district and the village schools are so many feeders of the central institution; in fact, the whole system may be looked upon as a kind of educational *swaraj* (self-government) with local and central divisions.

Sources of Income

A study of the manner in which the schools are managed, and the sources of income (besides the fees received from students) by which the necessary expenses are met will show how far we have advanced in the development of this capacity for joint work for common purposes. Almost all the schools are not established by the Council, but are the result of local efforts, although some of them receive considerable aid from the Council. They, generally speaking, are supported in one and the same way, being dependent on monthly contributions and having no endowments of their own, the Council endowments amounting to over ten lakhs being exclusively utilised for the Model College and School in Calcutta. Generally speaking, the financial story of one school is the financial story for all. But the most highly national of these national institutions, as will be presently seen, is the one at Malda which is a small district town in he north-western portion of United Bengal.

There in January last a National School was started with arrangements only for primary education In the meantime the influence of external circumstances and of examples presented by other districts worked upon the public mind so effectively that it was deemed necessary to make arrangements for secondary education also. That the feeling of the local public is highly in favour of the new type of education will be evident from the fact that the National Education Fund at Malda is fed and supported by contributions from all classes of people.

The items of collection are, at present, five in number, and have the eminent advantage of not proving such a burden as the people would like to shake off; and the system of collection is suited to the convenience of payers who would gladly contribute their share without the least pressure from the collectors:

(1) The first source of income is the contribution from the members of the higher independent professions. The pleaders, muktears, contractors and other independent classes are expected to pay each month their respective income for one day only.

(2) The next source is the monthly payments received from the industrial and mercantile classes. All shop-keepers and retail-dealers, silk and cloth merchants, goldsmiths and brass-smiths, stationers, money-lenders and brokers etc. have agreed to contribute their quota according to their 'ability to pay'. Some of these shop-keepers have in meeting assembled by agreement among themselves imposed an "*Iswar-vritti*" (gifts to God) on all wholesale purchases. They have fixed a graduated scale of rates according to the amount of purchases made.

(3) The third source is the contributions paid all at once or in regular monthly or quarterly instalments by students and young men. They have determined to limit the necessaries of life to only substantial and nourishing fare, and as for clothing to a *dhoti* (cloth) and an *urani* or *chadar* (sheet) and to give up the wearing of shirts and shoes. The savings thus effected are considerable in amount.

(4) The next source is the "*Musti-bhiksha*" (alms in handfuls). This arrangement though the simplest is yet the most potent channel feeding the Educational Fund. The whole town has been divided into localities or wards according to the convenience of the collectors, who instruct the householders of their respective wards to keep in a separate pot a handful of rice abstracted from the amount taken to be cooked. The withdrawal of rice from the amount set apart from both the morning and the evening meals does not cause any sensible want in joint families of the Indian type. But while nobody feels pinched or taxed and no confusion is noticed, the amount collected is enormous. Earthen pots upon which are written the words, "*Bande Mataram*", are given by the collector to each family and every Sunday morning students, both adult and young, go from door to door collecting the "*bhiksha*" (alms) of the week and carrying it to a central place on their own shoulders. No time is lost, the work occupies not more than two hours, and there is no danger of interference with the regular studies of the boys.

(5) The most peculiar of these sources is the payment in coins by every householder of the town. All householders from one end of the town to the other are asked to pay something towards the expenses of the institution. The rate is not fixed, it may be even

a half-pice, but the point to be noted is that it must be monthly and regular. Some of these householders desire to pay in the true spirit of charity, by not allowing the left hand know what the right hand does. They do not want to publish their names—but none the less the amount derived from these friends of our cause is substantial.

The above are the five sources of monthly income upon which the school depends at present. Fresh sources are proposed to be utilised during the course of the year. Thus, (a) something may be daily collected from passengers landing at the local steamer *ghat* (landing); (b) arrangements may be made for collecting something from clients in every suit through the pleaders; (c) arrangements may also be made by keeping a box in places where people regularly throng together to transact business, e.g., big firms and shops &c., so that the authorities may invite the attention of the customers or the audience to the purpose for which the box has been kept there.

Besides these monthly contributions there is also a fund which is fed by donations only. The initial expenses, the library and laboratory requirements, buildings &c. and other occasional but necessary expenses are to be met from this source. These donations are collected on all occasions of public or social festivities—marriages, *sraddhas* (offerings to the manes of ancestors), *upanayana* (sacred thread) ceremonies—in fact, whenever there is an entertainment which involves the expenditure of money. The rate of collection is of course proportionate to the amount spent by the householder. The Zamindars and other moneyed classes are usually laid under contribution for the benefit of the Fund.

Special Features of these Sources of Income

(*a*) The regular monthly contributions occupy the position of an education-cess in this scheme of voluntary self-taxation.

(*b*) By thus carrying out the principles of self-taxation every individual inhabitant of Malda, irrespective of caste and creed and belonging to all sections of the community, has been made to take an effective interest in the organisation and management of the school—which has thus been made supremely national, instead of being merely "donational", i.e., depending on the rich endowments of one or two individuals.

(*c*) The sacrifice of present-day artificial necessities of material existence by the students and youngmen indicates a moral earnest-

ness and a grim resolution to do or die for the national cause, and is calculated to create a new standard of *bhadralok* or "gentleman" which would not recognise money and material prosperity as the sole basis of public esteem and social dignity. Besides, the importance of the diminution of wants as a powerful aid to the success of the *Swadeshi* industrial movement cannot be over-estimated.

(d) The system of "*musti-bhiksha*" has a genuine Indian ring and appeals to the instinct of every individual, male or female, educated or illiterate. This has brought home to every heart the reality about the present national situation. It may, besides, be looked upon as a system of taxation in kind, with the peculiar advantage of its being not felt as such, as well as of its being universally appreciated and practised.

ORGANISATION OF MALDAHA JATIYA SIKSHA-SAMITI

(1) There has, of course, been elected a District Council of National Education (*Maldaha Jatiya Siksha-Samiti*). Men of note of the villages and wards are its members. Care has been taken to represent all sections and interests There are a President and a Secretary both of whom are honorary office-bearers. The Executive Committee for carrying on the ordinary business has also been elected from among the members.

(2) Collection of contributions.

(*i*) The Secretary of the Council is the ex-officio Collector. He is mainly and individually responsible for the realisation of the contributions or cesses. His principal function as collector is to study the sources of income, to find out the defects that may hamper the smooth working of the mechanism, and to devise ways and means for the augmentation and effective organisation of the Fund.

(*ii*) Under him have been appointed persons that may be called deputy or assistant collectors who have personally to know the names and residences of the householders within their respective jurisdictions and to aid their subordinates in the practical work of collection. These functionaries are not necessarily all students but contain in their ranks able-bodied men of known integrity, both educated and illiterate, local men as well as outsiders. All of them are, of course, honorary officers who volunteer

> their services, with the exception of the teachers of the National School who are paid in their primary capacity as members of the teaching staff. In order to produce uniformity and harmony among this army of scattered officers arrangements have been made to enable them to meet and consult with one another and with the collector. At the end of the year their services may be publicly recognised and rewarded with grants of medals or with marks of public honor.

In the course of two or three years, the Council will, it is expected, be in a sufficiently sound economic position to remunerate the services of these officers with salaries.

Special Features of the Organisation

(*a*) Hitherto there has been in every district in Bengal a hard and fast line of separation between the two classes of people by which it may, broadly speaking, be said to be inhabited. These are (1) the local men who are the children of the soil, earning their livelihood by indigenous local industries or by service, and the educated professions; (2) the outsiders whom the emergencies of Government service or the higher professions have called together, who generally reside in the district during the working seasons and who have their 'homes' in other districts. All public movements have been hitherto confined within the circle of pleaders and doctors and Government servants, in order words, of University-educated classes. But the new educational movement, has, as it has been shown, enlisted the sympathy of all. The organisation of educational self-government has been so effected as to break down the barrier between the masses and the classes and to produce in the minds of all the idea that the movement which is going to lift the nation cannot be successful unless and until it is taken up and backed by the whole people.

(*b*) Besides this growth of solidarity and homogeneity in the structure of the local community through the growing habit of working for the same cause there has been thrown open an ample field of national work in which the workers may train themselves for future public careers.

(*c*) It is evident that the ideals of the new movement have filtered through all the strata of the society and have penetrated even the most conservative merchant classes.

The above facts tell their own tale. They all go to point out how at Malda the people are actively organising a scheme of national self-help solely by their independent efforts and are laying the foundation-stone of a People's University which is to be wholly independent of foreign brain and bullion. Malda has thus been carrying into execution the idea suggested by the Hon'ble Dr. Rashbehari Ghose, M.A., D.L., C.I.E., President of the National Council of Education, Bengal, in his Inaugural Address at the Town Hall Meeting held in August, 1906, that rich endowments from a few individuals would not contribute much towards starting a general education movement. For it is clear that it is the voluntary contributions from all sections of the community that can make an educational institution like the National Council truly national,—national not simply in the sense that education would be imparted along national lines and exclusively under national control, but national in the sense that every member of the nation would feel an interest in it. It is to be desired that every district should follow this aspect of the national education movement started at Malda—the aspect, namely, of organisation and government.

Broad Features of the New Type of Education

Those who are desirous of knowing the educational aspect of the new system—how far it is national and wherein it differs from the system of education imparted by the Government, would do well to peruse carefully the address delivered by Sir Gooroodas Banerjee Kt. at the aforesaid meeting in the Town Hall and also the registered Memorandum of Association stating the objects of the National Council of Education, as well as the "Statement of the Schemes of Study" published by the same body. It will be found that the education it seeks to impart is altogether of a new type—being modern and up-to-date as well as practical and not merely academic.

While imparting education on national lines it seeks also to incorporate the best assimilable ideals of the Western world. While opening out for the students technical, professional and other careers whereby they may earn their bread, the new system of education seeks also to satisfy the highest spiritual and moral yearnings of our people. The Literary and the Scientific Departments are so constructed and conducted as to develop in the students a love of learning for its own sake, create a craving for the knowledge

of the history, philosophy and literatures, as well as the arts and industries of the various provinces of India, and to infuse into their minds a desire to utilise the unworked natural resources of the country, and so to augment the national wealth. Besides developing the spirit of practical patriotism by familiarising the students with the ideals and institutions of the country, the Literary Department can also fit them for earning their bread. Thus, they may take up one or other of the literary professions—pedagogic, journalistic etc. or they may take up the task of preparing text-books for the National Council in the *vernacular* Bengali.

The objects of the National Council are then clear,—namely, first, on the intellectual side, to enable students to think independently and carry on original researches; and on the moral side, to evoke in them a desire of work for work's sake, and also a genuine desire to serve their country even at the sacrifice of their personal interests, in other words, to develop their manhood;

And secondly, on the material side, to enable them to earn their livelihood by the creation of new openings as well as to teach them to be physically strong in order that they may defend their person and property in times of emergency.

The means and the methods adopted by the Council are accordingly characterised by singularity and novelty. The most striking feature of the new educational movement is that the boys are taught, even in the college classes, in their mother-tongue. The advantages of this system cannot be overstated. While it saves the learner's time it also prevents the strain on his health by not requiring unnecessary and undue attention to the difficulties and technicalities of a foreign tongue.

Finally, as the National Education system wants to develop the powers of each student's brain and to draw out his own latent capabilities, it does not force on all students above the Matriculation stage and specially in the Degree classes one and the same multiplicity of subjects; but on the other hand, boys are allowed to choose subjects according to their special aptitudes and inclinations.

Altogether, the organisers of the system of National Education have endeavoured to combine the advantages of cheapness and efficiency, and the students that may be turned out by their schools and colleges are expected to be men of practical ability capable of fighting their way through the struggles and difficulties of the modern world.

APPENDIX IX

The Man of Letters: A Scheme for Fostering Indian Vernacular Literatures*

By Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar

EUROPE'S GIFTS TO MODERN INDIA

So there has been a literary conference at Malda also. In this way through literary, industrial and political movements our small and backward places are being made parts of a great whole. A new national life is thus being created and superseding the old communal life of the village.

The unity we have been gradually realising is altogether a new feature of Indian life. There is no doubt that in the past also we have had always principles of unity and harmony in the midst of the thousand and one diversities of our social and religious life. But the condition we are approaching through the influence of Western political ideas and English education is the unity of political life,—nationality.

Having come into contact with Western civilisation we have discovered, as it were, our indigenous culture and got an insight into our own life. The English people have made India, so to speak, and have created opportunities for the Indians to seek their proper place in the scheme of nations.

Towards the close of the fifteenth century, when, in the interests of their commerce, the Europeans were compelled to seek and succeeded in finding out new routes to India, their achievements were looked upon as mere geographical discoveries. The history of Europe during the next three centuries is the record of a struggle for world power and colonial supremacy; and gradually India was drawn into the whirlpool of the European struggle for

* *The Modern Review* (Calcutta, April, 1911) This paper of Sarkar's was his English rendering of the original *Sahitya-sevi* read by him at the session of the North Bengal Literary Conference held at Malda in February, 1911 and published in the *Prabasi* (Calcutta). It was later published in Hindi and Marathi versions also during 1911, for presentation at the Hindi Literary Conference and the Marathi Literary Conference respectively.

existence. The great consummation of the momentous series of conflicts has been the foundation of the British Empire and the subjection of India. Historically considered, this dependence fully deserves the whole-hearted thankfulness of the Indians. For it is through this subjection to a foreign power that India has been able to discover her own soul. The accidental geographical discovery of a distant country has thus been a stepping stone to the self-realisation of one of the great races of humanity.

Whoever will take a long and large view of matters will feel that Western education has not in any way been harmful to our society. On the contrary, it is contact with Europe that has given us all those features of our national life which we respect so much and feel glory in today.

Whatever might have been the motives with which English education was introduced into our country, and whatever might have been the reception first accorded to the features of Western civilisation by our society, there is no use denying the fact today that our society has been progressing in all spheres ever since we have acquired the fitness sufficient to enable us to assimilate with our peculiar national existence the scientific spirit, ideas of constitutional self-government, political unity and other aspects of Western life. We have been able to organise independently institutions like the Indian National Congress, the Science Association, the *Sahitya Parishad*, the National Council of Education, and the Association for the Scientific and Industrial Education of Indians. Our movements in the fields of thought and activity have reached not only the departments of industry, literature and science, but are also influencing our education, society, and religion. Our life is manifesting itself in diverse ways.

Even the ideas of self-sacrifice, renunciation (*vairagya*), philanthropy, service to mankind, those moral and spiritual truths which we have of late been trying to realise in our life, our efforts at relieving the distress of others and doing good to fellowmen—all these are really the fruits of Western education. These teachings of the ancient *Upanishads* and the *Vedanta* we have got in a new shape from Europe, and this has given an impulse to our propagation of the truths of the *Gita*, the study of metaphysics and the consecration of our lives to some selfless mission. Our modern *sannyasis* and *karmayogis* are really the students and disciples of European *Rishis* like Goethe, Carlyle, Emerson, Ruskin and Tolstoy.

Since the French Revolutionary epoch, owing to the conjuncture of several circumstances, a reaction has set in in Europe to the *ancien régime* of her thought and life; and she has began to acquire democratic and socialistic ideas, such as equality, fraternity, liberty of thought, assertion of individuality, highest self-realisation, and the right of the proletariat. The result has been a comprehensive and all-embracing movement in the literature, economic life, religion and morals of Europe which has been the cause of an *Aufklärung* and a renaissance by introducing into the cast of European thought, elements of idealism, spirituality, other-worldliness and transcendentalism. This supersensualism of the Romantic outburst in Europe is the direct fountain-head of our present--day Vedantic and other idealistic movements in India.

The admission of the fact that India is indebted to Europe is not a disparagement of Indian civilisation; for the world's culture develops itself through such mutual intercourse. In olden days the Indians discovered certain truths and contributed them to the fund of human civilisation. In modern times Europe has approached mankind with a present of certain new ideas. Egypt, Babylon, Greece and other states of antiquity have become extinct in the process of their giving light to the world. They are nowhere now to use the modern ideas in their own way and to contribute to the world's richness by making something out of them. But ancient India having borne a peculiar immortal life is still existing and is making arrangements for the opening up of a new chapter in the history of human civilisation by Indianising the truths of the modern world. Modern Greece, and modern Eygpt bear no testimony to their ancient national life and culture; but modern India is keeping up the traditions of her old life even after Europeanisation. India is, in fact, the meeting ground of the ancient and the modern, the Eastern and the Western; and the great synthesis that is evolving at this confluence of the world-forces is neither a transfer to the Indian stage of the acting of Europe nor a mere repetition of antique Ind. In this synthesis India is displaying her new capacities and energies in novel forms, manifesting herself in a new shape suited to the new age.

Language and Literature in Nationality

To prove that India does not present the case of an arrested growth, and that our national life has not been petrified into an

insensible fossil imbedded in the lower strata of human civilization we need only consider the fact that in the process of assimilating the new conditions and adapting ourselves to the environment we have not lost our separate existence, our individuality. We have, in fact, been able to use the world-forces according to the needs of our proper development; and the new type of life that is growing within us as a result of this assimilation is manifesting itself in the creation of a new literature. Under the influence of the new ideas and forces we have been vitalized into being, and have got possession of the special characteristics of the living peoples, e.g., the wealth of a language and a literature. And this is a possession which enables man to realise his separateness from the mere animal, which differentiates nation from nation by developing the national individualities. This gives rise to forces which in the Middle Ages were sufficient to start the peoples of the modern world along independent national lines, which in recent times have been the cause of a revolution that has shaken the French state to its roots, and which have been able to enlighten and illumine the minds of the Poles and keep them up even after the demolition of their political existence by the triple partition of their territory. Such forces as these we have acquired, and our language has been growing in complexity and our literature becoming fuller and richer. We have certainly had in our nature sufficient strength and elements of fitness to use the new ideas, express the new life, and embody the new desires.

The mark of a living people is its growth and development along the lines of its traditional character, its own historic individuality. History tends to evolve through nations their peculiar natures, and develops their natural aptitudes and characteristics. And so the existence and growth of a language suited to the nature and expressing the ideas and aspirations of a people is the sign and test of the existence and growth of national life. There can exist no national life without a national language. Where we fail to perceive the signs of a special language there we are sure not to find a separate national existence. It is because of this that in the modern world we find a very prominent position given to the national languages and literatures in the schemes of education. In the systems of national education in all countries we find an effort to familiarise the pupils with the national traditions and the various features of national life; and to use the national languages as the media of

instruction even in the highest stages of education. National language and national literature are, in fact, the basic foundations of a real national education.

Those of our countrymen, therefore, who want to inaugurate a new type of education adjusted to the new conditions of life and have been attempting to qualify us for the solution of modern problems, have a double function to discharge. In the first place, they have to make arrangements for scientific, industrial and commercial education in order to equip society with the means of supplying its needs according to modern methods. In the second place, they have to make arrangements by which the national language can be used as the medium of instruction in all subjects from the primary and free night schools up to the highest educational institutions. Our educational system cannot be natural and really national until and unless our mother-tongue is used in all the stages of our educational life. It is on the development of national literature that the progress and success of national schools depend. National education cannot strike its roots deep into our soil solely on the strength of a permanent "local habitation" or the establishment of a new Council. Those who have devoted themselves to the development of the vernacular languages and literatures are laying the real foundations of national education in the country. It is these men of letters and educational missionaries who are in reality the pioneers and makers of the future National University of India.

Our literature is still in its insignificant nonage. There is no doubt that our language has within a short time displayed its capacity by growing in expressiveness and complexity; but our literature cannot as yet be used in the highest classes of an advanced University. Consequently our mother-tongue has been awarded the position of a second language in the Government scheme of higher education and has not been entitled to the dignity of the first language; and it is because of this backwardness of our language and literature that the aims and efforts of the National Council of Education have been futile and abortive and may be ranked among the class of "pious wishes."

Stripped of poetry, fiction and tales, our literature has very little worth the name. A beginning has just been made, so to speak, in the study of antiquities; but our national literature bears no trace of work on the historico-comparative method. It would not be an exaggeration to remark that the science of criticism has

not yet been introduced in our literature. Our monthlies have of late been displaying a taste for scientific essays. Translations from foreign poetical literature are few and far between. We have a vanity that we are a nation of philosophers, but of high class philosophical dissertations our literature has very little. We can easily estimate the poverty and slenderness of our literature if we just compare it with that of those peoples among whom the mother-tongue occupies the first place in the scheme of education. But there are signs of hope everywhere. People have become alive to the need for diffusion of learning through mass education and female education. A desire for the cultivation of letters, the study of the country's past, and the collection of materials for history is being evinced by all classes of the community, rich and poor, educated as well as illiterate; the reading public has been enlarged and a general demand for knowledge and education has been created in the community. We are, in fact, on the threshold of an extensive thought-movement and a vast literary outburst.

In order that we may help forward this process of intellectual revolution which is destined to bear rich fruit for us in the immediate future, there is but one duty for all our literary men in the present. The sole cry they have to take up is :—In WHAT WAYS AND IN HOW MANY YEARS CAN OUR LITERATURE OCCUPY THE POSITION OF FRENCH, GERMAN AND ENGLISH FOR THE STUDY OF SCIENCE, PHILOSOPHY, HISTORY AND OTHER SERIOUS SUBJECTS IN THE HIGHEST CLASSES OF A UNIVERSITY? The efforts and activities of our men of letters have to be regulated in such a way as to focus our whole literary devotion on the realisation of this single object.

"Protective" Policy for Literature

But a question may arise as to the possibility of thus consciously developing a literature by artificial means. First, it is generally believed that language and literature are natural institutions. Their growth and development are similar to those of plants and other natural objects and cannot be controlled by the will of man. They are not made, but they grow.

Undoubtedly, the growth and development of religion, state, society, language, literature and other human institutions depend on the growth and progress of the character of man. These features of human life cannot transcend the limits of the general

culture attained by him. In order that he may be fit for an advanced religion, a scientific polity and a well-developed society, he must have to elevate his own nature and develop his own powers. Regulations regarding these cannot be made except with reference to the peculiar conditions and the particular stage of a people's existence; and so ordinances enjoining or prohibiting self-government, liberty of thought and discussion, free-trade, worship of images or of the formless One, and the like, are based on the historically developed characteristics of a people.

But it is a matter of common-place observation that wants and desires can be created through persistent efforts and activities on the part of energistic and self-conscious individuals. In all matters, physical, spiritual, domestic as well as political, there is an intimate connection between demand and supply. If somebody is sincerely convinced of a need and if with perseverance one can make his ideas filter through various strata of society, his ideas and aspirations can ultimately permeate the community and become the ideal of the whole people. Constantly talking and thinking of a want men begin to feel that want. Under the influence of this creation of new wants many half-educated and semi-savage societies have acquired the fitness for adopting the institutions of civilised life, whereas the absence of such new wants has led to the fall of many advanced peoples. The individual or the people that is to-day quite unfit for some social, political, industrial or religious institutions, may to-morrow be possessed by such an inveterate desire for them as can give them the necessary qualification. On the other hand, the intelligent, skilled and God-fearing individual or nation of to-day may under the influence of new, adverse conditions become degraded and lifeless in no time. In the history of the world the records of the growth and decay of industry and commerce, the propagation and decline of religions, the rise and fall of states, and the development and decadence of literature bear ample testimony to the conscious creation of new ideas and wants and to the life-killing art of subjection and demoralisation.

The fact is, man can make progress by perseverance and efforts and may be degraded under the influence of adverse circumstances. The industry and commerce of Spain were ruined by such unfavourable activities. The history of economic life in England teaches that the prosperity of British industry and commerce was founded by the efforts of princes and patriots who tried to advance

the country's interests by the adoption of the policy of "protection." It was this protective policy, again, which guided the efforts of the Roman Emperors in their attempt at elevating their capital city from a rude, insignificant condition to the position of the metropolis of the educational world. It was this that underlay their imperialism which effected an intellectual centralisation by destroying the glory and prestige of the universities of ancient Hellas. The all-round prosperity of Alexandria was due to such conscious efforts of responsible men. The development of industry and commerce as well as the spread of education in Russia were regulated by such a policy of the conscious creation of new wants. All religions that have been promulgated and all attempts at the renovation of religion by removing superstitious and meaningless practices, all religious revolutions and reformations are the results of the growth of new ideas and aspirations. It was through the preaching of a new idea that the institution of slavery has become a thing of the past in the civilised world. Prussia acquired a high place in international diplomacy and the polity of European states by consciously adopting the features of an advanced constitution. Religious preachers and social reformers have succeeded in endowing many illiterate, barbarous and half-educated peoples with civilisation, culture and literature in the very process of imparting to them their special ideals.

Life to be Enriched

Language is a mere instrument for the expression and interchange of thought. A proper use of the ways and means by which man gives expression to his wants and aspirations leads to the enrichment of his language. The wealth and variety of a language depend on the variety and copiousness of these methods and means. Again, the soul of literature is the thoughts and ideas embodied therein. And therefore the richness, variety and complexity of a literature can grow only with the growth in variety and complexity of man's thoughts and desires. The enrichment of literature, therefore, depends on the conditions which enrich the mind and make it the storehouse of thoughts and ideas.

It is the actual life of man, the part played by him on the world's stage, that is the cause of all thoughts and ideas, and therefore these can grow in copiousness and variety only with the variety, width, and depth of life. In order, therefore, that a language and

literature may be enriched and made flourishing the prime necessity and precondition is to make the actual life complex, eventful and momentous in various ways. A language cannot display its potentialities and a literature cannot become vast, extensive and impetuous unless the political, economic, social, and individual life of man is enlivened by conscious activities and becomes all-reaching, comprehensive and all-grasping.

In the interest of the full development of the national languages and literatures of India it is necessary that the lives of the inhabitants of its various provinces should be eventful and as full of diversities and varieties of functions as possible. It is necessary that Bengal and Maharastra, the Punjab and Madras should know one another in all particulars as minutely as possible. We have to help forward the attempts of the people of each province to settle in other provinces and to create opportunities and fields of work there. Arrangements have to be made for the study of the several vernaculars at school. We have to try to make at least the three Indian vernaculars, viz., Bengali, Marathi, and Tamil, subjects for higher education in every part of India. Hindi ought to be compulsory at a much lower stage. In this way we have to organise closer intimacy and mutual intercourse between the several provinces. Besides, it is necessary to make the relations of India with the other countries of the world more direct and intimate. Efforts are to be made by which Indians can live and move with foreign peoples in their own countries and rise to high positions in their social, intellectual, commercial, and other spheres. We have to see that our educated countrymen can have posts of service in foreign lands and spend their lives there, that our preachers and missionaries can attract the attention and sympathy of foreign peoples by organising lectures and discussions on Indian society, religion and literature. Arrangements should also be made for a wider diffusion of knowledge in our country regarding the constitution of various civilised states, their social condition, their literary history, their economic activities, and religious life. At least two European languages, viz., French and German, should be introduced in the curriculum of higher educational institutions in India.

Our range of thought and activity being thus widened, our thoughts and aspirations, our wants and desires will grow in variety and complexity. This expansion of the sphere of life and enlargement of its duties will not only create the materials and elements

of a new literature but will *pari passu* usher a new literature into being. Coming into contact with various sights and sounds and observing the multifarious manners and customs of many lands our countrymen will spontaneously tend to institute comparisons, detect differences and discover the principles of unity and harmony. Such comparative studies will be the basis of a real science of criticism. Literature, history, philosophy, theology, sociology, economics, and other human disciplines will gradually assume the characteristics of the historico-comparative science. A scientific and philosophic era will commence with greater reliance on reason and discussion—as opposed to passions, prejudices and blind faith—and with the discovery of novel methods of thinking. Literature will march along new channels with quickened pace. Besides, mutual intercourse among the various provinces and *rapprochement* with foreign peoples will even unconsciously lead to our adoption of new methods and means for the expression of ideas. Our vocabulary will be automatically enlarged and the language grow more copious. New terms and technical words will naturally be introduced and supply the necessary gaps. Under these new conditions our Bengali language will have the capacity of easily bearing and expressing the high and serious thoughts of science and philosophy. Compilations of the best ideas in foreign literature and translations of the standard works of foreign authors will be matters of course and India's national literatures will continue to swell in volume and grow in dignity.

Idealism the Need of the Hour

The time has arrived when in the field of letters a new desire is to be consciously created such as has been done by the Great Men, who have in various times and climes filled the people's minds with cravings after new ideals We want creative men such as can preach the need for the enrichment of our life and development of our literature. A movement exclusively for the diffusion of learning is required to supply our wants in the department of higher education, mass education, industrial education and female education. We are in need of the institution of commissions and the appointment of missionaries and experts who can securely study literary, educational and industrial conditions, and suggest ways and means for their improvement. We can no longer put off the foundation of permanent endowments and the organisation of academies and institutes for the carrying on of researches, experiments, translations and in-

vestigations by learned and devoted students under the guidance of scholars, organisers and educationists.

In order that the *Bangiya Sahitya Parishat* (Bengali Academy of Literature) may supply these new wants, its scope of work has to be enlarged. Permanent arrangements have to be made for the maintenance of several educated literary men with proper monthly salaries, in order that they may without anxiety devote their whole time and energy to the pursuit of literature. If fortunately opportunities be created by which Bengali literature can secure the entire literary thought and activities of our distinguished men like Dr. Brajendra Nath Seal in the field of education, Babu Hirendra Nath Datta in the field of philosophy, Babu Ramendra Sundar Trivedi in the field of science, and Babu Jadu Nath Sarkar in the field of history and if, under their guidance and control, some of the best students of our country, freed from pecuniary wants, can proceed to work together for the development of our literature, is it too much to expect that in the course of ten years we can have the best literary treasures of the world in our own national literature, that we can have the thoughts and investigations of Plato, Herbert Spencer, Guizot, Hegel and other European philosophers through the medium of our own language and that in no time the educational system of Bengal can grow into one that is natural and really national?

Idealism is our crying need now. There can be no re-organisation, no new arrangement of social conditions unless the country and its peoples are overflooded with the stream of idealism, the parent of *vairagya* (renunciation and self-sacrifice). There must be such idealism as can enable men to realise future success in present failures, and perceive the great whole in the rude beginnings, can induce them to sacrifice their immediate and personal interests and to throw themselves life and soul into their mission; such idealism as can inspire educated men to shun the prospects of fame and career, and feel their highest self-realisation in the spread of education and diffusion of learning and to spend their whole life in the creation of opportunities for others, even at the sacrifice of their own higher culture; such idealism as can move the man of wealth to feel a personal responsibility for the elevation of the whole society in intellect, wealth, religion, and morals, and to pioneer with his financial resources the work of national regeneration; such idealism as can induce the

man with power and capacity to consider his sole religion to be the use of his competence for the development of the powers and abilities of others by removing their thousand and one poverties and obstructions. We are in need of missionaries and *sannyasis* illumined with such idealism as can be a permanent inspiration to their soul without in any way agitating it, as can focus and concentrate their energies without dissipating and emasculating them, as can impel a man to renounce the world and take to the work of preaching in a steady and restrained manner.

No movement, however, be it that for the liberty of thought or for prosperity through commerce, whether it be the development of literature, or the spread of education, can establish its position in society in a short time. Like all other things in this world, they grow and expand slowly and gradually. It requires much time and pains to divert thought along new channels. The uncertainty and doubts of success about untried paths engender fear in ordinary men's minds. Faith in new methods of thought and work can be created in a society and credit can be established regarding them only when after acquiring experience as to obstacles and difficulties, from the failures of pioneers in the initial stages, certain individuals have attained some amount of success. It is these successful individuals in the later stages of the movements, who become examples to many, round whom men flock together in numbers and fill the fields of thought and activity. It is at this successful stage that the new thoughts and aspirations become inherent in the character and dispositions of men, and handed down through generations, become the ideal of the whole community.

So long, therefore, as our literary, educational, industrial and scientific movements do not arrive at this stage; so long as ordinary individuals by taking to literature, science, industry or education do not attain success and further the interests of themselves and their families; so long as common people by adopting these new paths do not acquire personal dignity and fame; so long will the responsible pioneers and creative energists have to endure losses and wastes, and undergo silent and solitary penances for the opening up of paths for future generations.

PRAGMATISM AND PIONEERING IN BENOY SARKAR'S SOCIOLOGY AND ECONOMICS

By Nagendra Nath Chaudhury, M.A. (North-Western University, Chicago), Author of *American Society and Problems* (in Bengali), *The Tragedies of Modernism, Economic Dialectics*, etc., Secretary, *"Antarjatik Banga" Parishat* ("International Bengal"Institute), Calcutta.

Introduction

It is with pleasure that I accept Professor Banesvar Dass's invitation to contribute a chapter to the second edition of his book about the social and economic ideas of Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar. I have derived profit from the papers contributed by previous writers and shall confine myself to certain aspects not dwelt upon at length. In the foreword to this volume Dr. Narendra Nath Law has expressed a wish that somebody should write a paper on Sarkar's Bengali works. This suggestion is valuable and I am trying to carry it out also to a certain extent.

I should begin by saying that in the preparation of this paper I have consulted several friends among scholars and businessmen in Calcutta and the districts. Some of them have helped me with facts and views from the angle of persons living away from Calcutta. These deal not only with Sarkar's works but also with the general intellectual and social conditions of the Bengali people in town and *mofussil* (rural centres). Their help comprises in certain instances the preparation of notes and paragraphs for my use. I am thankfully adapting them for my study, which will thus appear to be the result of a collective effort.

The first edition of Professor Dass's book has been very well received by the press and the public. *The Mysore Economic Journal* (May 1940) calls it "a remarkable book alike in conception and production", and describes Sarkar as "one of the most fruitful of Indian thinkers" for "there is no subject which Sarkar has touched which he has not adorned." According to the *Newark Evening News* of Newark (U.S.A., 2 March 1940) Dass's work "fills a long felt want."

Mr. R. V. Poduval, Director of Archæology, Trivandrum says that "Benoy Sarkar is certainly one of the makers of future India." The *Insurance Herald* (Calcutta, 9 December 1939) thinks that "to-day there has grown up in Bengal a school of thought which he has built up and moulded. A publication like this has been in demand from a growing body of followers who think after Professor Sarkar." In the words of Professor Dr. B. A. Saletore of Ahmedabad (Gujarat), "the scientifically encyclopædic Benoy Kumar Sarkar needed a proper interpreter of his multifarious ideas. Sarkarism is truly a new force in Indian culture. It has given not only Bengal but India as well a permanent place in the world's socio-economic history." Professor A. M. Siddiqi of Osmania University, Hyderabad, says that "the valuable work is a great contribution to sociology and economics."

"Sarkar has rendered a great service to the development of Indian thought," says *Commerce* (Bombay, 8 June 1940), which describes him, "great as he is in different fields," as "an outstanding personality in the economic sphere." In the opinion of the same journal, Sarkar is a "versatile personality who has supplied definite ideology to various national movements—social, political, cultural, economic and literary—during the past thirty years." Dass's book is appraised "as an outstanding contribution of cultural importance."

Insurance and Finance (Calcutta, December 8, 1939) is of opinion that "since 1906 Sarkar has been influencing Bengali life and language and it is in the fitness of things that a work like this should have been published." Dr. V. S. Sukthankar of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute (Poona) calls Sarkar "not only a leader of thought but an institution in himself."

Federated India (Madras, June 1940) says: "Sarkar is obviously a human dynamo. The output is phenomenal. The publication of his ideas is an achievement of considerable magnitude."

These opinions of scholars from far and near as well as press reviews have but confirmed many of my views. Equipped with this background I proceed to place a few observations about the pedagogics, internationalism, social philosophy, and economic theories of Benoy Sarkar. Some of the words and phrases used by Sarkar in his Bengali and English writings are being employed by me in this study without quotation marks. Since 1928 I have been in constant contact with him in connection with the papers read and discussions held at the "International Bengal" Institute, Bengali

Institute of Economics, Bengali Institute of Sociology, Bengali Asia Academy, etc. My paper on Sarkar's pragmatism and pioneering has been greatly influenced by the impact of his literary style and oral delivery as used in this atmosphere. Besides, I have made liberal use of his prefaces and conclusions in books. Altogether, my paper seeks to present Sarkarism in Sarkar's own language and forms of expression.

Perhaps the readers of my Bengali *Markin Samaj O Samasya* (American Society and Problems, 1932) are aware that my approach to social questions is not exactly identical with Sarkar's. In my *Studies in Economic Dialectics* (Calcutta 1938) also I have not always followed what I call the "Sarkar method" in economics. But I am trying to make my statements as faithful to Sarkar's own ideas and expressions as possible and to place them objectively in the perspective of the social and economic ideas of contemporary Indian authors.

Special thanks are due to Mr Nalini Ranjan Pandit, editor of several monthly journals during the *Swadeshi* period and author of works on the poet Rajani Sen and the scientist Ramendra Trivedi as well as on other topics of Bengali culture, from whom have come notes in Bengali about Sarkar's Bengali writings from 1914 to 1935 together with newspaper cuttings relating thereto. As one of the chief friends and workers of the *Bangiya Sahitya Parishat* (Bengali Academy of Literature) he was intimately connected with the reception organized by the *Parishat* for Sarkar in April 1927 and has furnished from the subscription-book the names of some of the signatories to the fund raised for that purpose.

I am indebted among others to the reports from Messrs. Nagendra Nath Ghosh (Khulna), author of essays on the literary men and publicists of the *Swadeshi* period, published in *Sonar Bangla* (Dacca) and *Udbodhan* (Calcutta), Dhirendra Nath Das-Gupta of the *Vidyasram* (cottage and rural industries centre) in Chittagong and Sylhet (Assam) as well as Binod Bihari Chakravarti (Dacca), author of biographical studies about Leonidas, Lincoln, Garfield, Asutosh and others, on account of the *mofussil* and middle class estimates of contemporary personalities.

CHAPTER I

Pragmatism in Sarkar's View of Life

From 1921 to 1928, I was in the U.S.A., the country which Sarkar has sought to popularize among the Indian educators and publicists in many ways. Some of my interpretations and viewpoints will show the influence of my rather long sojourn in America, as is perhaps somewhat manifest in my *Studies in Economic Dialectics* (Calcutta 1938).

The Swadeshi Revolution as an Expression of Renaissance Materialism

In April 1911, I joined the Malda District Council of National Education (*Maldaha Jatiya Sikṣha Samiti*) established by Sarkar in June 1907. While working there I was under the impression that the Council would soon have a department for higher learning and that persons of higher academic qualifications would be required for the work of the same. Such an impression created in me a desire for going to the West for further studies, and in 1921 I went to England *en route* to America. After a few months' stay in London, I went to the U.S.A. where I began to prosecute my studies in the field of social science. In 1925 I graduated from the University of Nebraska, and in 1927 had my Master's degree in economics and sociology from the North-Western University, Evanston, Chicago. After having finished my studies I worked for some time in several industrial concerns, and, thus gained an opportunity of having a direct knowledge of industrial relations in the U.S.A.

My general experience of the U.S.A. leads me to assert that the dynamic forces are very distinctly manifest in all avenues of social and national life in that country. A student of progress, particularly one from the Orient, should be there for a first-hand study of the forces that have sprung up on account of the unprecedented growth of that country. Contact with American scholars convinced me, further, that the most characteristic term for describing the American spirit, practical, dynamic and progressive as it is, should be pragmatism. It so happens that in my somewhat Americanized eyes Sarkar's orientations to life appear to be profoundly pragmatic. He was a pragmatist already in 1907 when he started his educational institutions in Malda. I found him pragmatist in

1928 also when I returned to Calcutta from the United States. Since 1928 I have been in continuous contact with his researches, publications and Institutes. I believe that pragmatism continues still to be his philosophy.

Sometimes India is said to be a country of idealists. It is true, and the same remark holds good of any other country. There were two classes of idealists in India in the past, and ancient Indian civilization was greatly influenced by them. First, there were those who thought mainly in terms of the immaterial and the extra-mundane, and formulated codes of human conduct with reference to them, with their eyes fixed on the next world. Their contribution to the development of Indian religion, philosophy, morality and literature was great. Secondly, there were those whose thoughts were primarily confined to the secular and the material. This class of idealists was instrumental in framing the structure of Indian society, and developing the material sides of Indian civilization. The two classes were never completely separated from each other, and, in fact, the one greatly influenced the other. Never was in the past history of India a time when the affairs of the world had their independent expressions without being arrested to some extent, at least, by metaphysical and theological considerations. Ideals of religion and metaphysics had always some share in the mundane interests of the society in the past, and determining the trend of its growth. It is doubtful, likewise, if the extra-mundane ideologies were always entirely independent of the naturalistic, materialist, physical and positive influences. The two sets of forces acted in co-operation with each other.

It is true that there were occasional attempts in the past at disentangling social, economic and political ideals from the arbitrary rulings of religions and metaphysics and that some of those attempts were not altogether ineffective. But it is only in the twentieth century that conscious attempts have been made at separating the ideals of the social, political and economic growth of India from those of religion with satisfactory results. The *Swadeshi* Movement which originated in Bengal in 1905 was, like the European Renaissance, one of the first expressions of such materialistic and secular attempts undisturbed by metaphysics and religion. It was an ideological revolution. Definite ideals and programmes were consciously formulated at this time, which attracted the attention of the entire country. For the first time in the history of the Indian people there were

happy signs of idealism being directed in favour of pragmatism to the total exclusion of abstractions of metaphysical character. For some time, however, this pragmatism was not a fact established on strong theoretical foundations.

It was in the second decade of the current century that such a foundation was laid directing the course of Indian idealism into a secure channel. The task was reserved for an energetic Indian youth who proved quite worthy of it. It was Benoy Kumar Sarkar, whose idealism was harnessed to the construction of a thorough-going materialism, and who combined idealism with practical statesmanship in the work of national regeneration. It was he who, when the majority of his educated countrymen were still vociferous with the apotheosis of their country's great spiritual past, pointed out with sufficient force of undeniable facts that ancient and medieval India was not a land of mere spirit and dreams, but that her culture had a vast positive back-ground and that her secular and material achievements were no less glorious than her so-called spiritual and transcendental attainments.*

Pragmatic Idealism

Sarkar got his idealism from India's social heredity and grew up as an idealist. Idealism is very often a constructive force. Without ideals as guiding principles neither an individual nor a group can ever be great. Ferri, the Italian positivist and materialist, says: "Without an ideal neither an individual nor a collectivity can live, without it humanity is dead or dying. For it is the fire of an ideal which renders the life of each one of us possible, useful and fertile." W. W. Campbell, an American scientist, says in his Presidential Address to the American Association for the Advancement of Science, 1915; "That which is purely practical, containing no element of idealism, may sustain existence and to that extent be valuable, but it does not civilize. I believe it is the idealism of pure knowledge, the idealism in applied knowledge, the idealism in industry and commerce, the idealism in literature and art, the idealism in personal religion, which leavens the life of the world and pushes forward the boundaries of civilization." Sarkar is an idealist but his feet are firmly stationed in the platform of reality,

* Benoy Kumar Sarkar: *The Positive Background of Hindu Sociology* (Allahabad, 1912-14)

with eyes fixed upon those by whom he is surrounded, and not upon the nebulous milky-way. He is not a Utopian but a practical idealist, a pragmatist. All his ideas, ideals, theories and precepts which currently pass as "Sarkarism", have been inspired and shaped in the spirit of pragmatic idealism.

The kind of idealism preached by Sarkar can be seen in the paper entitled *Sahitya-Sevi* (The Man of Letters)* which he read before the session of the North Bengal Literary Conference held at Malda in February 1911. The word, *sahitya* (literature), in Bengali, does not imply poetry, fiction, *belles lettres*, etc. exclusively but is comprehensive enough to include everything written in Bengali. Sarkar's "man of letters" comprises the physicist, the chemist, the biologist, the anthropologist, the psychologist, the historian, the philosopher, the economist, the sociologist and so on, as well as the poet, the dramatist, and the novelist. In the paper Sarkar said as follows about the need for all-round idealism:

"Idealism is our crying need now. There must be such idealism as can enable men to realise future success in present failures and perceive the great whole in the rude beginnings, can induce them to sacrifice their immediate and personal interests and to throw themselves life and soul into their mission; such idealism as can inspire educated men to shun the prospects of fame and career, and feel their highest self-realization in the spread of education and diffusion of learning and to spend their whole life in the creation of opportunities for others even at the sacrifice of their own higher culture; such idealism as can move the man of wealth to feel a personal responsibility for the elevation of the whole society in intellect, wealth, religion and morals, and to pioneer with his financial resources the work of national regeneration; such idealism as can induce the man with power and capacity to consider his sole religion to be the use of his competence for the development of the powers and abilities of others by removing their thousand and one poverties and obstructions.

"Faith in new methods of thought and work can be created in a society and credit can be established regarding them only when after acquiring experience as to obstacles and difficulties from the

* Benoy Kumar Sarkar: "The Man of Letters" *Modern Review* (Calcutta, April, 1911).

failures of pioneers in the initial stages, certain individuals have attained some amount of success.

"So long, therefore, as our literary, industrial, educational and scientific movements do not arrive at this stage, so long as ordinary individuals by taking to literature, science, industry or education do not attain success and further the interests of themselves and their families; so long as common people by adopting these new paths do not acquire personal dignity and fame; so long will the responsible pioneers and creative energists have to endure losses and wastes, and undergo silent and solitary penances for the opening up of paths for future generations."

Sarkar's idealism was essentially practical and pragmatic. It was not a cult of flight from the troubles of life. It was, on the contrary, a call to action for the lowliest duties and to pioneering in the humblest atmosphere. Writing as he did for India he had to stress the point that his pioneers were not likely to enjoy success. His pragmatism was based broad and deep on the cult of self-sacrifice and martyrdom. Nothing but total renunciation and thorough preparedness for failure, non-recognition and defeat was demanded by Sarkar the idealist from his Young Bengal for pioneering activities and path-finding enterprises. Sarkar at least has remained true to his idealism.

These were momentous words on idealism. Some ten years after they were spoken, men like Chitta Ranjan Das, Rajendra Prasad (Patna), Dr Prafulla Ghosh (Dacca), Jawaharlal Nehru (Allahabad), Dr. Sures Banerji (Comilla), Subhas Bose and others started out of independent convictions on the Sarkar path of idealistic pragmatism and pioneering. But in 1911 men like Aurobindo Ghosh, Vinayak Damodar Savarkar (Poona) and Har Dayal (Lahore) had already become well-known pioneers in this kind of idealism. All these names are famous in the Indian political agitation with which, however, Sarkar as non-political idealist has never had any contact.

The Cultural Pragmatist at Home and Abroad

Sarkar is himself a concrete example of this spirit. Service to mother-land has been the main spring of his life. It manifested itself as soon as the *Swadeshi* Movement had its first expression in Bengal (1905). An inspired, energetic, and highly meritorious young man still in his teens (born at Malda, December 1887) boldly dedi-

cated himself to the service of the country by rejecting in 1905 the State Scholarship for proceeding to England which was offered him by the Government of India as a reward for his brilliant career in the Calcutta University. He was fully conscious of the losses he would sustain in different directions as long as he would live. But with a smile he rejected, along with the Government stipend, everything that is ordinarily considered to be of value,—money, worldly position, official honour and social prestige. An unusual instance of sincere devotion to pragmatic idealism! The urge of service to mother-land pushed him on. To him self-abnegation was self-assertion for better service to the country. Along with Aurobindo Ghosh, who at the same time renounced his position at Baroda College in order to join the newly started National Council of Education, Bengal on a pittance, Sarkar is one of the pioneers in self-sacrifice for the motherland.

His spirit of service led him next (1907) to work as an honorary professor in the Bengal National College (National Council of Education), which was the first concrete manifestation of the national spirit engendered in Bengal as a part of the *Swadeshi* Movement. Teaching as a vocation of life was held in high esteem by him and in fact he depended upon the service of teachers for his country's regeneration. He soon expressed himself very clearly on this point in his Bengali *Introduction to the Science of Education* (1910) that the teacher would be the *sannyasi* (missionary) of the near future. This, the first job of his, was very important both for himself and for his country. It fixed for him for ever the intellectual and non-political platform on which he would work to reawaken the creative and constructive instincts of his people. He rejected the political vocation deliberately, but was recognized universally in Bengal as well as Upper India as one of the most sincere, practical and rational workers for his country. The Hindi-speaking intellectuals and publicists of Bihar and the U.P. treated him as one of themselves because of his constructive patriotism as well as constant use of and advocacy for Hindi as a second language for higher education in Bengal.

Sarkar's work as pragmatic idealist had only its beginning in the Bengal National College. It soon expanded and covered several areas in Bengal and some areas outside Bengal also. He founded many national schools in the districts of Malda (the district of his birth) and Dacca (his paternal home-district) and placed them under

a Board known as the Malda District Council of National Education (*Maldaha Jatiya Siksha Samiti*) created by him for the purpose.* In these schools experiments were being made and research carried out on the Inductive Method of Teaching as expounded in his *Siksha-Vijnan* or Science of Education (1910-12) in several volumes. He was not one of those whose job ended with the formulation of ideals and precepts, but he was one of those who never stopped until what they formulated was verified and if necessary corrected. I was for several years intimately connected with him as one of the teachers of his system being attached specially to the school at Kaligram (Malda) which was managed principally by Mr. Krishna Charan Sarkar, a prominent merchant friend (not relative) of Sarkar's. I am, therefore, able to make these remarks from my personal experience.

Next, together with one of his intimate friends, Mr. Shivaprasad Gupta, zamindar and banker of Benares, Sarkar in April 1914 went out on an extensive tour round the world to study what he called *vishwa-shakti* (world-forces) and have a first-hand knowledge of the diverse conditions obtaining in the dynamic societies in order that he might be better able to direct his countrymen to their various fields of activity, and enrich their stock of knowledge with his discoveries. Better service to mother-land was, at this time, the ideal that inspired him to visit the progressive countries of the world, and he did it most effectively. Most effectively, because while in foreign lands he gathered useful and precious informations for his country. He also delivered valuable lectures about India and the East before the Universities and learned societies of Europe and America as well as wrote for their scientific journals, thereby effacing many of their wrong impressions. All this was a part of the job that he was determined to discharge faithfully as an active servant not only of Bengal, but of All-India.

It is not without interest to record that in the United States, as I gathered from American professors and editors of scientific journals, it was John Dewey, the philosopher of pragmatism, who in collaboration with the economist Seligman, the psychologist Stanley Hall, the political theorist Dunning, and the sociologists

* B. K. Sarkar: "The National Council of Education—and the National School at Malda—in Bengal," in *The Dawn and the Dawn Society's Magazine* (Calcutta, August, 1907).

Giddings and Hankins took the leading part in inviting the attention of some fifty Universities to the presence of Sarkar in the country. His official introduction to the American academic world was thus through the regular pragmatic channel.

Dewey's manifesto about Sarkar (dated New York, 4 January, 1918) may be seen in the Publishers' Preface to Sarkar's *Greetings to Young India* (Calcutta, first edition 1927, second edition, 1938).

Incidentally it may be pointed out that in the very first interview Dewey's first question to Sarkar had been as follows: "Suppose you were asked to organize the entire educational system of India, say in one word how you would begin." To this Sarkar's answer was given in the following words: "I shall make all the exact and materialistic sciences compulsory at the elementary stage, i.e., up to the fourteenth year of the child, and cause them all to be taught in the mother-tongues of the pupils." This was but a chip of pragmatism as developed by Sarkar in his educational work since 1907. For this information about Dewey I am indebted to Dass.

Another question was thus worded: "How would you take charge of the moral character of the pupils?" To this Sarkar's answer quoted from his *Educational Creed* (1910) was as follows: "Every pupil will be required to do some self-less work, however small, every day. Self-sacrifice and devotion to the interests of others must belong to the daily practice of the scholar." Sarkar's morality was and continues to be pragmatic involving as it does actual participation in social service.

In foreign lands he was an intellectual pragmatist. There he created for India sympathy, good will and affection by lectures, contributions to scientific journals, and personal discussions with eminent scholars and men of position. He convinced them of India's real worth in the past and the present. This kind of cultural work in foreign countries became one of the foundations of what he had been calling the "Greater India" (*Brihattara Bharata*) of modern times since 1910. Sarkar's activism has always been of an intellectual or cultural nature. He has been active in creating and constructing something real or solid with his mind.

As a result of his long and extensive tour in foreign countries, whatever flaw there might have been in his ideals was rectified and his outlook widened. On coming back to India in September 1925 he found, as he should have naturally anticipated, a change in some of the previous conditions under which he had worked, and

turned the course of his former cultural and intellectual activity in accordance with that change. He had plans to work along with his friend and colleague of over fifteen years, Shivaprasad Gupta of Benares, and help forward the promotion of world-culture in Hindi through the *Jnan-mandal* Society established by the latter on his return from foreign travels. But early in 1926 he was offered by the Calcutta University a teaching position in the Post-graduate Department of Economics and he accepted it.*

Simultaneously he founded one after another several Institutes of Research such as the Bengali Institute of Economics (1926), the "International Bengal" Institute (1931), etc. with himself as honorary director. In this work he has the co-operation, among others, of his friend, the scholar and industrialist Dr. Narendra Nath Law, editor of the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, and managing director of Bangeswari Cotton Mills Ltd. Several groups of scholars have gathered around him in connection with the various Institutes in order to carry on higher, post-M.A. intellectual pursuits as honorary Research Fellows. The members of these Institutes hold periodical meetings to read papers, as a rule in Bengali, on various topics of economic, sociological and cultural interest. These are presided over in the majority of cases by Sarkar. The Institutes partake of the nature of our traditional *Tols* (i.e. indigenous Academies) and are actually called as such by the outside public. The papers and discussions are reported in the dailies and published in the monthlies and become finally available as books.

Sarkar continues still to be Hony. Professor of Economics under the National Council of Education, Bengal (at College of Engineering and Technology, Jadabpur near Calcutta) with which he has been associated in the same capacity since 1907.

The Goal of Progress for India

It must be said that since his return from abroad Sarkar has been able to see more than ever before the Indian situation in its right perspective, and suggest reforms in the various avenues of social and national life accordingly. His broadened vision often

* At this stage Sarkar decided to earn his own living because in 1922 he had been married to a Tyrolese lady at Vienna and therefore considered it undesirable to utilize for personal purposes the patronage liberally extended to him by his friends since 1907.

encourages him to follow what are called "foreign" ideals. To a rational mind, it is not a sin. But blind chauvinism may decry it, and actually there are people in India, as I have indicated in my *Economic Dialectics* (Calcutta, 1938), who are more satisfied to live under rotten conditions with rotten ideas than under progressive conditions with a change of outlook. This conservatism and narrowness retarded India's progress in the past, and a true patriot is he who raises India from this slime of her superstitious gutter. Progressive Sarkar sees no virtue in eulogizing what is decrepit and moribund in India neglecting what is fresh, growing and vigorous outside India.

He appreciates those virtues which have left the East during well-known historic periods and are to day known as Western because they continue to be cultivated in the West with energy and devotion. These virtues he himself does not call foreign. He only seeks to "revive" them for Asia, India and of course Bengal. He does not confine himself to Hindu ideals and culture. To him, so-called Hindu ideals there are none; there is nothing exclusively Indian in Hindu culture; any idea, fact or truth alleged to be the essential characteristic of the "spirit of Hindustan" is at the same time the essential feature of the genius of other lands. "Young India of today is, therefore," says he, "not to approach culture or *dharma* in terms of geographical limits or indigenous, i.e., national race-ideals but drink of it and add to it as a growing stream of universal life-promoting truths; thereby compelling the world's recognition of its powers and services as a living member of the human race."

That the goal for which Sarkar lives and works is to elevate his people is clear. But one may ask: What is the clear-cut and definite ideal of his cultural or educational pragmatism? What is the concrete thing he is after when he speaks of elevation or progress? Well, we may draw one's attention to what Sarkar himself says on this point.

"The modern world," says he in *The Postulates of Young India** (Shanghai 1916), "has thrown out the following challenge to Young India with its three hundred and fifteen million souls: The number of first-class men and women in the arts and sciences, liberal and applied, and in every walk of life, which India can exhibit today

* See "The Seven Creeds of Benoy Sarkar" by Mrs. Ida Sarkar, Creed No. 3.

must be six times that of those in England or Germany or France or Japan or three times that of those in the U.S.A. before you can have a legitimate claim to world's respect. The world does not care to take note of your difficulties and hindrances, and to meet you half-way. It is your own look-out to solve them by devising adequate ways and means." It is needless to comment on this, as it is pragmatism pure and simple, i.e., pragmatism itself.

Sarkar wants to have his country industrially, scientifically and culturally as advanced as any other civilized country of the world. The amount of progress is to be, in terms of comparative population, exactly equal to that of the most advanced countries of the world. His "indices of progress" are statistical, i.e., quantitatively measurable. Man for man, India is to be equal to the highest regions. Equality with the West is, then, Sarkar's ideal or goal for the East.

Creative Disequilibrium in Educational Progress

Pragmatism prevents Sarkar from being a fixed quantity and remaining the same always. His personality is dynamic. He considers it to be a part of his cultural programme to educate his countrymen for change. The whole field of Sarkarian pragmatism experiences the transformation. It is often possible to note clearly how and to what an extent this transformation takes place as, for example, in the thousand pages of the two-volume Bengali book, *Naya Banglar Goda-Pattan* or "The Foundations of a New Bengal" (1932). We shall only examine Sarkar's educational creeds, both old and new, for an appreciation of the change that has been made necessary under altered conditions.

The Presidential Address delivered by Sarkar at the Twenty Four Pergannas District Teachers' Conference held at Barrackpore on 11th February, 1940, was entitled *New Orientations in Educational Creed,* and has been published in various journals of India including the *Teachers' Journal* (Calcutta) for May-June 1940. In the *Calcutta Review* for June 1940 it appears as the "Sociology of Creative Disequilibrium in Education." The paper is being reproduced below.

The Educational Revolution of the Swadeshi Period*

Progress is not a thing about which one can say: "Thus far and no further." Educational progress, accordingly, knows of no

* Sarkar's Barrackpore lecture begins here.

last term or finality. The ultimate synthesis or absolute of which certain philosophies in East and West talk *ad nauseam* is the greatest unreality conceivable in human affairs. Discontent, disharmony, disequilibrium and so forth in matters educational as in other spheres have to be accepted as the eternal and universal items in the individual psyche as well as in inter-human or societal relations. Every so-called synthesis is in reality a condition of conflict or disequilibrium. And virtually in every instance this disequilibrium is creative and evocative of fresh values and new orientations, in other words, essentially evolutive. Not to be prepared for such evolutive discontent or creative disequilibrium should be treated as the worst disqualification for educational statesmanship or cultural patriotism, nay, for political leadership and social pioneering.

An epoch-making educational revolution was associated in Bengal with the glorious *Swadeshi* movement of 1905-14. It was embodied in the National Council of Education, which is to-day represented chiefly by the College of Engineering and Technology, Jadabpur, near Calcutta. In that *milieu* I formulated through my *Siksha-Vijnan* (Science of Education) Series an "Educational creed" (*Sikshanushasana*) in ten articles for my use as well as for that of my colleagues in connection with the eleven or twelve "National Schools" established in the Districts of Malda and Dacca.[1] None of the several dozen schools of the National Council system are in existence to-day. But the experiments attempted by those schools have influenced our social life in no small measure. What is significant is that some of the most prominent ideals and dreams of that system have been later incorporated and factually done into life to a considerable extent in the educational institutions run by the Government of Bengal and controlled by the Universities of Calcutta and Dacca.

The *Sikshanushasana* was published first in Bengali and then in English, Hindi and Marathi in 1910. This creed is being reproduced below:

I. General

1. Aim and criterion of education twofold: the pupil must grow up to be (*i*) intellectually, a discoverer of truths and a pioneer

1 B. K. Sarkar: *Introduction to the Science of Education* (London, 1913, second edition, Madras 1930), *Siksha-Sopan* (Steps to a University): A Course of Modern Intellectual Culture adapted to the Requirements of Bengal (Calcutta, 1912).

of learning; (*ii*) morally, an organizer of institutions and a leader of men.

2. Moral training to be imparted not through lessons culled from moral and religious text-books, but through arrangements by which the student is actually made to develop habits of self-sacrifice and devotion to the interests of others by undertaking the work of philanthropy and social service.

3. To build up character and determine the aim or mission of life, (*i*) the "design," plan, and personal responsibility of a single guide-philosopher-friend, and (*ii*) the control of the whole life and career of the student are indispensable. These circumstances provide the pre-condition for true spiritual education.

4. Educational institutions and movements must not be made planks in political, industrial, social or religious agitations and propagandas, but controlled and governed by the science of education based on the rational grounds of sociology.

II. TUTORIAL

1. Even the most elementary course must have a multiplicity of subjects with due inter-relation and co-ordination. Up to a certain stage the training must be encyclopædic and as comprehensive as possible.

2. The mother-tongue must be the medium of instruction in all subjects and through all standards. And if in India the provincial languages are really inadequate and poor, the educationist must make it a point to develop and enrich them within the shortest possible time by a system of patronage and endowments on the "protective principle."

3. The sentence, not word, must be the basis of language-training, whether in inflexional or analytical tongues, even in Sanskrit; and the Inductive Method of proceeding from the known to the unknown, concrete to the abstract, facts and phenomena to general principles, is to be the tutorial method in all branches of learning.

4. Two foreign languages besides English and at least two provincial vernaculars must be made compulsory for all higher culture in India.

III. ORGANISATIONAL

1. Examinations must be daily. The day's work must be finished and tested during the day. And terms of academic life

as well as the system of giving credit should be not by years or months but according to subjects or portions of subjects studied. Steady and constant discipline, both intellectual and moral, is possible only under these conditions.

2. The laboratory and environment of student life must be the whole world of men and things. The day's routine must therefore provide opportunities for self-sacrifice, devotion, recreations, physical culture, sports, excursions, etc., as well as pure intellectual work. There should consequently be no long holidays or periodical vacations except when necessitated by pedagogic interests.

The impacts of the "ideas of 1905" and especially of the "national education movement" on Bengali culture and pedagogics are too obvious to be overlooked.[2] In the first place, Bengali is today not a mere second language. It has become the official medium of instruction in all the subjects taught in the entire school system of Bengal. An educational war-cry of the *Swadeshi* revolution has thus been rendered into positive law. Secondly, the encyclopædic scientific training for all the classes of a Matric School on which the "national education movement" placed the greatest emphasis has been accepted at last by the authorities as the programme for all the schools in the country. Then, again, it may be observed, incidentally, that the prosecution of independent researches and original investigations in Indian history and culture on the one hand and in the modern exact sciences on the other was one of the fundamental objectives of the National Council. The entire world of scholarship in Eur-America, Asia and Africa today is aware that this objective of the pioneers of 1905 has not remained a pious wish of a few dreamers and visionaries in Bengal but has been realized in a thoroughly palpable manner throughout the length and breadth of India during the last quarter of a century or so.

The New Social Forces

But if in 1940 I were to start again on a career of educational propaganda and pedagogic patriotism it would not do to depend

2 See the *Dawn and the Dawn Society's Magazine* (Calcutta, 1903-1910) edited by Satischandra Mukerjee, and the Reports of the National Council of Education, Bengal (1906-1910) See also B. K Sarkar *Creative India* (Lahore, 1937), pp. 611-643 (Education and Research in Science), and *The Sociology of Races, Cultures and Human Progress* (second edition, Calcutta, 1939), pp. 82, 305, 326.

exclusively on those ideas. Nor is it necessary for me to reproduce *in toto* all the ten articles of my Educational Creed of the *Swadeshi* period. The effective advances of Bengal, nay, of all India in education and culture as in politics, economic development and social life have rendered some of those articles superfluous or rather first postulates of the pedagogic apparatus. That creed has to be remade and adjusted to the novel psycho-social pattern or *Gestalt*. Indeed, a somewhat new educational creed requires to be constructed in consonance with the new conditions of life obtaining today. It is on this new creed that the next step in our educational progress will depend.

Several noticeable features of the present social and cultural atmosphere may be singled out. In the first place, the Government of the country has come into the hands of the people to no negligible extent. In other words, freedom-in-democracy or democracy-in-freedom is already a part of the people's experiences. The situation which inspired Bengali patriots and educational statesmen during the *Swadeshi* period to embark on establishing schools and colleges independent of Government or University control hardly exists at the present moment. Without much pricks of conscience it should not be unreasonable to declare that practically every school and college in Bengal today that is administered by the Government or submits to the supervision and control of the Universities is more or less a "national institution" as understood by the *Swadeshi* revolutionists. In regard to this item of Government *vs.* People we must, however, observe as in regard to other items of human progress :

"I have climbed a height indeed,
But, alas, the highest is yet to come."

In other words, higher doses of freedom and democracy are to be found in our present demand-sheet. All the same, the patriotism of establishing schools and colleges independent of the Government or the Universities is not likely to flourish on a mentionable scale in the atmosphere of 1940. This consummation,—the swarajification of Government,—partial and halting although,—is indeed a tremendous justification of the Bengali nationalistic movements of a generation ago.

In the second place, industrialization and technocracy with which the Bengali *Swadeshi* movement was identified in its economic aspects have made advances in Bengal as elsewhere in India during

the last generation.[3] Factories, banks, insurance companies, export-import houses and so forth are to be counted among the Bengali enterprises of to-day. Equally noteworthy are the new agricultural methods, the renovated varieties of rice, wheat, sugarcane, etc., and the expansion of industrial crops throughout India. Roads, railways and irrigation works have also felt the urge for expansion and improvement. All this has succeeded in improving to a certain extent the economic condition of the people. New careers and avenues to employment have not failed to make their appearance. The standard of living, health and efficiency has been somewhat rising not only among the middle classes but among peasants and industrial workers as well. These indices of progress in the material line, however slight they be, have justified the activities of the Bengali revolution of 1905-14. That revolution aimed, be it recalled, first, at the assimilation of modern machinery, tools and implements, and secondly at large-scale and intimate contacts with the industrial powers like Japan, U.S.A., Great Britain, Germany and France, both in business concerns and institutions of technical learning.

Thirdly, it is worth while to note that during the first decade or two of the present century Bengali culture, especially in its modern aspects, was in the main man-made. The evolution of the *Swadeshi* movement has in its natural course engendered the class-consciousness of creative woman, both Hindu and Mussalman. Today the civilisation of modern Bengal is marked by gradually increasing doses of constructive feminism. The Bengali woman, indeed, the entire womanhood of India, is at present in evidence as much in social service and politics, as in journalism, fine arts, sports, education and what not. The schools, the colleges and the Universities have therefore been adapting themselves more and more to the requirements of girls and young women. The social transformation implied in this impact of the female sex on the culture of Young Bengal constitutes a fundamental *differentium* between 1940 and 1905-14. And this bids fair to grow in intensity, variety and quantity as a social force. The alleged functional distinction between man and woman is going to be a thing of the past in Bengal and in the rest of India as in other parts of the modern world. Occupational equality between the sexes, i.e., the masculinization of woman in the

3 B. K. Sarkar: *Economic Development*, 2 Vols. (Madras and Calcutta, second edition 1938).

vocations of life is tending to become a reality of Bengal's as of the entire world's societal structure.

Last but not the least is to be mentioned the self-conscious manhood of the peasants in the villages on the one hand as of the workingmen in the industrial areas on the other. The "ideas of 1905" were hardly cognisant of the peasant and the working classes. It is chiefly during the last two decades that the economic, political and cultural requirements and demands of these two classes have forced themselves upon the Bengali (and all-Indian) *Swadeshi* revolution. Very little, however, has yet been accomplished in order to meet the wants of these two classes. But no planning of any sort in India today and tomorrow can be of any worth which fails to respond adequately to the cry from these newly awakened masses. Bengali culture cannot any longer be treated as the culture exclusively of the Bengali intellectual, *bhadralok* or other bourgeois-minded classes. For, Bengal has already been growing into the fatherland of the teeming millions comprising as they do the peasants and the industrial proletariat.[4]

These four sets of social forces in the Bengali as in the All-Indian culture-complex call for a fresh re-making of educational visions. Situated as we are in 1940 we cannot but indulge in a profound discontent and engender a disequilibrium in our educational and cultural perspectives, in our socio-economic relations and in political norms. The cry for more freedom, more democracy, more socialism, more sex-equality, more technocracy, more industrialization, more careers, more food, more health, more culture—no matter under what slogans—has got to be embodied in new educational creeds.

The Re-making of the Educational Creed

Some amount of political freedom or democracy, be it stressed, has already been achieved. Industrialization and technocratic modernization have also been consummated to a certain extent. Feminism and equalization between the sexes is likewise somewhat of a social reality. No less noteworthy is the emergence of peasants and workingmen as self-conscious social forces. It is on the platform of these achievements and consummations,—howsoever elementary

4 P. K. Mukherjee: *Labour Legislation in British India* (Calcutta, second edition, 1939); B. K. Sarkar: *Social Insurance Legislation and Statistics* (Calcutta, 1936).

and small,—that the educational creed will have to be re-made. Creative disequilibrium is called upon today to forge a new educational creed furnished with its novel orientations and urges. An educational creed such as may somewhat satisfy the new *élan de la vie* and stimulate the present socio-cultural *Gestalt* is being formulated in the following statement in twelve articles, which is to be taken not as an alternative but as a supplement to the *Sikshanu-shasana* of the *Swadeshi* period.

I. Re. Students

1. The Health Examination of boys and girls ought to be one of the functions of every educational institution. The Department of Public Health will have to co-operate with the school authorities in the matter of providing for the doctors and dentists and the clinics.

2. Physical Exercise and Military Training will have to be provided for in every school for boys or girls. A full-time instructor for these subjects as well as a well-equipped gymnasium are to be treated as indispensable necessities at each institution. The Municipalities and Union Boards ought to be interested in the maintenance of this department of the schools in their respective jurisdictions.

3. Training in Tools and Implements adapted to the local arts and crafts, old and new, including farming, as well as to the domestic requirements is to be imparted to both boys and girls without distinction of caste, creed or parental occupation and income. The provision of a competent teacher of tools as well as a workshop at each school should be one of the charges on the budgets of the local business houses, industrial establishments, banking institutions, etc. The Industries Department of the Government ought also to be interested in this item.

4. Tiffin ought to be supplied to boys and girls by every school. A small fee may be charged if and when necessary.

II. Re. Teaching Staff

1. Minimum Wage principles ought to be adopted at every school in regard to the payments for the teaching staff. The salaries will have to be constantly adjusted to the local prices and rents.

2. Shorter Hours should be regarded as indispensable for teachers in the interest of their teaching efficiency as well as physical strength and health.

3. Decent Conditions of work ought to be promoted in the school atmosphere. The rights and obligations of the different members of the teaching staff *vis-à-vis* one another as well as *vis-à-vis* the members of the governing bodies should be definitely laid down and normally acted upon in the daily round of duties.

4. Trade Unions of industrial workers should be the models in spirit to be followed by the Teachers' Associations with a view to the realization of the above and other objects in a smooth and systematic manner.

III. Re. Society

1. The Social Service rendered by teaching (primary, secondary, collegiate or university) as a function, vocation, calling or profession is neither higher nor lower than that by cultivation, cooking, unskilled work in plantations, mines or factories, fine arts, literary activities, scientific research, journalism, legal or medical practice, clerical labour, and public administration or other liberal services, high or low.

2. Educational conscription should be enforced by every collegian—male or female,—as a moral discipline upon himself or herself. This should take the form of at least one year's service to the cause of primary education for boys and girls in one's neighbourhood. The success of Bengal's campaign against illiteracy or movement for adult education will depend substantially on this kind of self-denying ordinance and constructive patriotism.

3. Industrial and Commercial Establishments ought to reserve some *Ishwar-Vritti* (gifts to God) in their regular budgets in order to help forward the school funds for laboratory, workshop, museum, radio, film, excursions, etc. The scholars turned out of the schools are the future workingmen, engineers, clerks, etc., of these business houses. In the interest of their own efficiency industrial and commercial establishments should therefore make it a point to render financial support to the educational institutions especially in their departments of tools, implements and apparatuses.

4. The Government's Health, Industry and Finance Departments will have to co-operate substantially with the Education Department and the Universities in regard to the co-ordination and rationalization of the country's educational welfare, comprising, as it ultimately must, the scheme of universal free education. It is already too late in the day for the Government Departments to plead the

paucity of funds whenever this problem of the vital interests of the teeming millions comes up for consideration. They will be compelled more and more to recognize that the very first charge on the public finances is just the education, health and efficiency services for these millions before which all other items of public administration ought to retire into the background.

The new Educational Creed will have to equip the masses and classes of Bengal for greater freedom and democracy. It ought to be conducive to the promotion of industrialization and technocracy on a much more extensive scale than at present available. Larger doses of equality between the sexes as regards vocation and legal rights are to be among the objectives of this reconstructed creed. And finally, this educational planning should be capable of expanding the effective power and augmenting the material and cultural happiness of the peasants and the workers. These are the fundamental considerations in the sociology of the next step in India's educational advance.

SELF-DIRECTION *vs* STATE INITIATIVE

It has been observed before that some doses of freedom and democracy are being enjoyed by the people. The government of the country has become the people's affair in certain proportions. The socio-political pattern of India has been moving peopleward. This is a desirable consummation both from the educational and other standpoints.

But I am not one of those who would like to depend for every item in a planning, economic, cultural, pedagogic or otherwise, exclusively or preponderantly upon state initiative or state control.[5] Those, however, who believe in *étatisme*, *i.e.*, in appealing to the state or utilizing the state machinery in season and out of season are at liberty to do so.

To me the basic foundation of freedom, democracy and socialism, in education and culture as in politics, is self-help, self-direction, individual initiative and individual creativity. Creative individualism is the life-blood of my man as a moral agent. In regard to the new educational creed promulgated today, therefore, as in regard to the old of a generation ago I call upon everybody who is

5 S. C. Dutt: *Conflicting Tendencies in Indian Economic Thought* (Calcutta, 1934).

anybody in the country not to look to state aid in the first instance or in the second instance, but to energize independently and strive individually as often and as long as possible without support from the governmental authorities.

It is chiefly in individual creativities and independent strivings that the bed-rock of moral and spiritual values like education, freedom, democracy, or socialism can be firmly established. For all pedagogic patriots, *i.e.*, self-sacrificing workers in the field of educational advance, then, my watchword for quite a long time is to be: "Struggle forward, individually by all means, collectively if possible, through hindrances, difficulties, failures, and disappointments." Today, as in 1905, Bengal wants once again "Pioneers, O Pioneers!"—to develop whose preparatory reform activities the state may be induced subsequently to exercise its final rôle.*

GANDHI'S "BASIC EDUCATION" OPPOSED BY SARKAR

It is interesting that although writing in 1940 Sarkar does not refer to the so-called "basic education" contemplated or partially inaugurated by the Wardha experts of the Gandhi regime. At several meetings of the *Bangiya Samaj Vijnan Parishat* (Bengali Institute of Sociology) he has expressed his views on the Gandhi scheme. The system which is to centre round a handicraft or some agricultural industry, in the sense that history, geography and all other arts and sciences are to be taught *through the medium of that craft or industry and in relation to it* has not been able to awaken Sarkar's sympathy as an educationist. He is too much of a pluralist and an encyclopædist to believe that human beings can be built up on such monistic foundations. According to him, therefore, the Gandhi scheme is pedagogically unsound as based on an incomplete and inadequate recognition of the diverse demands of the individual personality and the full-blooded "creativity" of human beings.

Studies, *i.e.*, practical exercises in crafts and industries have all along been demanded by Sarkar and other exponents of "national education" since 1905-7 as compulsory disciplines for everybody, but always along with and in co-ordination with other studies, linguistic, literary, scientific, aesthetic, etc. All the multifarious disciplines occupy each on independent place (a *swaraj*)—but with

* Sarkar's Presidential Address at Barrackpore ends here.

due inter-relation in Sarkar's *Siksha-Vijnan* or Science of Education (1910-1912) and *Siksha-Sopan* or Steps to a University (1912). No one subject, howsoever important or fundamental, has ever been treated by him as the peg on which the others may be safely allowed to hang. Such totalitarian domination by one *vidya, kala,* science or art, is intolerable in Sarkar's educational creeds, old and new.

It may be observed, however, that Sarkar, true to his pluralism, again, believes that in so far as over 90% of the population in India is illiterate the Gandhi scheme can be trusted to bring a certain number of boys and girls within the fold of some sort of literacy as well as practical culture. This attitude of Sarkar's is another aspect of his pragmatism. But if the Gandhi scheme is to be imposed on the entire Indian people as the system of universal public instruction it ought to be opposed, in his opinion, by all exponents of education and culture, nay, of industry and science.

Sarkar's humanism, positivism, secularism, materialism, or industrialism is not prepared to deprive any of the different arts and sciences of its *swaraj* or self-determined existence in the scheme of intellectual and moral values. This is another item in which Sarkarism, which may really be described as the spirit or philosophy of the Bengali *Swadeshi* revolution, is at one with or akin to the all-round humanism of the European Renaissance.

WHAT IS RAMAKRISHNA?

The absolute ideal by which Sarkar is guided in his educational pragmatism is the creation of the contributive type of personality, or "creative individualism" as he calls it. The same ideal of "creativity" is discernible in his religious views. Whatever religion might mean to one who was after salvation in the next world, or ascendency of the soul, or eternal bliss, Sarkar judges it by its creative and constructive capacity. He is of the opinion that the supreme glory of Ramakrishna Paramhansa (1836-86) consisted in the creation by him of Vivekananda (1862-1902) in Narendra Datta, the man who energized the morbid and inert soul of India up for action, for instance, in the interest of the poor and the helpless (*Daridra Narayana,* God in the Poor). As a true pragmatist, Sarkar sees the real spirituality of a religious mission in its efforts to render service to all and sundry. In his analysis Ramakrishna's spiritual "creativity" has served to endow India with self-consciousness and world-encompassing idealism. For an appreciation of Sarkar's religious

pragmatism we can do no better than read his lecture on Ramakrishna which was delivered at Dhanbad (Bihar) under the auspices of the Ramakrishna-Vivekananda Society, on the 21st April 1940. The lecture was entitled "What is Ramakrishna?" and ran as follows.

It is already 8 o'clock and I doubt very much if it is possible for anybody present here to listen to my words,—specially about religion, morality, spirituality and things like that.* People are thinking just at present of many other things, quite substantial things, mundane items, something of this earthly earth, things that are worldly and likely to be supremely useful. Perhaps therefore it may be quite appropriate to deal with these topics of religion, spirituality, Avatarhood and so forth from a rather material, temporal and secular point of view, especially because, as I believe, it is possible to think of Ramakrishna, as a man, as a man of flesh and blood. It is possible to think of Vivekananda as a man of muscles and bones like yourselves and myself. The Swamis of the Ramakrishna movement who are about 500 in number today are also human beings, as you see, men of flesh and blood like all of us. Let me then try to find out what is Ramakrishna, what is Vivekananda and what is the Ramakrishna-Vivekananda movement from the standpoint of human beings, men and women as we know them here and there and everywhere.

The Creativities of Man

There are human beings the world over who are all the time using the word "God" or the word *Avatar* (Incarnation of God-in-Man), and it is very curious that men and women in Europe, America, Asia, and of course our India also as a rule do not think that they are discussing something great unless they can connect it with God or *Avatar*. I believe they are philosophers, religious-minded or pious people, they are wise men and women, and I congratulate them on their philosophical bent of mind and admire their mentality, their brain power, their logic, their personality. But unfortunately my mentality is very earthly. It is possible for me to

* Sarkar's Dhanbad lecture begins here. It is based on the short-hand report. Shorthand notes were taken by Mr. Sudhir Chandra Nandy. The paper has been published in the Ramakrishna Mission's monthly *Prabuddha Bharata* (Mayavati, U.P.) for August, 1940.

think of the highest things of the earth, to think of the greatest glories of man and the world without any reference to God or *Avatar*. At any rate, you will admit that God is only a word, and, I ask, who created this word? Yourself, myself, these men and women, those other men and women over there. It is man that created gods in the past and it is man that will create gods in the future. Nobody knows if God ever created man but everybody is certain that God, the Gods and the *Avatars* are all creations of man The creator of the external, physical, natural world is unknown. But it is self-evident that man is the creator of the moral and spiritual world, the sphere of values, perhaps the only world that counts. While trying to ascertain what is Ramakrishna (1836-1886) you can, then, well imagine that I have but to discuss the powers of man, only the creative abilities and "creativities" of human beings.

Now, what is Ramakrishna? If people believe that by calling him a god or an *avatar* they honour him tremendously, they are at liberty to do so. Emotions, sentimentalities, enthusiasms are valuable ingredients in human personality. Idealistic feelings and romantic expressions will always have a very large place in the character and cultural creations of men and women. I can have no objection to the display of the *bhakti*, emotive or devotional elements in human character. The *bhakti* method of approach to Ramakrishna is by all means to be conceded to those men and women who cannot think of any other, non-romantic methods. I concede it with all my heart. The world is wide enough for all of us, *bhakti-yogis, jnana-yogis, karma-yogis*. But to me, if Ramakrishna was a god or an *avatar*, at once the following questions arise : Is a god or an *avatar* such a very glorious being, an extraordinary creature? Are men and women as a rule really sincere and serious when they take delight in pious words or phrases, nay, devout feelings and sentiments about gods and *avatars*? Do we genuinely make Ramakrishna great and glorious by treating him as a god or an *avatar*? If a god is one creation of man and an *avatar* another creation, how can a god or an *avatar* be appraised as something super-human, extra-mundane, exceptional?

To be a god or an *avatar* is by itself not a merit or a qualification, as I understand it. In order that the god or the *avatar* may be worshipped it has first to be proven that the god or the *avatar* has been serviceable or useful to man. The godliness or *avatarhood* must depend on the serviceability or usefulness. The

epithets, God and *Avatar,* are of no intrinsic significance. They have no *swaraj* or self-determined validity, no independent worth in the domain of moral and spiritual values. Instead of expatiating on a person's godhood or *avatarhood* it is more reasonable to deal direct with his contributions or services to the world of men and women. For, the god or the *avatar* has always to justify his existence or very mention by positive marks of co-operation with man in the sphere of values, i.e., of creativity in diverse fields. The supreme governor in the moral and spiritual realms is man.

Let me be perfectly frank. The picture of Ramakrishna as a god or an *avatar* does not enable me, my stupid and impious self, to realize his greatness or glory in any remarkable manner. I am almost positive that it does not satisfy the real spiritual sensibilities of even the peasant, the workingman, the poor and the pariah,—men and women who are supposed to be credulous and have faith in the mysterious, the unknown, and the unseen. And of course the sophisticated, hypercivilized, bourgeois or highbrows of the world care, generally speaking, as much for the divinity, sanctity or piety associated with such a picture as you and I do for the man in the moon.

If, then, you ask me how I want to pay homage to or worship Ramakrishna, I should begin by saying that I know nothing of him. It is clear that I have not seen him. There is nobody present here who saw him. There is none among the 500 Swamis of the present day,—Bengali, Madrasi, Ceylonese, Maratha, Oriya—who are veterans enough to have seen him. How, then, is it possible for an ordinary man, the man in the street, a rural peasant, an industrial worker, a school boy or a school girl, the academician, and the researcher to know or to understand Ramakrishna?

The fundamental problem for all of us is to try to find out what is Ramakrishna from the persons who came in contact with him, and if possible from some of the words and phrases which are supposed to have fallen from the lips of Ramakrishna. You know quite well that there is only one document in the form of a book in Bengali which contains the words of Ramakrishna, the "*Kathamrita*" (1882-86), and that happens to be the only literary document in print available today. This has been translated into many languages of India as well as several languages of Europe and America. There is hardly anything to doubt the authenticity, the genuineness of the words which were collected so religiously

and scrupulously by the compiler. I ask you, those of you who have read the *Ramakrishna Kathamrita,* as I ask myself, as to how it is that a book like that has been able to produce the vast organisation that the world sees today, the organization which I have always had the liberty of describing as the Ramakrishna Empire. Is there anything in those words, which can serve as the text, as the foundation, as the pillar of the influential structure of world-wide importance,—although not yet very large and magnificent in dimension,—which is today being governed by the 500 Swamis of the Ramakrishna Mission? I say, hardly anything.

The Ramakrishna Mission, as you all know, has been growing although not by leaps and bounds, but steadily growing all the same, from village to village, province to province, country to country, and continent to continent. It represents a world-embracing system of "intellectual" remakings and moral reconstructions. These spiritual values have been giving rise to a humane democracy among the races, nations or peoples based on the fundamental ground-work of racial equality, personal dignity and moral freedom. The Ramakrishna Empire has already been functioning as the nucleus of a new world-order emancipated from the tyranny of superiority-complexes, ethnocentrisms, chauvinisms and Brahmanocracies of all sorts, but broad-based on constructive co-operation between diverse races, nations or peoples in the field of societal enterprises.

It is, again, impossible to connect with the *Ramakrishna Kathamrita* this little institution over here at Dhanbad except perhaps in a very indirect manner. There is hardly anything in those words and phrases on the strength of which we can account for the social services as embodied in the wonderful hospital that is being run by the Ramakrishna Mission at Rangoon in Burma, that great hospital which is the second biggest hospital in Burma, the first being the Government institution. It is scarcely possible with the help of the *Ramakrishna Kathamrita* to explain the vast net-work of primary and secondary schools which are being conducted by the Swamis of the Ramakrishna Mission in the island of Ceylon. And I wonder if those words and phrases can substantially account for the great success of the regular and systematic teachings on the *Vedanta,* the *Upanishads,* the *Gita* etc. conducted by the Ramakrishna movement in the United States of America. You know that today in the United States of America there are over a dozen centres, operated by thousands of dollars all contributed by American

intellectuals, middle-class people, and bourgeoisie. Finally, what is there in the *Kathamrita* which could explain satisfactorily the gradually growing hold of the Indian cultural mavement, which is associated with the Ramakrishna Institutions, on the different parts of the world? I suspect that the words of the *Ramakrishna Kathamrita* do not furnish much guidance in regard to these organizations of all sorts in the two Hemispheres.

My remarks must not be misunderstood. I do not mean by any means that the *Kathamrita* has no value. It is certainly valuable in its own way. The compiler was interested in particular sentiments or expressions of Ramakrishna and he knew that they were valuable to himself and to many others. They have indeed rendered service and been useful to thousands of men and women since. And I have no doubt that in English, French, German, Spanish, Italian, Polish, Czech and other translations they have been serving to enrich mankind in the two Hemispheres with moral and spiritual counsels. But, on the other hand, it is perfectly clear, first, that the compiler could not possibly collect all the words and phrases that fell from Ramakrishna's lips, and, secondly, that there were dozens, nay, hundreds of others besides the compiler with whom Ramakrishna held conversation and who accordingly saw so many other sides of the great Master. Naturally, therefore, the *Kathamrita* is but a part, although a valuable part of Ramakrishna's entire personality and not the whole. There were many Ramakrishnas,—the Ramakrishnas *vis-à-vis* the carpenter, the cultivator, the boatman, the domestic servant, the housewife, the merchant, the lawyer, the clerk, the medical man, the intellectual, and so forth, that were not recorded by anybody. All those unreported Ramakrishnas, those unwritten selves of Ramakrishna cannot possibly be discovered in the *Kathamrita,* howsoever valuable and useful it be in other ways. The *Kathamrita* Ramakrishna cannot be taken to be the entire Ramakrishna.

We are therefore compelled to try to discover Ramakrishna somewhere else. There seems to be only one way, so far as my present purpose is concerned, by which it is possible to know something about Ramakrishna, and that source is none other than the personality and workmanship or handiwork of Vivekananda (1862-92). He is the only source on the strength of which it is possible for me to understand a little bit something of Ramakrishna with reference specially to the creativities developed by the Ramakrishna Mission. If Viveka-

nanda had not opened his mouth and had not been open-hearted enough to declare in so many words that whatever good he had done he owed to Ramakrishna, I as an ordinary mortal would have said that it is impossible to connect the Ramakrishna Empire with Ramakrishna.[1] If Vivekananda had not been sincere enough to announce that every thought of his life, every activity that was associated with his own life, and his entire life-work was a direct contribution of his great Master, I should have said that the gap between Ramakrishna and Vivekananda's personality and workmanship is unbridgeable. But, curiously enough, Vivekananda says nowhere in his seven volumes of complete works exactly what Ramakrishna told him to do. Not a word, not a phrase, not a hint appears to have been given out by Vivekananda which could furnish us with an effective key to the contacts between him and his great Master.

One of the counsels we have from Vivekananda in some of his letters to a *guru-bhai* (fellow-disciple) is as follows: "Do not try to describe Ramakrishna as an *Avatar,*" or rather, "Do not make much of the *avatarhood* of Ramakrishna."[2] This is a peculiar expression but a very valuable item with reference to the contents of my talk this evening. In this statement we have something negative, however. But this deserves a special emphasis by all means by the side of the positive statement referred to above about his alleged totalitarian indebtedness to Ramakrishna.

But I wonder if from such statements, expressive and profound as they are, we obtain any clue to the problem as to which items of his plan, campaign, or propaganda were directly derived from Ramakrishna's counsels. In any case, the greatest gift of Ramakrishna to Vivekananda was perhaps never categorically declared by Ramakrishna nor has it been definitely expressed by Vivekananda. What, then, is Ramakrishna is a mystery to me and that is a question which everyone of us has to explain in his own way.

1 See the Address at Calcutta in Vol. III (1932) p 312 of the *Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda.*

2 See some of the letters of Vivekananda, e.g, the one written from the U S.A. on May 6, 1895 (*The Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda,* Vol. V (1924), p 64. See also the conversations in the same volume, pp. 305-306, as well as Vol. VI. (1926), p. 524.

RAMAKRISHNA = WORLD-CONQUEST

Let me then proceed in my way. I can know Vivekananda in his activities, I can know Vivekananda in his thoughts. Now if Vivekananda is a sincere reporter about Ramakrishna—and I believe he is—then I should say that the inspiration that Vivekananda got from Ramakrishna is to be found embodied in all the creativities for which Vivekananda lived and moved and in which Vivekananda had his being. I, therefore, try to discover Ramakrishna not so much in Ramakrishna's words and phrases as in what Vivekananda did and thought. For my present analysis Vivekananda is virtually the only creation of Ramakrishna, practically the solitary child of Ramakrishna.

Vivekananda is perhaps too modest, too humble, too self-denying or too self-effacing when he attributes every item of his life's work to Ramakrishna. A critical student of personality, characterology, social processes, human progress, growth of ideas and institutions would observe at once that Vivekananda can by no means be exclusively Ramakrishna. This totalitarian ascription of every thing to Ramakrishna is not acceptable as a psycho-social reality. Vivekananda is certainly Ramakrishna but he is also something more. And this "something more" can be further analyzed into Vivekananda's "personal equation" *plus* many things that are neither Ramakrishna nor Vivekananda. But, for the present, interested as I am chiefly in Ramakrishna I may ignore these larger considerations and partially accept Vivekananda's modesty and humility (although not his wholesale self-effacement) as the basis of my knowledge about Ramakrishna. This modesty and humility of Vivekananda *vis-à-vis* Ramakrishna is, let me observe *en passant*, quite genuine and honest. For me the supreme consideration tonight is that in any case Ramakrishna is to be discovered in the personality and life's work of Vivekananda.

Vivekananda, as you know, did many things; but there is one item which I wish to emphasise tonight, and that item is the fact that he left India and crossed over to the other world,—not the other world of theologians and metaphysicians—I mean, to the trans-Atlantic world, America.

> "Lo! there's America newly arisen,
> To swallow the universe she maketh attempt.
> Restless has she grown through her innate might,
> Her *hu-humkar* yells cause the earth to quake.

Disembowel she would the globe, as it were,
And reshape it fresh at her own sweet will."

This is the U.S.A. in the Bengali poet Hemchandra Banerji's imagination as embodied in his soul-stirring verses on Young India (c 1886). It is to this all-risking and all-seizing America, this new world of creative energists and all-assimilative men and women that Vivekananda wends his way (1893). To this continent of self-conscious demolitions and reconstructions he swims across, so to say, in his poverty and in his yellow robe.[3]

When you ask me what is Ramakrishna, my answer is that every activity of Vivekananda's is Ramakrishna personified. Ramakrishna, then, is Vivekananda's voyage to America. Vivekananda was not invited. He was at the time virtually unknown and untried even in India, nay, in Bengal—in the world of science, philosophy, spirituality or social service. But he ventured to present himself to the Parliament of Religions at Chicago, perhaps as an unwelcome guest. The Parliament was a vast assembly of several thousand men and women,—philosophers, scientists, theologians, professors of religion and ethics, race-experts, anthropologists, sociologists, and others. To that Congress he made his way. Who counselled or inspired him to make his way? Ramakrishna. That young man found himself face to face with the most varied specimens of world-wide humanity, occidentals as well as representatives of other races, guests and delegates from the invited institutions of all corners of the globe. The combined intelligence of the entire world, assembled at Chicago, listened to this uninvited and perhaps unwelcome intruder from the banks of the Southern Ganges and was convinced that a new power had arisen in the international sphere and that this new power was Young India. East and West,—philosophers, scientists, middleclass men and women, business magnates, millionaires,—all came into contact with Vivekananda and they had to declare that this young man of 31 had conquered the world. Vivekananda was acclaimed as the world-conqueror for Young India. Young India got a diploma of world-conquest in 1893. What, then, is Ramakrishna? I deliver the following equation,

Ramakrishna = world conquest.

3 See "Vivekananda as World-Conqueror" in B. K. Sarkar's *Creative India* (Lahore, 1937), pp. 669-688.

Charaiveti (march on) and *digvijaya* (conquest of the quarters) which had been the facts of Indian culture, Indian arts and sciences, Indian peoples since the days of the Mohenjodarian and Vedic Rishis have at last come back to modern India through Vivekananda, the child of Ramakrishna.[4] Ramakrishna is the *avatar* or god, if you please, for the establishment of "Greater India" in modern times.

From 1757 down to 1893 for more than a hundred years,—for nearly 140 years, the world had known almost nothing about Indian India, nothing of the creative Hindus and Mussalmans, nothing of Indian culture, nothing of India's constructive energism. In 1893 Vivekananda threw the first bomb-shell that announced to mankind in the two Hemispheres, to the men and women of America as of England, France, Germany, Russia, Italy, nay, to the yellows of Japan and China that India was once more to be a power among the powers of the world. Mankind came to realize 1893 as the year No. 1 of a vast empire and to recognize the founder of that empire as Vivekananda. That Indian Empire of modern times has had a brilliant band of strenuous energists as its architects continuously since 1893. You ask me, what is Ramakrishna? My reply: Ramakrishna is the man who started Young India on the career of world-conquest. The evidence? Ask Vivekananda, he knows.

Ramakrishna = Emancipation of Asia

The men and women of India had been known in those days only as slaves, as clerks and coolies, as pariahs to the rest of the world. But the recognition of Vivekananda by the combined intelligence of Eur-America as a first class power in 1893 served to elevate enslaved and parianized India to the plane of equality with the physical conquerors of the world. Americans and Englishmen began to feel that from now on they would have to treat Indians, however modest they be in clothing, however humble be their huts, however simple be their food, and however negligible be their earnings in dollars or sterling, as men and women on a par with themselves in the world of intellectual and moral values. Frenchmen and

4 See B. K. Sarkar: *Introduction to Hindu Positivism* (Allahabad 1937). The doctrine of *Charaiveti* is discussed on pp. 60, 103, 110, 149, 184, 390, 451, 459, 465, 469, 572, and of *Digvijaya* on pp. 15, 86, 362, 572 and 623.

Germans also commenced realizing that they could not look upon Indians all the time as mere learners at the Universities of Paris, Berlin, Oxford and New York. The world of academies, scientific institutes and learned societies began to feel likewise that representatives of India deserved to be invited to the Western universities and seats of higher learning as teachers on terms of equality with the representatives of their own races. Vivekananda is thus the embodiment of the doctrine of equality between India and America, between India and Europe.

What, then, is Ramakrishna? Ramakrishna is the spirit of challenge to the combind intellect of Eur-America, and antidote to the superiority-neurosis of the Western world. He is the spirit of defiance against the world-domination as established by white men and women, against the chauvinism of all-inocracy. He is the embodiment of resistance against all sorts of slavery, willing or unwilling, forced upon the teeming millions of Asia. The emancipation of Asia from the thraldom of Eur-America, i.e., the Monroe Doctrine for Asia is the message of Ramakrishna, as delivered in and through Vivekananda, the only creation of Ramakrishna for my present discussion.

The *status quo* in the relations between East and West was subverted by Vivekananda in 1893. Equality with the world-powers was tasted by Young India, and the Indian freedom movement was ushered into being. This self-consciousness of the Indian people has been broadening down from individuals to individuals, from groups to groups. Vivekananda's achievement marks the beginnings of Young India's serious and cumulative ambitions in the fields of modern science, industry, machinism and technocracy. It is here that we encounter the initial inspiration for the glorious *Swadeshi* revolution of 1905. What, then, is Ramakrishna, if the categories, God and *Avatar*, are to be employed? I declare that Ramakrishna is the God or *Avatar* of mankind for the Indian Empire that has been unfolding itself in diverse spheres slowly but steadily during the twentieth century *within and outside the limits of the Ramakrishna Mission*. This empire is functioning inspite of the poverty of the Indian people. It is functioning notwithstanding the absence of facilities and in the teeth of world-encompassing opposition from the *status quo*.

Young India's men and women of thought and action have been winning recognition in China, in Indonesia, in Japan, in Turkey,

in Iran, in Egypt, in the two Americas, in Europe, indeed, wherever there is somebody to take interest in industry and science, politics and culture, manhood and freedom. Power is being conquered by Young India at home and abroad inch by inch or dose by dose. Young India is being silently and even openly recognized as a power among the powers of the world by all those scientists, philosophers, men of letters, statesmen and peace-workers who have the eyes to see the rejuvenation of races and the establishment of new world-orders.

What, then, is Ramakrishna? Ramakrishna is identical with the conquest of power by the young, the new and the untried, with the conquest of power by the poor and the pariah. If you want to create a god or *avatar* for these human creativities, I should say, finally, that Ramakrishna, the prophet of the clerk and the coolie, the apostle of the poor and the pariah, is the god or *avatar* of the conquest of power.*

Pragmatic Theory of Progress

In religion, then, as in general culture, pedagogics, morality, and the goal of India Sarkar's touchstone of worth or value is usefulness, creativity, serviceability etc. of the person, institution or movement. It is only by *results* on the world of men and manners that he appraises the values of things.

No less pragmatic is Sarkar's very conception of progress. The idea of progress is one of the important constants in his ideology. His monthly *Arthik Unnati* (Economic Progress), established 1926, carries the idea in its very title. In the two volumes of *Naya Banglar Goda-Pattan* (The Foundations of a New Bengal, 1932) as well as in *Badtir Pathe Bangali* (Bengalis in Progress, 1934) the indices of progress have been elucidated quantitatively, i.e., statistically as well as chronologically. His equations of comparative industrialism and comparative demography as explained in *Economic Development* Vol. II (1932, 1938) and *The Sociology of Population* (1936) are nothing but statistical studies in the evolution of progress. As is well known, the thirteen volumes of *Varttaman Jagat* (Modern World), published as books between 1914 and 1935, have served but to illustrate the facts of progress in modernism in a concrete and realistic manner. His *Futurism of Young Asia* (first edition,

* Sarkar's Dhanbad lecture ends here.

Berlin, 1922), which had its origin in a paper in the *International Journal of Ethics* (Chicago, 1918), has come out in the second edition (Calcutta, 1939) as the *Sociology of Races, Cultures and Human Progress*. The doctrine of progress has been the subject likewise of his recent papers in English[1] and Bengali, for instance, in "Religious Categories as Universal Expressions of Creative Personality" (published in the *Religions of the World*, Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture, Calcutta, 1937) and in *Samaj-Vijnan* (Sociology), Vol. I. (1938, 1940). The oldest document of Sarkar's theory of progress is of course his *Itihas-Vijnan O Manav-jatir Asha* (Calcutta, 1911), published in London (1912) as the *Science of History and the Hope of Mankind*.

Neither directly nor indirectly has Sarkar ever declared his faith in a progress which leaves no room for evil. The totalitarian annihilation of misery, misfortune, poverty, disease, vice, sin or other forms of evil is not to be found in Sarkar's conception of progress. His progress is an eternal struggle between what happens for the time being to be called good and what happens at the same time to be called evil. Each and every condition in inter-human relations or even in the individual psyche is according to him a state of discontent, disharmony, disequilibrium and so forth. There is no last term or finality of a so-called ultimate synthesis in educational progress, as he says in *New Orientations of the Educational Creed*,[2] a lecture at Barrackpore on February 11, 1940. The movement is from one disequilibrium to another disequilibrium, from one struggle to another struggle. A decisive struggle or knock-out blow in which the last evil of the world is finally crushed by the last or absolute good does not exist in Sarkar's mentality. Each and every condition is good as well as evil at the same time, he believes. An "all-good" or "evil-less" state does not belong to his philosophy of progress, as has been often maintained by him in the discussions at the Bengali Institute of Sociology as in many published writings.

There is progress achieved,—a dose or doses of progress,—so thinks Sarkar, as soon as the misery of the hour has been over-

1 B K. Sarkar: "Social Metabolism in its Bearings on Progress" (*Social Forces*, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, U.S.A., December, 1937).

2 See, *Supra*, the section entitled "Creative Disequilibrium in Educational Progress."

powered. It may be replaced perhaps by another misery. But, then, if man is strong enough by hook or by crook to get rid of that second misery he will be credited with having scored a triumph in the second round, and so on. Progress is thus a series of fights between good and evil. And this fight is eternal. Good is changing its forms. So also is evil. The tug of war between the two is that between new forms of good and evil. Evil, therefore, never disappears wholly from the world of human beings.

All that Sarkar cares for is to see that mankind is perpetually prepared for encountering the latest forms of evil. His optimism is based on this fact of constant preparedness, permanent war-preparedness against evil. He believes that men and women have known, through the ages of history, how to combat the evils of the day and to achieve some sort of a triumph in each instance. This kind of pragmatism in the conception of progress has not rendered it necessary for Sarkar to devise or foresee the millennial *Yugantars* and "new orders" for mankind. His futurism does not enthuse over a golden age for tomorrow or day after tomorrow. In his philosophy of optimism and progress every victory is but a preparation for or a preamble to a fresh war. Herein lies his "hope for mankind" as established in the *Science of History* (London 1912).

Lecturing on the *Control of Poverty* at the Lajpat Rai Hall in Lahore on October 29, 1936 Sarkar said: "Poverty is not a product of this age. It is as old as mankind and not only eternal but universal too. Poverty has never been successfully uprooted. It has remained and shall remain, even though it changes its forms."[3]

Sarkar observed that poverty was universal and eternal and that was why people in all ages—even Vedic as well as Hesiodic—attempted to control poverty. It was a factor of their culture and charity was considered to be a very effective control. But as time went on, he said, new methods were employed, and Bismarck set in the system of affording help from the employer to the employee. The method of payment by the employer to the employee's insurance was started as a controlling measure against poverty.

Sarkar opined, as the *Tribune* (Lahore) reports, that no such time could ever come when there would be no "have-nots." These would continue in new forms.

3 Reported in the *Tribune* (Lahore) of October 30, 1936 under the heading, "Is Poverty Eternal?"

In other words, Sarkar in spite of his extraordinary faith in "social insurance" as the "greatest single achievement of capitalistic civilization" did not believe that it did or would finally abolish poverty. As against the Marxists and other socialists who believe that some day somehow poverty will be a thing of the past, he maintains that the war against poverty has ever to go on in new forms and under novel conditions. In the eternal war-preparedness against poverty is to be found, according to Sarkar, one of the greatest spiritualities of man as an economic agent.

Sarkarism in progress, therefore, marks in a pragmatic manner the doses or stages of triumph or victory achieved by man over evil but at the same time pragmatically points with emphasis to the fresh dangers ahead.[4]

CHAPTER II

"Revolutionary Departures from the Old Track"

Pioneering in Pedagogics

In 1912 when the first edition of Sarkar's *Lessons on the Study of Sanskrit* (in four parts, 550 pages) came out the academic world found in them for the first time, lesson by lesson, a method developed in all details to teach Sanskrit without the learner's going through a first course of grammar. Writing about Sarkar's method of teaching Sanskrit, Mahamahopadhyaya Professor Adityaram Bhattacharya of Muir College, Allahabad, an expert in Sanskrit grammar, observed as follows:

"The old method has done its part so long. But if quicker methods of acquiring languages, living or dead, be discovered and introduced, humanity will bless him whose inventive genius can succeed to achieve the object which every well-wisher of learning has at heart. At the very outset the attempt looks somewhat revolutionary. But in other fields it is such revolutionary departures from the old track that have hastened the advance of arts and sciences."

4 B. K. Sarkar: "Creative Disequilibrium in Freedom, Democracy and Socialism" (*Calcutta Review*, January, 1940). See also his *Progress Planning as a Scheme of Emancipation on Five Fronts* (1939) in Mrs. Ida Sarkar's "The Seven Creeds of Benoy Sarkar," Creed No. 7.

Professor Bhattacharya is describing here Sarkar's application of the "direct" method in the teaching of Sanskrit, which, as is well known, has been used in many other languages since the Bohemian (Czech) pedagogist Comenius (1592-1671) hit upon it in the seventeenth century.

The present study may commence with the statement that the entire scientific work of Sarkar has consisted in a systematic execution of "revolutionary departures from the old track" in every field that he has attacked. One or two aspects of Sarkar's pedagogic theories and educational experiments may be singled out at the outset.

In February 1911 he broached at the session of the North Bengal Literary Conference held at Malda* the plan for fostering Indian mother-tongues with a view to rendering them available as media of instruction in the entire academic life from the lowest school classes up to the highest University stage. The same year at the session of the Bengali Literary Conference held at Mymensingh in April his plan was accepted for a regular resolution adopted by the *littérateurs* of Bengal. Simultaneously he placed a fund with the *Bangiya Sahitya Parishat* (Bengali Academy of Literature) for the purpose of promoting the enrichment of Bengali language through translations from standard European authors; and he got the fund associated, be it said *en passant*, with the name of Tagore to signalize the fiftieth birth anniversary of the poet (two years before the Nobel award). All this was mentionable pioneering in those days and the "revolutionary departure" from the beaten track was quite manifest.

Today in 1940 it is possible to assert that Sarkar's revolutionary methodology and pioneering have become normal features in the educational system of the country. For the first time in the history of modern India the Matriculation examination of the Calcutta University in all the subjects of instruction has been held throughout the length and breadth of Bengal in Bengali, the mother-tongue of the Bengali-speaking people. This official step has of course had a history of its own in the making of which many non-official movements have had a part.

* B. K. Sarkar: "The Man of Letters" in the *Modern Review*, Calcutta, for April, 1911. It appeared the same year originally in Bengali as *Sahitya-sevi* and subsequently in Hindi and Marathi versions.

Another instance may be cited. Sarkar's *Siksha-Vijnan* (Science of Education) promulgated as well as his National Schools in Malda and Dacca executed the plan of commencing the most elementary curriculum with a comprehensive course in all the physical or natural sciences. His *Siksha-Sopan* (Steps to a University), "A Course of Modern Intellectual Culture Adapted to the Requirements of Bengal," published first in 1912 on the basis of the experiences since 1907, furnished a graduated science course according to the age of the pupil from the seventh to the fourteenth year. The entire curriculum was of course developed in Bengali. *Siksha-Sopan* went through several editions. At the present moment it is well-known throughout India that in the fifteen hundred secondary schools of Bengal every boy or girl will have to appear at the Matric in 1942 in the comprehensive science paper among other subjects.

Incidentally it is interesting to observe that Sarkar's insistence on the mother-tongue as well as on natural science links up the Bengali *Swadeshi* movement of 1905-1914 with the European Renaissance, because with Comenius, the great Renaissance educator, also, these two ideas were fundamental. Lest it be forgotten, it is desirable to emphasise that Sarkarism in many respects was the embodiment of the fundamental educational, cultural and other ideas of 1905.

It is the ideals of Young Bengal as developed during the previous two decades, since 1885-1890, that found effective expression in some of Sarkar's pedagogic works. The contemporaries in educational and cultural fields took these works as profoundly original in conception, treatment and language. Other pioneers of the time were Gooroodas Banerji and Rabindra Nath Tagore, authors of pedagogic writings in Bengali. With both Sarkar was in contacts through Satis Chandra Mukherjee's *Dawn Society* (established 1902). Sarkarism may then be said to have summed up an epoch and started a new in educational theories and experiments. Sarkar's pioneering in pedagogics began to be well recognised by teachers of secondary schools in the *mofussil* about the time of the last Great War (1914-18).

"VARTTAMAN JAGAT" IN BENGALI CULTURE

I shall now indicate some marks of pioneering by Sarkar in humanism, racial equality, world-sense and internationalism. This

leads me to an examination of that epoch-making landmark of Bengali language and literature, entitled *Varttaman Jagat* (Modern World) in thirteen volumes (4700 pages, 1914-1935).

Whatever truth there might be in the arguments advanced by the "geographical determinists" as to the real causes of India's backwardness, we are not ready to be duped by them. But we should not at the same time deceive ourselves with the belief that there has been no social stagnation in India. It does not require much intelligence to comprehened that India has lagged behind the progressive countries of the world, and that there were definite forces working behind India's decadence. It is very often questionable if the Indian people consciously followed a real theory of social progress in the past for their advance. It is true that India was once a prosperous and happy country, and contributed a great deal to human culture and civilization. But her progress may not often have been the result of definite conscious attempts at betterment. At any rate it was hardly a continuous one. In later phases its current became feebler and feebler making her incapable of adding to the world's common stream of culture as before.

When India had thus ceased to be a patent world-force, her people began to find consolation in the glorification of their country's past achievements. This made them more or less "ethnocentric", and their ethnocentrism, in its turn, created in them a strong prejudice against consciously adopting the progressive world-forces. Such a state of things continued till the eighteenth century, when because of the compulsory contact with the West Indian people, for the first time after a long period, were bound to feel, in spite of their stubbornness due to self-centrism and conservatism, the direct pressure of world-forces on them. Rammohun Roy (1772-1833) was the first conscious planner of India's contacts with the world-forces. For a whole century he has been followed consciously or unconsciously by every Indian modernist in culture.

But it is only in the present century that attempts to draw India's attention to the world-forces as an indispensable study for her regeneration have been made on an extensive, democratic and totalitarian scale. For instance, Sarkar in his *Science of History and Hope of Mankind*, which was published first in Bengali in the *Prabasi* (Calcutta) for 1911 and then in England 1912, as well as in some of his previous works in Bengali, laid the philosophical and scientific

foundation of such a study by enunciating the doctrine of *Vishwa-shakti* (world-forces). It is in this doctrine that Sarkar's key to progress is to be discovered.

That was not all. In April 1914, Sarkar as a true social scientist, like the true natural scientists such as Darwin, Huxley and others of the past and present, himself went to many parts of the world for a proper understanding and close observation of the phenomena known as world-forces. The French indologist, Professor Sylvain Levi, met Sarkar at Paris in 1920-21 and used to remark in his at-homes, as says Monsieur Amitabha Ghosh, that this "Hindu" scholar had come to France to "discover" the French people, with the eyes of a Columbus, for his fatherland.

The experiences of this "*Colomb hindou*" (Indian Columbus) have been recorded in Bengali in a series of 13 books under the title of *Varttaman Jagat* and also in English in several works of different types under different titles. All these have ushered in a new epoch of Bengali thought and action, and made a profound impression upon the Indian mind in general. We are very much inclined to say, with sufficient background of impressions in the districts and among the middle classes to support us, that the domain of modern Bengal's social, political and economic ideas and ideals since 1920 has been eminently although, of course, by no means exclusively under the influence of Sarkar's ideologies.

Progress is often the result of individual ascendency in the realm of ideas, ideals and precepts. But it is only when positivism in alliance with relativism, instead of emotionalism is the foundation upon which individual ascendency rests in the domain of thought, that a people may be more certain of its further advance.

CREATIVE BENGAL (1890-1940)

During the last fifty years (1890-1940) the culture and public life of Bengal have been developed and influenced by many Bengalis of distinction. In connection with creative Bengal it should be possible to mention at least five or six dozen at random in different fields, e.g., poetry, drama, fiction, painting, music, science, medicine, historical research, philosophy, politics, education, economics, business, law, social service, philanthropy, journalism, religion, etc. Many of them belonged to the previous generation and are no more. It is an age rich in personalities.

To mention only the seniors of Sarkar, this is the epoch of Vivekananda, Mahendra Sircar (Science Association), Girish Ghosh, Rabi Tagore, Raja Janaki Roy (Dacca), Romesh Dutt, Nawab Ashanulla (Dacca), Maharaja Manindra Nandy (Cossimbazar), Brajen Seal, Ramendra Trivedi, Ameer Ali, Ambika Ukil (bank and insurance organizer), Haraprasad Sastri, Jagadis Bose, Prafulla Roy, Kshirod Vidyavinod, Dwijendralal Roy, Mosharraf Hussain (of *Vishad-Sindhu* fame), Abdul Karim *Sahitya-Visharad,* Abanindra Nath Tagore, Gooroodas Banerji, Asutosh Mookerjee, Pramatha Bose (geologist), Satis Mukherjee (Dawn Society), Mozammul Haq (Nadia), Rashbehari Ghose, Rajen Mookerjee (industrialist), Jogen Ghose (industrial education), Maharaja Pradyot Kumar Tagore (patron of art), Ishan Ghosh (translator of the *Jatakas*), Fazlul Haq, Raja Hrishikesh Law (foreign trade), Nawab Abdul Latif (Wakf charities), Tarak Palit, Swami Abhedananda, Akshay Maitra (Rajshahi), Aswini Datta (Barisal), Suren Banerji, Bipin Pal, Aurobindo Ghosh, Ambika Majumdar (Faridpur), Kavirajes Dwaraka Sen and Syamadas Vachaspati, Abdul Rasul, Sisir and Moti Ghosh of the *Amrita Bazar,* Brajendra Kishore Roy-Chowdhury (Gouripur, Mymensingh), Sris Basu and Baman Das Basu of Panini Office (Allahabad), Majibur Rahman (Editor, *The Mussalman*), Dines Sen, Akram Khan (exponent of *Alam* or social reform), Jadu Sarkar, Jadu Majumdar (Jessore), Akshay Sarkar (Chinsurah), Jatra Sen (Chittagong), Wahed Hussain (social and legal studies), Chittaranjan Das, Khuda Bukhsh, Pulin Das (Dacca), Narendralal Khan (Narajole, Midnapore), Satyen Datta, Rakhal Banerji, Ananda Roy (Dacca), Haradayal Nag (Comilla), Nagen Basu (*Vishwakosha*), Nilratan Sarkar, Ramananda Chatterjee, Kishori Mohan Chowdhury (Rajshahi), Abdullah Suhrawardy, Hiren Datta, Upen Brahmachari (Kalazur discoverer), Swami Vijnanananda, Pramatha Chaudhuri (art and literary critic). But this epoch, full of varied and ambitious thoughts and activities as it is, cannot be comprehended in some of its characteristic phases without taking due cognisance of the pragmatism and pioneering as embodied in the works of one of their younger contemporaries, Benoy Sarkar, especially in that monument of painstaking and strenuous investigations in world-economy, world-politics and world-culture, *Varttaman Jagat.*

In this enumeration of some Bengali celebrites of the last half-century I am following the principles of Sarkarism which in this item as in others differs from the traditional method. Sarkar attaches

great importance to the personalities in the mofussil centres (the districts) which as a rule are ignored by ordinary authors, who, as Sarkar has said very often, are subject to the "despotism of Calcutta." In the second place, in Sarkar's estimate the most diverse forms of activity and thought, even at poles asunder to one another, are to be valued and enumerated in an examination of the country's achievements, whereas ordinarily the authors mention just those persons who happen to belong more or less to certain particular groups, castes, coteries, or even families. Then, again, Sarkar's survey of Bengali and all-Indian culture is invariably at once Hindu and Moslem, whereas in ordinary books either the Hindu is ignored and under-estimated or the Moslem. I am not writing in this paragraph an entire history of creative Bengal or of Bengali culture during the last fifty years, but I should not fail to refer to Sarkar's systematic appreciation of Moslem thought and activity in many of his books.*

The Age of Varttaman Jagat

I shall now proceed to indicate briefly the plan of *Varttaman Jagat* and its contents.

On April 8, 1914 in company with his friend, Mr. Shivaprasad Gupta, the zamindar and banker of Benares, Sarkar left Bombay for Eygpt four months before Great Britain declared war against Germany. His travels comprised the following countries: Eygpt (1914), France (1914), England, Scotland and Ireland (1914), the U.S.A. (1914-15), the Hawaii Islands (1915), Japan (1915), Korea (1915), Manchuria (1915), China (1915-16), Japan (1916), U.S.A. (1916-20), France (1920-21), Germany (1921-23), Austria (1922-23), Switzerland (1923-24), Italy (1924), Austria and Germany (1924-25),

* See, for instance, *The Futurism of Young Asia* (Berlin 1922) now available as *The Sociology of Races, Cultures and Human Progress* (Calcutta 1939), pp. 301-307, 310-311, 323, 311 (World-Culture in Young India), *Naya Banglar Goda-Pattan* (The Foundations of New Bengal, Calcutta, 1932), Vol. II, pp. 104, 114, 187, 372-378 (The Moslem Power in the Bengali World), *Badtir Pathe Bangali* (Bengalis in Progress, Calcutta 1934), pp. 446, 449-451, 474-478 (Bengali Literature of the Masses), *Creative India* (Lahore, 1937), pp. 472-476 (Moslem Renaissance), *Samaj-Vijnan* (Sociology, Calcutta, 1938, 1940), Vol. I., pp 5, 11, 15-17 (Moslem Sociologists in Bengal). Sarkar's understanding of the Moslem position can be traced back to his earliest writings of 1907 available in *Sadhana* (first edition, 1912).

and Italy (1925). He returned to Bombay on September 22, 1925. Gupta had left him at Shanghai in September 1915.

All the different chapters and sections of *Varttaman Jagat* were written as the diary of a traveller during this period of eleven years and a half. It is during this period (1914-1925), again, while Sarkar was abroad that nearly ninety per cent of these writings was published in the monthly and weekly journals of Calcutta and the districts. These were published later in thirteen volumes of books at different dates down to 1935. Four of these volumes had come out, some in more than two editions, before Sarkar returned to India in 1925.

During the period from May, 1929 to October, 1931, Sarkar was in Europe for the second time.* On this occasion he visited Italy, Switzerland, France, England, France, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, Germany and Italy. *Varttaman Jagat* does not deal with any country during the second period of travels. But certain chapters were added to the volumes on Italy (1932) and Germany (1935).

So far as the reading public is concerned, it was then in contact with *Varttaman Jagat* during its origins from 1914 to 1935. This is a period of twentyone years.

The thirteen volumes are being enumerated below with the dates of their first publication as books:

Vol. I. *Kabarer Deshe Din Ponoro* (Fifteen Days in the Land of Tombs, Egypt), 1915, 210 pages.

Vol. II. *Ingrajer Janma-bhumi* (The Home-Land of the Briton), 1916, 586 pages.

Vol. III *Vimsha Shatavdir Kurukshetra* (The Armageddon of the Twentieth Century), 1915, 130 pages.

Vol. IV *Yankeestan Va Aduranjita Iyorop* (The Land of the Yankees, or Europe Writ Large, the U.S.A.), 1923, 824 pages.

* The studies and investigations of this period have been indicated in the following reports by Sarkar:

1. The Geneva Complex in World-Economy (*Journal of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce*, June, 1931).

2. Contacts with Economic Italy (*J. B. N. C.*, June and December 1931).

3. Industrial Centres and Economic Institutions in Germany (*J. B. N. C.* September 1931).

Vol. V. *Navin Asiar Janmadata* (The Parent of New Asia, Japan), 1927, 485 pages.

Vol. VI. *Varttaman Juge Cheen Samrajya* (The Chinese Empire in Modern Times), 1928, 450 pages.

Vol. VII. *Cheena Sabhyatar A, Ā, Ka, Kha* (The A. B. C. of Chinese Civilization), 1922, 250 pages.

Vol. VIII. *Parise Dash Mas* (Ten months in Paris), 1932, 312 pages.

Vol. IX. *Parajita Jarmani* (*Germany* under Defeat), 1935, 707 pages.

Vol. X. *Switzerland*, 1930, 75 pages.

Vol. XI. *Italite Bar-Kayek* (Several Times in Italy), 1932, 302 pages.

Vol. XII. *Duniyar Abhawa* (The Atmosphere of the World), 1925, 276 pages.

Vol. XIII. *Navin Rushiar Jivan Prabhat* (The Life's Dawn of New Russia, based on Trotzky's account of Russia in 1905), 1924, 100 pages.

The thirteen volumes of *Varttaman Jagat* cover altogether 4707 pages.

The general style and treatment of the *Varttaman Jagat* Series can be understood to a certain extent from the lengthy review of the volume (IX.) entitled *Parajita Jarmani* (Germany under Defeat), written by Mr. Atul Krishna Sur of the Calcutta Stock Exchange for the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (Calcutta) of 30th June, 1935. The review reads as follows:

"The fact that a book on modern Germany has been written in the most expressive of India's vernaculars, Bengali, would naturally arouse in the minds of the German people the same sort of sentiment that inevitably springs up in our minds when we come to know that a work on India has appeared in the German language. In view of the fact that there had been no comprehensive account of modern Germany in any of India's numerous tongues, the book is sure to form a landmark in the history of Bengali literature. Along with other volumes of the *Modern World* (*Varttaman Jagat*) the book will go down to posterity as one of the important books of our generation.

"Herein Professor Sarkar in his inimitably rambling and discursive style that always infuses a peculiarly entertaining flavour to his writings, pens a brilliant picture of post-war Germany in its manifold aspects, all as varied and chromatic as a kaleidoscope.

Professor Sarkar writes from intimate personal experience. In post-war years he visited Germany twice, and tried to understand it with that *sine qua non* of a real traveller,—a mastery of the colloquial tongue of Germany. A penetrating and shrewd observer of men and manners as he is, he could not rest content with making any one-sided study of the German people. Without any scruple he mixed with the high and the low, the cultured and the moron, the sophisticated and the man in the street, the big industrialist and the humble peasant, the capitalist and the labourer, the businessman and the customer, in short, the man of the town and that of the village. He held free communion with the musicians and the singers, the artists and the poets, the engineers and the scientists, the philosophers and the *littérateurs*. He travelled in the towns and villages, rambled over the hills and the countryside, strolled round the lakes and wondered along the rivers. That was how he tried to understand the influences that have gone to make up the socio-economic-*cum*-political fabric of modern Germany. And all this rich experience of his is now embodied in the book under review. One gets here an account not only of the highways and the by-ways of modern German life, but of its alleys and gulleys as well."

The very first pages of *Varttaman Jagat* were published in the bi-monthly *Gambhira*, published from Kaligram (Malda) under the management of Sarkar's friend and assistant (not relative), Mr. Krishna Charan Sarkar, merchant and banker, who was in charge of the National School established there by Sarkar in 1907. I was editorially connected with *Gambhira* as a member of the school staff. I am happy to say gratefully that I was helped substantially by Krishna Sarkar during my sojourn in the U S.A. (1921-28).

The following monthlies of Calcutta interested themselves in the serial publication of these works: *Grihastha, Prabasi, Bharatvarsha, Manasi O Marmavani, Bharati, Navya-Bharata, Sahitya, Basumati, Banga-vani* and *Prabhati*. Among the Bengali weeklies of Calcutta may be mentioned the following: *Shankha, Bijoli, Sarathi, Sisir, Atmashakti*, and *Ananda Bazar Patrika*. After publication in Calcutta many of the articles were reproduced with or without permission in the weeklies of the districts.

A number of chapters was published in the monthly *Upasana* of Cossimbazar, edited by Sarkar's younger friend, Professor Radha Kamal Mukherjee, economist and sociologist (then of Krishnath

College, Berhampore, now of Lucknow University). Mukherjee is the youngest brother of the Indian Shipping historian, Mookerji. In those days we used to look upon Sarkar and the two Mukherjees as one fraternity in life and as a cultural *trio*.

From 1914 to 1925, then, no man or woman could open a Bengali monthly or weekly without encountering something of Sarkar's *Varttaman Jagat*. It was the age of *Varttaman Jagat*, so to say, the age of Sarkar in Bengali language and thought or literature, as I had numerous occasions to observe from the comments of magazine readers. The monthly and weekly magazines were then, as they are even now, the most important medium of extra-school or extra-University higher culture in Bengal. The reading or even publication of "books," outside of the compulsory texts recommended for schools and colleges, continues still to be rather exceptional. This means that the entire reading public of Bengal,—the whole of Bengali intelligentsia, female as well as male,—was being served by and nurtured to some extent upon Sarkar's *vishwa-shakti* (world-forces). It was a part of my own observation in those days, and today also the opinion of persons aged about 40-45 or 45 to 50 living in the district headquarters or in the rural centres confirms this impression.

Nalini Pandit of the *Bangiya Sahitya Parishat* (Bengali Academy of Literature), who was in constant intercourse with the Calcutta intellectuals and journalists, has reported that the chapters of *Varttaman Jagat* were eagerly looked forward to by veteran authors, educators, and publicists like Akshay Sarkar, Haraprasad Sastri, Ramendra Trivedi, Brajen Seal, Gurudas Chatterji, Hiren Datta, Asutosh Mookerji, Durga Sankhya-Vedanta-tirtha, Mokshada Samadhyayi, Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary, Jaladhar Sen, Sudhin Tagore, Mrinal Kanti and Piyus Kanti Ghosh (*Amrita Bazar*), Sures Samajpati (*Sahitya*), Panchkari Banerji (*Nayak*), Nagen Basu, Eken Ghosh (biologist), Dines Sen, Amulya Vidyabhushan and others.

PIONEERING IN WORLD-STUDIES

Varttaman Jagat is an objective encyclopædia of world-conditions studied at first hand. It is based essentially on interviews and conversations with men and women on the spot. A great deal of the data was also derived from extensive investigations carried on in libraries, laboratories, museums, art-galleries, Universities, banks, factories, trade unions, chemical and engineering firms, and other

institutions. The interpretations of the data collected from conversations and studies in libraries etc. kept as close to the data as possible. They were not mere subjective reactions or expressions of emotional orientation. In France, Germany and Italy Sarkar used French, German and Italian respectively as the medium of communication, oral or written. In Eygpt, Japan and China he had permanent interpreters for daily work.

Comparison with Indian institutions, activities and movements was never lost sight of in *Varttaman Jagat*. Once in a while it was lengthy and detailed, but very often it was suggestive. Practical conclusions for India with a view to her betterment constituted the constant motive. They were not, however, presented in an obtrusive manner.

One or two special features of the descriptive portions may be singled out. First, the readers were hardly ever deprived of the chance of visualizing the physical features, landscapes and natural beauties of the regions mentioned in *Varttaman Jagat*. Sarkar described the towns, villages, and farms as well as the hills, rivers and forests with all the realism of a geographer. Whether it is Egypt or China, France, Italy, England or the U.S.A., the geographical descriptions or the pen-pictures of the scenic features were conspicuous items in these diaries. They furnished fine paragraphs such as might be extensively utilized in geographical readers or in literary geography books.

I am wondering if *Varttaman Jagat* is not the first substantial product of Indian research in geographical topics. Undoubtedly it is a large contribution to human, cultural or social geography. It is notorious that neither geographical exploration nor geographical literature has ever been the strong point of Indian culture.

Incidentally it is interesting to observe that the honorary degree of *Docteur en géographie* (Doctor of Geography) was conferred on Sarkar by the *Academica Asiatica* (*Université Libre*) of Teheran (Iran) in December 1937.

Secondly, *Varttaman Jagat* introduced the readers to a large number of physicists, chemists, mechanical, chemical and electrical engineers, as well as directors and experts of industrial establishments. The number of botanists, zoologists, and biologists described in its pages is mentionable. And, of course, the representatives of Sarkar's own sciences, namely, economics, politics, sociology, statistics, literature, history, oriental studies, anthropology,

psychology, pedagogics, aesthetics and philosophy were prominent among his new acquaintances and friends as announced and described in *Varttaman Jagat*.

In the third place, the architecture, sculpture and painting of the diverse regions were painstakingly exhibited to the readers. The descriptions were thoroughly objective. Sarkar cared also to present his own interpretations of the art-objects. His viewpoints were not merely historical or archæological and anthropological. The analysis of art-forms was frequently undertaken from the standpoint of technique The amount of space devoted in *Varttaman Jagat* to the architects, sculptors and painters from Egypt and China to the latest creators of post-impressionist aesthetics was considerable. I doubt if any Indian writer, even the art-specialists, had ever before written so many pages on the fine arts of so many countries. Sarkar's sections and chapters on world-art alone would have made a substantial volume of studies in the different schools and forms of architecture, sculpture and painting. *Varttaman Jagat* rendered an inestimable service to Young Bengal in the field of education in art technique and art-history. This is another field in which Sarkar (1914-1925) functioned as a pioneer.

In this connection attention may be drawn to Sarkar's papers in *Rupam* (Calcutta), the quarterly journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, during 1922-27, in which his pioneering in art-criticism may be watched.

The information of all sorts furnished in the volumes of *Varttaman Jagat* was copious, often almost exhaustive. No American text-books on contemporary conditions could furnish the University students with more knowledge about, say, France, England, China or Japan.

The contrast with or rather the "revolutionary departure" from the "old track" in Bengali travel-books about the foreign countries is profound. As a rule, previous writers used to write principally their own stories abroad. The authors appeared as sight-seers. The information furnished might be useful in certain items to subsequent travellers. The non-descriptive literary portions comprised idealistic observations of the moment. The criticisms on the morals and manners were as a rule subjective effusions. Altogether, these books looked very much like autobiographies or extracts from guide-books.

In *Varttaman Jagat* the orientations are entirely different. The sight-seeing aspects are included by all means. But they

are treated as integral parts of institutional or geographical studies. The object is to furnish a scientific monograph, as realistic as possible, about the entire culture-pattern. Such a monograph is not an incidental by-product of the travels. It is the chief aim of the traveller to produce such a work. Each volume can therefore pass for a substantial contribution as much to the physiography as to the sociography of the country and its people. And yet the treatment looks nowhere like a text-book for schools or colleges. The account proceeds from day to day and deals with the most diverse topics of industry, education, literature, art, science, technology, politics and social service just as they happen to arise.

The autobiographical aspects are reduced to a minimum. Indeed, they are hardly to be found The interpretations and conclusions are entirely objective and serve but to exhibit the author's method of analysis and scientific standpoint. There is virtually nothing personal in these 4700 pages. It would require a thorough examination of the internal and external evidences in order to find out the daily activities and movements of the author himself. These items occupy hardly any attention on his part. *Varttaman Jagat* is the most impersonal diary or travel-book conceivable.

Democratizations through Varttaman Jagat

The public importance and national value of *Varttaman Jagat* made themselves felt instantaneously. First, it served to democratize the knowledge about foreign countries among the masses and classes. This was the well-defined and deliberate object of the author when he set out on these travels. Pragmatist as he was, he quickly grasped the significance of his experiences and their consequences on the Indian people. He did not want to keep his discoveries or the fruits of his contact with new men and things to himself for any length of time. He sought to serve them among his countrymen as fresh as he could. The accounts were published from month to month, sometimes from week to week, during the period of twelve years from 1914 to 1926. The Bengali journals of all sorts in Calcutta and the districts rendered them available to all and sundry. No honorarium was offered to the author, be it said in passing.

The readers felt that they were travelling along with the author from village to village or town to town throughout the world. They seemed not only to come into personal contact with the men,

institutions and movements, but actually to take part in the conversations, discussions and emotional reactions etc. The sights and sounds appeared to them projected, as it were, on the film. The author carried the entire Bengali people, so to say, on his shoulders, to use his own expression, in order to enable them to experience a firsthand and intimate knowledge of Africa, Europe, America and Asia. Such a feeling had hardly ever been experienced by the reading public of Bengal previous to 1914.

Sarkar's eyes and ears become the eyes and ears of all Bengal and Sarkar's discoveries of the world's physical and spiritual treasures the discoveries by the entire Bengali people. Or, rather, it is for Bengal that he saw and heard everything and it is to Bengal that he transmitted whatever he experienced. He functioned almost as a spiritual post-office to establish contacts between Bengal and the world-forces.

I should point out at once that the *Varttaman Jagat* survey was made for entire Young India. But as it was written in Bengali I am not in a position, for the present purpose at any rate, to describe Sarkar's eyes as the eyes of All-India. Every foreigner knew, however, that Sarkar always represented India and Indian culture while in foreign countries.

It may, however, be observed incidentally that many of the facts and interpretations of Sarkar about Egypt, America, Japan and China, were liberally utilized by his friend, Shivaprasad Gupta, for his book *Prithvi-Pradakshina* (Rounding the World) which was being written in Hindi at the same time. At Gupta's request Sarkar used to read out his Bengali writings to him every day. After hearing the Bengali material Gupta used to write his Hindi text and read it out to Sarkar. Considerable portions of *Varttaman Jagat* and *Prithvi-Pradakshina* were produced in the same rooms of hotels or boarding-houses and in the same cabins of ocean-liners. Gupta was with Sarkar from April 1914 to September 1915 when he left the latter at Shanghai for India. The All-Indian character of Sarkar's *Varttaman Jagat*, although written in Bengali, may be guessed to a certain extent from the facts of this intimate personal and literary friendship. *Prithvi Pradakshina* was published at Benares in 1924. Gupta has referred to these friendly relations at many places in this book.

The All-Indian importance of Sarkar's researches and publications was manifest in other ways also. During the period of *Vartta-*

man Jagat he was writing copiously in English and his studies were being published in the different provinces of India. I shall have occasion to refer to them in the sections dealing with his pioneering in economics.

It should be mentioned, further, that from 1921 to 1925 Sarkar's writings were being published every week in Hindi in Shivaprasad Gupta's daily *Aj* (Today) under the caption, *Hamari Oropki Chitthi* (Our European Letter). Mr. Sri Prakas, M.L.A. (Central) was then the editor of *Aj*.

Be this as it may, it appeared as if a whole nation went to school for a course of studies in modern culture, economics and politics for the period of twelve years. People doubted whether Sarkar was actually abroad or whether he was constantly with the Bengali people in Bengal lecturing and demonstrating on the contemporary world. The steady expansion of the Bengali mind in regard to world-economy, world-politics and world-culture consummated over the long period of twelve years is one of the greatest achievements of *Varttaman Jagat*. The monopoly of a few intellectuals in regard to knowledge about foreign countries was abolished with the publication of these writings. This knowledge became now the property of the many.

Another significance of *Varttaman Jagat* to the public was manifest in the spirit of national service that animated the author. The readers felt at the very outset that these diaries were being written with all the seriousness that the author of *Siksha-Vijnan* (Science of Education, 1910-14), *Nigro Jatir Karmavir* (The Hero of the Negro People, 1913-14), and *The Positive Background of Hindu Sociology* Vol. I., Part I. (1913-14) was capable of The travel-books were to him but another field for the discharge of patriotic duties. These were no leisure-hour talks or after-dinner gossips.

The contrast with the travels of previous Bengali authors is radical in this respect. Their travels were their own personal concerns. The reports of their travels were likewise meant almost wholly for themselves and their personal friends. They were intended as letters, so to say, to the members of their families. By temperament and intellectual equipment they could hardly hide their aristocratic aloofness from the ordinary run of the Bengalis. The stay-at-homes could not but feel a palpable "social distance" from the writers, their privileged position, and their wealth which enabled them to undertake the travels etc. The travels abroad

were to the travellers new marks of social oligarchy, superior economic position and family status. The contributions from their pens about their experiences were naturally pervaded by this distinctiveness of the upper ten thousands. It is from Olympian heights that they wrote while abroad and it is in Olympian heights that they lived when they returned home. The *liaison* between themselves and the reading public was to all intents and purposes nil.

The author of *Varttaman Jagat* had entirely different conceptions of life and was guided by thoroughly new considerations. All his experiences abroad and contacts with world-forces were broadcast by him in Calcutta and the districts with the zeal of a religious missionary. It is not as a superior person, but as one of the multitude, as a common worker among the thousand other workers in the people's service that he propagated his discoveries among his countrymen. The publication of these volumes was regarded by him as a great mission, as a sacred duty performed in the country's cause.

The democratization of Bengali culture has been promoted by *Varttaman Jagat* in several ways. First, the knowledge about foreign countries, as mentioned above, was rendered available to the multitude. It did no longer remain the privilege of the few wealthy. The poorer classes could at last feel that they also understood something about the world-forces. It must always be understood, however, that this democratization was by all means confined only to the literate classes, i.e., about 10 per cent of the total population.

Secondly, the interpretations about world-culture, world-politics and world-economy were likewise made and propagated in the interest of the masses and in order to promote their advance at home and abroad. The rich man's point of view and the professional or aristocratic culture-leader's point of view were drowned in the midst of Sarkar's democratic presentations. The masses felt that for the first time they were getting real human contacts with and introductions to Europe and America and the rest of the world.

In the third place, *Varttaman Jagat* inspired the poorest youngmen in the meanest villages with ideas about the possibility of visiting the larger world. Travels in foreign countries were no longer treated by the common Bengali intellectuals and businessmen as some of the luxuries to which only the richer classes, aristocrats, the *Inga-Bangas* (Anglicized Bengalis) and so forth had access. The

smaller men in industry, commerce, insurance, banking etc. as well as the intellectuals with hardly any means discovered in Sarkar's facts and ideas the chances for world-tour and advancement in life for themselves as well as for the country. The democratization of foreign travel is one of the solid achievements of this work.

Researches in World-Culture Initiated

Rammohun Roy (1772-1833), the father of modern India, was the first Bengali to appreciate the natural sciences and other aspects of contemporary British culture. After him every Bengali literary man, social reformer, journalist, political thinker, and educationist has tried each in his own way to creatively assimilate the products of Western, especially British, civilization for India. Vidyasagar (1810-91), Rajendralal Mitra (1820-90), Akshay Datta (1821-87), Bhudev Mookerji (1825-94), Bankim Chatterji (1838-94) and Romesh Dutt (1848-1909) are all embodiments of this spirit as writers in Bengali or English. But it is doubtful if a conscious and serious effort was ever made in India during the nineteenth century to institute and organize first-hand researches, country by country, into the literature, fine arts, scientific achievements, politics, economic development, technical inventions, social progress, religious condition etc of the peoples in Eur-America and of other races living in regions outside India. I wonder if the *Varttaman Jagat* survey, started in 1914, is not the first large-scale attempt on the part of an Indian researcher at a comprehensive investigation into the progress of many non-Indian peoples carried on by direct contacts with the men and institutions on the spot as well as with the help of the local languages.

This is perhaps the first Indian research work about foreign countries comparable to the numerous studies and researches about ancient and modern India published by non-Indian scholars. Sarkar wished that corresponding to the American Oriental Society, the British Royal Asiatic Societies, the *Société Asiatique* of France, the *Deutsche Morgenlaendische Gesellschaft* of Germany, the *Istituto Orientale* of Italy, the Asiatic Society of Japan, etc. Indians should establish Societies, Academies or Institutes with the object of carrying on researches into the diverse countries of the modern world. The study of France, England, Germany or Japan by an Indian author is certainly different from the study *in* one or other of these countries by an Indian candidate for a foreign Uni-

versity degree or for the Bar. The "*Antarjatik Banga*" *Parishat* ("International Bengal" Institute), of which I am one of the Secretaries, has been established by Sarkar in November 1931 in order to pursue the object. This, however, is a modest affair.

In addition to the purely economic papers on world-economy (published in *Arthik Unnati*) which are coming out in a special volume of *Banglay Dhana-Vijnan* (Economics in Bengali) the following publications may be mentioned as belonging to the group of international studies organised by Sarkar:*

1. *Markin Samaj O Samasya* (American Society and Problems) by Nagendra Nath Chaudhury, Calcutta 1932.
2. *The Messages of Dante*, A Brochure, by Subodh Krishna Ghoshal, Calcutta, 1938
3. *Herder's Doctrine of the National Soul*, A Brochure, by S. K. Ghoshal, Calcutta, 1939.
4. *Italian Economy and Culture*, by Monindra Mohan Moulik, Calcutta, 1940.
5. *Unnati-shastri Kondorse, Sansimon O Kont* (Condorcet, Saint-Simon and Comte as Philosophers of Progress), A Brochure, by Prafulla Ratan Biswas, Calcutta 1940.

Sarkar's publications are not being mentioned here.

The following papers in Bengali published in *Samaj-Vijnan* Vol. I. (1938, 1940) edited by him together with his own papers may, however, be added to the above list:

1. *The French Triumvirate in Sociology,—Bodin, Montesquieu and Rousseau*, by Sachindra Nath Dutt.
2. *Individual Freedom and the Sense of Duty in Kant's Philosophy*, by Humayun Kabir.
3. *Herder, the Prophet of Nationalism*, by Manmatha Nath Sarkar.
4. *Giddings's Consciousness of Kind*, by Pankaj Kumar Mukherjee.
5. *Sociology in French Educational Institutions*, by S. K. Ghoshal.

The Social Philosophy of Varttaman Jagat

It did not take the readers long to realize that throughout these thirteen large volumes the author was developing a systematic

* See Dr R. Ahmed's paper on "The Research Institutes of Benoy Sarkar."

philosophy of life in and through the geographical, economic, cultural, historical, and other studies, thoroughly objective and realistic as they were. One of the messages of this philosophy is its intense and superb faith in man and his achievements. The creations of men and women are the constant sources of delight and inspiration to the author.

Varttaman Jagat is a vast encyclopaedia of profound humanism. It is the record of man's activities and thoughts, of the remaking of man by himself, of man's struggles, failures, disappointments and conquests. Human destiny and progress, as objectively viewed, are its principal themes. The understanding *of* human groups or races and the understanding *between* them constitute its special urge.

In these writings Bengali readers were introduced direct to the *vishwa-shakti* (world-forces). It was impossible for them to feel that these forces, as presented by Sarkar, were something to be treated as foreign or external, i.e., items that might be brushed aside as exotic, subsidiary or superfluous. On the contrary, Young Bengal was inspired to accept them as quite understandable, vital and indispensable facts and ideas for its own movements.

Familiarity was established with "new men, strange faces, other minds." Cultural internationalism, exchange of ideas and ideals, mutuality in life's reactions between the strangers were consciously promoted as a creed by *Varttaman Jagat*. A sympathetic approach to foreign or unknown manners and customs was the method propagated. The appreciation of diversities in cultural types and forms came thereby to Bengali literature on an exceedingly large scale and in a convincing manner.

In *Varttaman Jagat* the Chinese, the Egyptians, the Americans, the Britons, the Germans, the Frenchmen, the Hawaiians, the Italians, the Swiss and others, all speak to the numberless Bengali men and women, high or low, as human beings of flesh and blood. The Eur-Americans are found to be using the same language of heart and applying the same technique of head as the Asians and Africans. The platform of common human joys and sorrows, aspirations and failures, victories and disappointments, materialism and spirituality renders the villages and towns of the outside world as assimilable to Bengali villagers and townspeople as their own villages and towns. The result is a thorough-going assimilation of world-culture by the entire Bengali people.

In the writings of previous Bengali world-travellers this humane touch is hardly ever so prominent. They could not establish any real heart to heart contacts between the Bengalis and the foreign peoples. Even the understanding by head of the facts and problems of foreign lives was not rendered easy. The foreign countries appeared to be strange and remained a mystery to the readers The men, institutions and movements, especially of Europe and America came to the Bengali readers shrouded with some mysterious significance. Very little of a tangible nature came out of the information and knowledge. The assimilation of world-culture was rendered difficult under these conditions. It is one of the signal services of *Varttaman Jagat* that its social philosophy succeeded in rendering the foreign ideas and ideals, institutions and achievements acceptable to the masses of the Bengali people and on extensive dimensions.

An aspect of Sarkar's humanism deserves a special notice. In the huge encyclopaedia of four thousand and seven hundred pages we hardly come across the shady side of human life, or what the sociologists call the "cost of progress". *Varttaman Jagat* is conscious, of course, of poverty and the poorer classes in every land. But diseases, physical defectives, feeble-mindedness, desertion, criminals, alcoholism, white-slave traffic, the "cabaret"-complex, and such other "social problems" and mal-adjustments have been virtually ignored or overlooked. It is difficult to find in these pages the existence of such a thing as the "social evil". The pathological phenomena of society, some of which have been dealt with in my *Tragedies of Modernism* (1934) and *Markin Samaj O Samasya* (American Society and Problems, 1932) have almost entirely escaped Sarkar's observation.

Or rather, as his interpretations indicated, perhaps we should say that he has not cared to note the social pathologies as anything specific about the modern world. In his analysis such evils in one form or other existed in ancient and medieval times both in East and West. And if in the "modern world" some of the vices of industrialism are rampant, neither India nor any other part of Asia can afford to indulge in any sense of superiority because such vices have also acclimatized themselves in every region of the East which has got more or less industrialized. To Sarkar it is enough that in the modern world the state is consciously controlling unemployment, poverty, disease, mal-adjustment and vice and that the

peoples are getting more and more educated in regard to the methods of combating them as well as commanding the state to beware.

Foreign travellers and scholars writing about Asia make it a point to single out the dark spots in Oriental life and make much of them. Oriental travellers also while visiting the Western countries take a delight in harping on the cabaret-complex and other "social evils" prevailing there. These items constitute as a rule the chief stock in trade of virtually all reports by foreigners about the men and manners of other lands. It is noteworthy that the author of *Varttaman Jagat* has not cared to dip his pen in the interest of such data. No less extraordinary is the fact that Sarkar never perhaps utilized a single occasion to moralize over the defects, vices or shortcomings of this, that, or other group, race, people or nation. In this sense *Varttaman Jagat* is frankly rather one-sided.

The evils of modernism, whatever they be, do not frighten him as long as the human brain is occupying itself to extirpate them wherever and whenever they make their appearance. Robust optimism is intimately associated with his world-embracing humanism *Varttaman Jagat* has furnished plenty of data about the numerous efforts at combating the evils of all sorts prevalent in contemporary civilization.[1]

I should not fail to observe that in regard to the antidotes to many of the tragedies or evils of modern civilization Sarkar has profound faith in the efficacy of social insurance, labour codes, industrial legislation of all types, indeed, in constructive socialism, generally speaking. *Varttaman Jagat* directs the eyes of Young India to the socialistic endeavours of the peoples in all regions in no dubious manner. Sarkar is certainly one of the pioneers of socialistic thought or ideology in India. As a pragmatist he could not fail to convey to his countrymen the facts of the positive good rendered to the people by socialistic legislation.[2]

Equality between East and West

Another striking message in the social philosophy of *Varttaman Jagat*, which is perhaps allied to humanism, is the idea about the equality of the historic and cultured races of mankind in

1 See, *Supra*, the *Pragmatic Theory of Progress*

2 See, *Infra*, the *Data and Methods of Sarkar's Economics*.

general, and the equality between East and West or between India and Eur-America in particular. The Mussalmans of Egypt were presented by Sarkar as identical in modern sentiments and ideologies as well as old traditions with the Hindus and Mussalmans of India. This position of Sarkar's was a veritable eye-opener to the Bengali Mussalmans and Hindus. Another tremendous eye-opener was his discovery that the so-called Buddhists of Japan and China were following virtually the same socio-religious practices and essentially the same spiritual ideologies as well as worshipping almost the same gods and goddesses as the modern Hindus of the Pauranik and Tantrik systems but under somewhat new names or modified, i.e., Sinicized and Japanified forms.

The volumes on England, France, the U.S.A., Germany, Italy, and Switzerland opened up the farmers, shepherds, butchers, laundrymen, domestic servants, shopkeepers, artisans, industrial workers, clerks and such other classes of "white-collared slaves," both men and women, as well as the high-brows, intellectuals, industrial captains, bank-magnates, political leaders and others to the people of Bengal as neither different in mentality, ideals of life or world-views from her corresponding classes nor in any way higher or lower in personal morals, domestic virtues and vices, civic sense, criminality, etc. Class for class, and income for income, the peoples of Eur-America were exhibited in the examinations of *Vartaman Jagat* to be identical with or similar to the peoples of India, Egypt, China and Japan.

Sarkar perpetually asked himself, Are Eur-Americans less spiritual than Asians?" and "Are Asians less materialistic than Eur-Americans?" To both these questions the facts discovered by him yielded but one answer in the emphatic negative.

In all these facts and ideas Sarkar was carrying on a strenuous war against two classes of superstition or *idola* prevailing in Eur-America. The first superstition was that embodied in "Orientalism," the science cultivated by the indologists and orientalists who were the most tenacious enemies of similarity between East and West. He called it *vishākta prāchyāmi*, i.e., "poisonous orientalism." The second superstition was the *idola* of the Imperialists and Colonialists, the Foreign Offices, Embassies and Consulates of all the white powers. He described his war against these two fronts as really one war, as the totalitarian war against "albinocracy," i.e., the cultural and political despotism of the white races. He knew that

the Orientalists were in perpetual alliance with the Imperialists and that neither group had the least sympathy with the demands of the new Orient for freedom and equality in international relations.

In regard to these whites he made no distinction between the great, medium or small powers, between the Europeans and the Americans. All the white races without distinction were "poisoned," said he, by these two vices which took shape in the common dictum of the "white man's burthen" or the doctrine of white superiority. He was not misled by the occasional expressions of sympathy and appreciation of Indian culture from European and American individuals, families or study circles. He was thoroughly convinced that no European or American was a genuine friend of Asia's vital aspirations in politics and culture. The exceptions were too rare to be considered seriously except as matters of personal friendship and intercourse. As a rule, these exceptions were found, so he believed, among socialists or communists and hardly, if at all, among the so-called liberals. Sarkar's *Sociology of Races, Cultures and Human Progress* (Calcutta, second edition 1939) which was known as the *Futurism of Young Asia* (Berlin, 1922) is a bulky document in English of this "war against colonialism in politics and orientalism in science." It is in this work which arose in his lectures and articles in the U.S.A. during 1916-1919 that he first established his "Monroe Doctrine for Asia."

Some sort of a fundamental difference between East and West (or India and Europe) has also been maintained in one form or other by all modern Bengali intellectuals, Rammohun Roy (1772-1833), Bhudev Mukherji (1825-94), Bankim Chatterji (1838-94), Vivekananda (1862-1902), Ramendra Trivedi (1864-1922), Brajen Seal (1864-1938), Bipin Pal (1858-1932) and Tagore. Sarkarism as the doctrine of fundamental identities, similarities or equalities between the historic East and the historic West both in materialism and spirituality is a "revolutionary departure" from this common Bengali or, for that matter, all-Indian socio-philosophical tradition. According to Sarkar the West is no less spiritual than the East and the East no less materialistic than the West. Spirituality is not the monopoly of the East, nor is materialism the monopoly of the West. The different steps in the evolution of this aspect of Sarkarism have been chronologically exhibited by Shib Dutt in his *Fundamental Problems and Leading Ideas in the Works of Benoy Sarkar*.

Is there, then, absolutely no difference between Asia and Eur-America today? *Varttaman Jagat* pointed out one great difference. It is that Eur-America went ahead of Asia in modern science, technocracy, capitalism and socialism towards the end of the eighteenth century along with the first industrial revolution. That go-aheadness is still preponderantly prevalent in the West *vis-à-vis* the East, said he. And he prescribed that the economico-technocratic backwardness of contemporary Asia should be combated and removed by every possible means.

In this *resumé* of his ideas I am almost quoting the words and phrases employed by him on many occasions.

Two conclusions of a pragmatic character were drawn from the humane foundations of world-culture and from the similarities, equalities or identities between East and West, or India and Eur-America. First, it was possible, desirable and indispensable for India, said he, to try to assimilate as much of Eur-America as conceivable along Japanese methods and rise up to the position of Japan in the shortest possible time. Sarkar pointed out also that consciously or unconsciously, India, nay, all Asia was following the Japanese example. The volume on Japan in *Varttaman Jagat*, be it noted, was called *Navin Asiar Janmadata* (The Parent of New Asia).

The "Greater India" of Today

Secondly, the world-forces in Eur-America as well as in Japan and the rest of the two Hemispheres were so peculiarly oriented to one another that it was always possible, he opined, to utilize or exploit them in the manner most beneficial to India's own interests, i.e., her uplift "as a power among the powers" of mankind. Sarkar did not fail to indicate at the same time that India's urge in this direction had already taken shape in her attempts to establish various centres of Indian influence abroad. These centres were described in *Varttaman Jagat* as the embodiments of the "Greater India" movement of modern times. It may be mentioned that Sarkar himself was playing no small part in the establishment of this Greater India during his travels abroad. The idea of a modern Greater India, be it remarked in passing, was as old in his writings as those of the *Grihastha* period.

Sarkar has made it clear in many of his writings and lectures that researches and discussions about the Greater India of ancient

and medieval times formed an important item in the atmosphere of the Dawn Society, established by Satis Chandra Mukherjee* in 1902. Satis Mukherjee is not known as author. But he influenced hundreds of College students (including Sarkar) in Calcutta from 1902 to 1906 on the eve of and during the *Swadeshi* Movement by his lectures and writings on Indian history and culture, education, nationality, patriotism, self-sacrifice, social service, the *Gita* gospel of duty, industrialization, rural arts and crafts, and so forth. *The Dawn and the Dawn Society's Magazine* (1903-1913) embodied the ideologies of Mukherjee in culture, economics, politics and sociology. He has often been publicly described by Sarkar as one of the profoundest makers of Young Bengal and as one of the most creative personalities in regard to the "ideas of 1905."

Mukherjee's ideas about ancient and medieval Greater India were taken up by one of the senior members of the Dawn Society, Professor Radha Kumud Mookerji, an intimate personal friend and colleague of Sarkar at Bengal National College Under the auspices of the National Council of Education Mookerji published his investigations in the *Dawn Society's Magazine* and later as a book entitled *A History of Indian Shipping and Maritime Activity from the Earliest Times* (London 1911). It is in this *milieu* that Sarkar in pursuance of his doctrine of *Vishwa-shakti* (world-forces) was applying the concept of Greater India to modern conditions through his journal, *Grihastha*, and otherwise (1909-1914).

These two fundamental conclusions of a thoroughly practical character, as well as the entire doctrine of equality between East and West, were clearly enunciated by Sarkar in *Greetings to Young India* (Calcutta, 1927). This was a book of messages delivered by him on his immediate return to India and should be taken as the last word of or appendix to his *Varttaman Jagat*.

The Foreign Policy of Young India

It is clear that this series of travel-books stood for a wide-awake, all-comprehensive and totalitarian internationalism. This internationalism was, moreover, no less practical, constructive or applied than theoretical, scientific or philosophical. Internationalism may

* About "Greater India" see Sarkar: *Introduction to Hindu Positivism* (Allahabad, (1937), pp 59-62, and about Satis Mukerjee and the Dawn Society see Sarkar. *Creative India* (Lahore 1937), pp. 496, 626, 662.

then be treated as the third item in the social philosophy of *Varttaman Jagat*, in case it be necessary to treat internationalism as something different from humanism and race-equality.

Sarkar's pioneering in internationalism has been accepted by the Bengali people with sympathy in recent years. The doctrine of *vishwa-shakti* (world-forces) and the idea of utilizing them in the interest of national progress which occur at every step in *Varttaman Jagat* were formulated by Sarkar for the first time in 1911 in the paper in Bengali entitled *Itihas-vijnan O Manav-jatir Asha*, i.e., the science of history and the "hope of mankind", presented at the the session of the Bengali Literary Conference held at Mymensingh. The Bengali paper was published in London in an English version (1912). These were some of his prominent ideas propagated through the monthly *Grihastha* (Householder) of which he was the editor for three years until he left Calcutta on world-tour in 1914.

The study of world-forces, investigations into the modern world, contacts with the contemporary thought and commercial currents, the employment of the comparative method in social, economic and cultural researches have been becoming more and more popular in Bengal and the rest of India. The result has been a growth of spiritual internationalism on a large scale. Internationalism is at the present moment a substantial creative force among scholars, businessmen and publicists. The origins of this internationalism or world-sense in culture, economics and politics among the Indian people have to be sought in a very large measure (although not exclusively) in the *Varttaman Jagat* Series.

The pioneering of *Varttaman Jagat* in internationalism deserves emphasis because for a long time it encountered opposition in certain circles. Sarkar's paper on "The Foreign Policy of Young India" was published in the *Modern Review* (Calcutta 1921) and in his *Futurism of Young Asia* (Berlin 1922). The leaders of the country were opposed to this idea at that time. In 1925 when he landed at Bombay it was vehemently opposed still by the stalwarts of the Gandhi group.*

I recall also that about that time among intellectuals the response to Sarkar's cult of world-forces was rather slight. His cosmopolitanism was, however, noted and they felt that he had made it

* See the controversy with the *Bombay Chronicle* in Sarkar's *Greetings to Young India* (Calcutta 1927).

"quite a fashionable thing". But there is no doubt today that the same intellectuals who seemed to stay away from Sarkar's orbit have been vying with one another in order to take interest in the "international intellectual co-operation" of the League of Nations, and failing that, to get themselves connected with associations at home or abroad which have the adjective, "international", attached to their names Even Mahatma Gandhi also has failed to keep the Indian National Congress from undertaking direct and indirect foreign propagandas. In Indian labour circles, of course, the activities are international almost as a matter of course. Among artists, story-writers, novelists, cinema-people, medical doctors, journalists, businessmen and others the world-sense or international culture-contacts are nowadays quite palpable.

In regard to the growth and expansion of ideas or intellectual and moral movements it is never safe to point to a single source or parentage. The multiplicity or pluralism of origins has almost invariably to be admitted. Sarkar at any rate is strong on pluralism. But with this modification I have hardly any doubt that for a very large slice of internationalism in culture and social intercourse that has been governing Indian thought and activity today we are deeply indebted to *Varttaman Jagat*.

Varttaman Jagat forced upon the Indian mind the fact that England was not the only country outside India. It emancipated the Indian intellectuals as well as industrialists, merchants, journalists, and other classes from the obsession by the British Empire, British institutions, British journals, and British academic distinctions Previous to the appearance of this work the Indian people used to understand that world-culture was nothing but the goods produced in England. All this was now changed in a phenomenal manner. The intellectual revolution effected by *Varttaman Jagat* was momentous when Sarkar's diaries compelled the readers to take interest in Japanese industries, German banks, American museums, Italian malariology, French literature and so forth. All these became stupendous realities because of the large volume of facts, figures and interpretations based on original documents. Men of culture in India woke up to the need for studying French, German, Italian, Japanese and other modern languages.

Be it observed, however, that *Varttaman Jagat* had a large-sized volume on England, Scotland and Ireland also. Sarkar's treatment of British institutions of all sorts, especially of state socia-

lism was very appreciative and impressive. About the British Isles there is no other book of such importance even now in Bengali language. Sarkar's culture-sense was all-inclusive but it counteracted the exclusive preoccupation with British ideas and movements. Young India owes the introduction to non-British world-culture, world-economy and world-politics in a great measure to *Varttaman Jagat*.

EMANCIPATION FROM THE PAST

Equally colossal and momentous was the mental revolution generated in Young India in another sphere by the publication of *Varttaman Jagat*. For the first time, academicians, scholars, and authors were forced to feel that in order to carry on original researches and investigations one did not have to go invariably back to the prehistoric and archaic times.

In those days in Bengal as in the rest of India original "research" in the social and philosophical sciences meant some publication dealing with events or ideas of the tenth century B.C. or the eighteenth century A.D. Unless something were written about Kautilya's *Arthashastra*, Patanjali, *Rasa-ratna-samuchchaya*, Aurangzeb, or the East India Company neither the academic world nor the lay public could feel that some reseach work had been done. Besides, both authors and readers understood by research some sort of publication about India. It was inconceivable in those days for an Indian author to be the writer on non-Indian topics. The little scholarship that there was among Indians was bestowed almost exclusively on ancient and medieval India. The statement is being made in a very strong or extreme manner in order to indicate that the truth about the intellectual condition of India in the first two decades of the twentieth century was somewhere very near this position.

Varttaman Jagat opened up new worlds to Young India for researches, studies, investigations and interpretations. Those new worlds were to be found in the present conditions. Readers were forced into the conviction that the past was not the only subject of scientific studies, and that India was not to be the exclusive field for original investigations by Indian scholars. Life and thought of the present day, contemporary changes in painting, poetry, psychology, politics, poverty, public health, pedagogics etc. were felt to be appropriate themes for scholarly investigation, statistical analysis and other scientific research. The readers began to realize

that the day to day activities of the workingmen in the factories and of the peasants in the fields as well as the heroic endeavours and self-sacrificing enterprises of the men and women of our own items could be very profitably researched upon in the interest of science and truth. The *varttaman* aspects of *Varttaman Jagat* produced a permanent impression upon the scientific circles. The attention of scholars came to be diverted to a certain extent from the past, the antiquities, the Middle Ages, the forefathers, the tradition, the past generation and so forth and bestowed upon the problems, achievements, failures and triumphs of the day.

Sarkar was not and is not an enemy of studies and investigations about India. Nor was or is he opposed to antiquarian or historical researches as such. The evidence is obvious It was chiefly on ancient and medieval topics, both Eastern and Western, that Sarkar was invited to lecture in Eur-American Universities, and he wrote substantial papers on these subjects in the scientific journals of the U.S.A., France, Italy and Germany while he was writing *Varttaman Jagat* for India. Works like *Chinese Religion through Hindu Eyes* (Shanghai 1916), *Folk-Element in Hindu Culture* (London 1917), *Hindu Achievements in Exact Science* (New York 1918), *Hindu Art* (New York, 1920), *Gilde di Mestier e Gilde Mercantili nell 'India Antica* (Rome, 1920), *La Démocratie hindoue* (Paris 1921), *The Political Institutions and Theories of the Hindus* (Leipzig, 1922), *Die Lebensanschauung des Inders* (Leipzig 1922) dealt with conditions prevailing in East and West previous to the first industrial revolution of the eighteenth century. It is against the over-emphasis on researches, first, about India, and secondly, into the past, and against obsession by antiquarian and historical studies about India that *Varttaman Jagat* stood as a monumental protest. The beginnings of Bengali investigations into modern art, modern economy, modern class and race questions, modern philosophy, modern education, modern international relations, etc. are to be traced substantially to the atmosphere of facts and ideas furnished by Sarkar during this period. Since then modernism has been growing as a powerful current in Indian cultural, economic and other researches

The emancipation of Indian intellectuals from the despotism of the past was no less thorough-going than that from the obsession by British institutions and British culture. Modernism may then be regarded as a fourth great contribution of the social philosophy of *Varttaman Jagat*. Bengalis began to feel that they were human

beings living in the world today among diverse culture-systems and were called upon to make contributions to the progress of the world to-morrow. Here we encounter some large doses of pragmatism effectively administered into the moral and intellectual personality of the Indian people.

SARKARISM IN INDIAN THOUGHT

Numerous facts and ideas unknown to the general Indian tradition were furnished by *Varttaman Jagat* on a monumental scale. The period during which the dissemination took place was long and extensive, covering as it did nearly twelve years. The data were administered to the people in "homœopathic doses," a favorite expression with Sarkar, in an almost silent but continuous manner over these twelve long years. This lengthy but steady process enabled the people to digest and assimilate his goods as pleasantly as possible. The length of the period, besides, furnished opportunities for three or four generations of youth between 16 and 22 to come into contact wih Sakarism. The amount of materials as well as the period of time are to be remembered while trying to understand how and why the age could be made by Sarkar.

Among other circumstances I have to notice Sarkar's comparative method of presentation as well as the realistic treatment of the data. These were startlingly fresh and novel to the Bengali intelligentsia. The words and phrases employed in these 4700 pages were characteristic of the author. They were frequently Sarkar's own and often taken from the masses in the villages. The occasional use of Hindi terms was enjoyable. The literary, historical, economic and sociological language of Bengal was thereby being enriched with Sarkarisms in vocabulary. The style made a direct appeal to the linguistic and literary sense of the reading public. Finally, the messages were humanistic, inspiring and full of activistic optimism with suggestions for investigation, research and constructive work. A new power had, therefore, mastered the Bengali social mind.

To the influence of *Varttaman Jagat* are to be added the facts that from 1914 to 1925 Sarkar's activities in foreign countries were being followed with keen interest by the scholars in all parts of India. It was well known in India that his contributions were being published in the American and Continental scientific journals. This was quite rare in Indian academic experience. The number of these contributions was large and he was writing in French, German

and Italian also.* Indian writings in these languages had not been heard of before.

It was also regularly reported, for instance, through the *Collegian* and the *Modern Review* of Calcutta that Sarkar was getting frequent invitations as Visiting Professor from the American, French, German and Italian Universities and Academies to deliver lectures before the Faculties and the public, and that he was lecturing in French, German and Italian before the corresponding audiences. In those days such invitations to Indian scholars were regarded as rather extraordinary. Among Sarkar's precursors in this field India knew of Jagadis Bose in physics and plant-physiology at Paris in 1902, Brajen Seal in race-questions at London in 1911, and Tagore in religion at Chicago and Harvard (U.S.A.) in 1913 (previous to the Nobel Award). Indian Universitymen could feel that their position was being sensibly heightened in the world's learned societies by Sarkar as Visiting Professor at so many distinguished seats of higher learning for such a long time.

Then, again, Indian businessmen, academicians and research students were acquainted with the fact that in every foreign country Sarkar was trying his best to create opportunities for Indians either as apprentices in factories, banks, insurance offices etc. or as stipend-holders in Universities and assistants in laboratories and so on. Efforts like these as well as the movement started by Sarkar among the governors of American and European Universities in order to induce them to invite other Indian scholars also as Visiting or Exchange Professors were, as say Professor Banesvar Dass and Mr. Biren Das-Gupta (electrical engineer) who were in intimate contact with him during those years, known to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya (Benares), Sir Sundarlal (Allahabad), Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, Mr. Dhondo Keshav Karve (Founder, Indian Women's University, Poona), Dr. Sumant Mehta (Baroda), Sir Asutosh Chaudhuri (President, National Council of Education, Bengal), Sir Brajendra Nath Seal (Vice-Chancellor, Mysore University), Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore, Chitta Ranjan Das, Piyus Kanti Ghosh (*Amrita Bazar Patrika*), Dr. Jivaraj Mehta (Bombay), Lajpat Rai (Lahore), Swami Bodhananda (New York), Professor Ramendra Sundar Trivedi, Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary, Mr. Fyzee-Rahamin (Bombay), Sir Rajendra Nath

* See Dr L. M. Basu's Preface to Sarkar's *Introduction to Hindu Positivism* (Allahabad 1937), pp. 21-24.

Mookerjee, Deep Narayan Singh (Bhagalpur), Basanta Kumar Roy (New York), author of *Tagore the Man and His Poetry*, Raja Reshee Case Law, Dr. Abdullah Suhrawardy, Sir Jagadis Chandra Bose, Professor Hara Prasad Sastri, Tarak Nath Das (New York), author of *Foreign Policy in the Far East*, Bipin Chandra Pal, Major Baman Das Basu (Allahabad), S. R. Bomanji (Bombay), Swami Vijnanananda (Allahabad), Hirendra Nath Datta, Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandy, Sir Sultan Singh (Delhi), Professor Radha Kumud Mookerji (Lucknow), Sachchidananda Sinha (Patna), Ramananda Chatterji (editor, *Modern Review*) and other Indian educators, publicists and culture-leaders.

In 1920 while Sarkar was still in America Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was thinking of conferring the official recognition of the Calcutta University on his work privately done abroad and deputing him to foreign Universities in an appropriate manner but could not carry out his idea on account of the stringencies of the University finance.

Sarkar's activities abroad were appreciated by Indians as very useful to India, as calculated to raise her status in the world and enable her to meet or discover friends such as might be of help to her progress. And in all these the Indian public felt that Sarkar was during that period if not *the*, at any rate, one of the most prominent, steadily active and universally recognized pioneers

To a certain extent Sarkar was successful in some of these attempts. But in any case the ground was prepared by him in a perceptible manner. Since 1926 Indians have been able to derive benefit along diverse lines in foreign countries on account of these pioneering activities.

All these pioneerings abroad coupled with the pioneerings through *Varttaman Jagat* at home created the social atmosphere in which he found himself in India towards the end of 1925.

In Bengal he was greeted with enthusiasm by the young and the old alike who constituted the age or the epoch that he had inspired. Bengal could feel that in 1914 *Varttaman Jagat* had initiated the age of Sarkar in Bengali thought and culture in general and in social philosophy in particular.

A bit of this national enthusiasm can be felt in the words of welcome with which he was greeted on the 16th December 1925 by the students of the Bengal Technical Institute (National Council of Education) as soon as he arrived in Calcutta at the end of

his world-tour. The function was presided over by Mrs. Sarala Devi, Editor, *Bharati*. Among other things the address said as follows:

"With the death of the elders such as were seriously devoted to the service of new India the past generation is getting ready to bid farewell to the calm, beautiful and bright future. At this transition stage of national life your countrymen are expecting many things of you."

The reference here is to the void generated in public life and culture owing to the deaths of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, the epoch-making creator of the research atmosphere at the Calcutta University, in May 1924, and of Chitta Ranjan Das, the founder of the *Swaraj* Party and editor of *Forward*, in June 1925. Sarkar was expected by Young Bengal to fill that void and carry forward the enterprises of the elders to the next higher stage.

In February 1926 the Calcutta University offered Sarkar a position in the Post-Graduate Departments of Economics and Commerce. There were other offers also.

Another mark of the people's faith in Sarkar's work was embodied in the address presented to him on the 18th April, 1927 by Mahamahopadhyaya Professor Hara Prasad Sastri as President of the *Bangiya Sahitya Parishat* (Bengali Academy of Literature) at a public meeting of that Academy in which the culture-leaders of Calcutta took part. Some of the passages in that address of welcome are given below:

"So you have come back to your motherland after *digvijaya* (conquest of the quarters). All our expectations have been filled to the full. What you have brought along with you is endless. Not the *Parishat* alone, every Bengali, nay, every Indian expects and desires quite a lot of you in future."

Such expectations indicated the hold that Sarkar already had on the head and heart of the Bengali people.

It is to be recalled that the word, *digvijaya*, used in 1927 by the *Bangiya Sahitya Parishat* about Sarkar's work had been employed by himself in 1913 about Tagore on the occasion of the Nobel Award. He was then editor of the *Grihastha*. The number of this monthly containing his extensive paper entitled *Rabindra-Sahitye Bharater Vani* (India's Message in Tagore's Works) that was published to signalize that epoch-making event for India was

called *Rabindranather Digvijaya Sankhya* (Tagore's World-Conquest Number).

This reception accorded to Sarkar had been in preparation for a long time and the signatories to the fund were, among others, Raja Jagat Kishore Acharya Chowdhury of Muktagacha (Mymensingh), Sir Jagadis Chunder Bose (physicist and plant physiologist), Sir Brajendra Nath Seal (indologist and culture-philosopher), Professor Ramendra Sundar Trivedi (physicist), Jaladhar Sen (Editor, *Bharatvarsha*), Sudhindra Nath Tagore (author), Khagendra Nath Chatterji (Attorney-at-law), Sj. Hirendra Nath Datta (Hindu philosophy), Professors Radha Kumud Mookerji (historian), Radha Kamal Mukherjee (economist and sociologist), Sir Prafulla Chandra Ray (chemist), and Khagendra Nath Mitra (philosophy), Nalini Ranjan Pandit (Bengali literature), Kumud Nath Lahiri (poet), Haridas Chatterji (of Gurudas Chatterji & Sons), Professor Hem Chandra Das-Gupta (geologist), Professor Manmatha Mohan Bose (economist), Dr. Ekendra Nath Ghosh (biologist), Professor Dines Chandra Sen (Bengali language and literature), Nagendra Nath Vasu (*Vishwa-Kosha*), Nagendra Nath Som (biographer of Madhusudan Dutt), Charu Bandyopadhyaya (novelist), Krishna Charan Sarkar (Kaligram, Malda), Dr. Barid Baran Mookerji (homoeopath), Professor Amulya Charan Vidyabhushan (Bengali culture and sociology), Professor Nripendra Nath Dey (Editor *Collegian*), Sj. Mrinal Kanti Ghosh (*Amrita Bazar Patrika*), Sj. Satis Chandra Das-Gupta (chemist), Major B. D. Basu (author of *Indian Medicinal Plants*), Sj. Kiran Chandra Datta (publicist), Rakhal Das Banerji (historian), Sj. Basanta Ranjan Ray (Bengali language and literature), Sj. Sasi Bhusan Mukherjee (*Basumati*), Professor Rabindra Narayan Ghosh (English literature), Professor Jogindra Nath Samaddar (history), Dr Narendra Nath Law (Indian culture), Dr. Amulya Chandra Ukil (tuberculosis expert), Sj. Amarendra Nath Roy (Bengali literature), Panchkari Banerji (editor, *Nayak*), Sj. Nalini Mohan Roy-Chowdhury (Zamindar), Professor Banesvar Dass (industrial chemist), Dr. Nalinaksha Dutt (Pali literature and Buddhism), Professor Kali Prasanna Das-Gupta (Bengal National College and Technical Institute), Professor Ramesh Chandra Majumdar (historian), Sj. Hemendra Kumar Roy (novelist), Sj. Nilkanta Das (Satyabadi School, Puri, Orissa), Sj. Girija Kumar Bose (literary criticism), Sj. Lalit Chandra Mitra (publicists), Byomkesh Mustafi and Ram Kamal Sinha (*Bangiya Sahitya Parishat*).

The Journals as the Organ of Varttaman Jagat

In connection with the origins of Sarkarism in Indian thought the international setting of *Varttaman Jagat* has some special significance. It is necessary to notice that four months after Sarkar had left India the last Great War broke out (August 1914). The entire war period of four years and a half as well as the subsequent re-construction years down to the financial stabilization of 1925 furnished the world-political background of these thirteen volumes Sarkar returned to India in September 1925. These eleven years and a half are very momentous in the history of Bengali as of all-Indian thought and culture While discussing *Varttaman Jagat* it is desirable to call attention to this Indian background also.

Journalism, as we understand it today, commenced to become a power in India with the outbreak of that war. Not only the dailies, but the weeklies and monthlies also acquired a fresh life. The journals became the most important organs of culture, indeed, the "unrecognized Universities", as Sarkar has put it so often. The reading public increased in dimensions. And as industrialization advanced on account of the exigencies of the war the journals began to command advertisements on a substantial scale. Altogether, the phenomenal growth of journalism in size, volume, importance and social influence is one of the greatest marks of Indian intellectual and cultural progress during these twelve years. The organ for the dissemination of ideas had never before been so dynamic and so vastly utilized by all and sundry as about this time.

It was this powerful organ that took up the task of marketing the 4,700 pages of *Varttaman Jagat* slowly but steadily, although the author himself got no honorarium. But what he obtained was readers of all classes and all grades, both men and women, in towns and villages. And they were eager readers, hungry for the facts and views coming from abroad, especially as they were distributed by a people's man, a servant of the masses. Everybody knew that Sarkar was neither a journalist nor a politician. He was not interested in the news of the day and was not expected to send reports about the latest military events or economic conferences. The third volume of *Varttaman Jagat* was given over to the "armageddon of the twentieth century" (*Vimsha Shatavdir Kurukshetra*). It was a small-sized work and went through several editions in the course of a few months during 1914-1915. But from Sarkar the journals

got hardly anything of the war afterwards. They used, however, to wait anxiously for the facts and interpretations about the *vishwa-shakti* (world-forces) as apparent in every region and as embodied in industries, labour welfare, laws, aesthetics, discoveries and technical inventions, literary developments and social progress. In and through these studies they were getting the chances and opportunities for India's advance at home and abroad. These writings enabled the readers to get ready to make the best use of the world-forces each in his own way and according to his own convenience.

One great attraction of the author for the journals and their readers was that he was not associated with any party, sect or office. His investigations and views were those of an honest intellectual who had only his patriotism to consult for guidance and control. He had behind him, besides, the experience and tradition of a *swadesh-sevak*, the servant of the country, from 1905 to 1914. His life and work were known to everybody who was anybody in the country. The editorial staffs of journals, mostly patriotic nationalists of the epoch of the *swadeshi* movement, had started their careers in the same *milieu* as the author of *Varttaman Jagat*.

During the war and the post-war periods the demand of the Indian consumers of news and articles was for radically new facts and epoch-making ideas in keeping with the world-transformations going on at the time. They wanted standpoints and interpretations which were not inspired by the vested interests of the aristocratic *Bilat-phertas* (foreign-returned or rather England-returned) and plutocratic *Inga-Bangas* (Anglicized Bengalis). It is the eyes of the Bengali Barristers and members of the higher Government services (civil, medical, educational etc.) that had seen Europe and America (or rather, only England) before. The masses of readers and advertisers, and the editors themselves were no longer satisfied with the observations made by such eyes. The eyes of a man who was neither connected with these social leaders nor with Government or semi-Government institutions nor indeed with any associations which might influence his studies in any manner were the eyes just suited to the temper of the age.

The journals were but submitting to these demands of their customers while serving as the organ of Sarkar's researches and investigations. The journals felt that through the *Varttaman Jagat* articles they were serving to rescue the Indian conceptions of world-culture from the coterie of a few social despots and pedants. The

tyranny of the financially high-placed world-travellers and professional culture-pioneers—the "Barristocracy"—was being automatically although slowly subverted by this representative of the interests and requirements of the middle and poorer classes.

There is another special consideration to be noted. During these twelve years Sarkar was practically the only Indian scholar abroad specially engaged in world-cultural researches as well as reporting about his work regularly in India. About 1920 Indian scholars commenced visiting Europe and America in large numbers. But as usual, most of them were candidates for University degrees. A few, interested in original research or deputed by Government and other institutions, were occupied with jobs useful to themselves. The special mission of Sarkar as India's cultural ambassador to the world's Universities, learned societies and academies was well recognized in post-war Europe and America, as indeed in the other countries visited by him during and before the war. The receptions offered to him by the *Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques* and the *Académie des Beaux-Arts* of Paris (July, 2 and 9, 1921) are some of the evidences of this recognition.

All these circumstances contributed to raise *Varttaman Jagat* to the level of an all-Bengal cultural agency of an exceptional order, and to render Bengal's interest in its social philosophy or Sarkarism a phenomenon of extraordinary national importance. The journals knew that by disseminating Sarkar's ideas they were but helping a patriot to serve his fatherland and indeed themselves doing their bit by the great cause of national uplift. While discussing the age or the establishment of Sarkarism as a social philosophy in India we have always to remember these contributions of the journals to Indian thought.

Until 1921 when I left for the U.S.A. I had intimate contacts with the people in the *mofussil* (districts and rural centres). On the basis of that experience it is possible to say that among the lawyers, schoolmasters and college professors, industrialists, insurance agents, bankers, business managers, medical men, political workers both Gandhist and anti-Gandhist, labour leaders and journalists of 1940 between forty and forty-five (i.e. born about 1895-1900) there is hardly anybody who did not closely follow the *Varttaman Jagat* writings as they were being published from month to month or week to week. Most of them were youngmen and at school or college during this period. Psychologists would agree with me when I say

that as a rule our ideas, ideals and ideologies are formed between the ages of 16 and 22, i.e., while the young men are still in tuition and have not yet left the University.

In those days India was not yet used to the "isms" of all sorts that have become prevalent in recent years. Parties and platforms also were not much varied and heterogeneous, as all of us are quite aware. *Varttaman Jagat* was the fountain which supplied to Young India all the "isms" from old nationalism, industrialism and capitalism to new socialism, communism, and internationalism in their most diverse phases. It is the author of *Varttaman Jagat* who rendered the nationalist Frederick List as much as the socialists, "Marx-Engels" and Lafargue, accessible to the readers of Bengali journals * The place of *Varttaman Jagat* in Indian culture is extensive and encyclopaedic or comprehensive.

THE "BALKAN COMPLEX" IN SARKARISM

Sarkarism acquired a more concrete and definite shape with its creeds and programmes when the two large-sized volumes of *Naya Banglar Goda-Pattan* (The Foundations of New Bengal, 980 pages) were published in 1932 and *Badtir Pathe Bangali* (Bengalis in Progress, 640 pages) in 1934. From 1914 to 1934 we have thus a continuous stream of facts, ideas and ideals delivered in Bengali from the most heterogeneous addresses. The cumulative effect of these publications in 1940 is to be seen in the thorough-going transformation of Bengali thought on all fronts. A new social philosophy is inspiring Young Bengal,—and that is the Sarkarism of the last quarter of a century. We must, again, observe that not more than ten percent of the Bengali people is literate and that Sarkarism is not the only force.

For the development of certain aspects of Sarkar's cultural or social philosophy during the period of *Varttaman Jagat* (1914-1925) we should consult his simultaneous contributions in English in book form or in journals. But so far as Bengali writings are concerned, we find the doctrine of equality between East and West treated intensively in the two works just mentioned. The backwardness of Asia and the go-aheadness of Eur-America in science, industry, etc. had been his conclusions in *Varttaman Jagat*. The Problem of Asia's backwardness demanded his fuller attention in these two Bengali books.

* See, *Supra*, the *Social Philosophy of Varttaman Jagat*, Foot note 2.

In these publications he declared that not all the countries of Eur-America at the present moment were uniformly developed in these items, and that therefore not all of them were equally ahead of Asia. For instance, England, Germany and the U.S.A. represented the highest level of adult capitalism or hyper-capitalism achieved by mankind up till now. France, although politically a great power, was not as high as these three. On the other hand, Belgium and Switzerland, although politically not great powers, were on the same socio-technocratic level as the three regions of the first count. Similarly, Italy, although a great power, was behind Belgium and Switzerland, nay, behind France.

As for nearly three-fourths of Europe, i.e., virtually the whole of Europe outside these regions, they were too far behind the first three and the others mentioned above. These regions comprised what Sarkar calls the "Balkan Complex," Eastern Europe including Russia, Spain and Portugal, as well as the countries of Latin America commencing with Mexico. As regards Asia, this continent also had been getting modernized in science, technocracy, capitalism and socialism but all the regions of Asia were not uniformly modernized. Japan was the most go-ahead in this respect, India was way behind Japan, China somewhat behind India, Afghanistan and Iran behind even China, and so on.

In the social philosophy, as embodied in *Varttaman Jagat, Naya Banglar Goda Pattan* and *Badtir Pathe Bangali,* there is no Eur-America and there is no Asia. There are diverse stages of modernized development in the one area as in the other. Instead of East *vs.* West these volumes establish the thesis of medievalism *vs.* modernism. Japan in Asia is therefore more or less similar or equal to Italy in Europe while the Balkan states, Latin America and so forth of the Western world are more or less identical with India, although these Eur American countries are politically free and India politically a dependency.

Some of the clear-cut statements in this *resumé* I have adapted from Sarkar's own writings and speeches.

VARTTAMAN JAGAT AND OTHER SOCIAL FORCES

By employing the phrase, "the age of Sarkar" in culture or social philosophy, I do not understand that all other thought-forces, cultural ideals or social philosophies are to be excluded. I believe simply that Sarkarism has been a leading intellectual and

moral current in Bengal, indeed in All-India since 1914. The presence of other currents, old and new, is taken for granted. It is well-nigh impossible to describe the entire culture-pattern of a country as being governed by one solitary idea or ideal. In regard to Bengal, we shall find that even during the last three generations we have had a number of forces simultaneously operating in the domain of thought, culture or social philosophy.*

Perhaps it may be said that the age of Bankim Chandra Chatterji (1838-1894), the novelist and social philosopher, lasted for thirty two years from 1862 (*Durgesha-Nandini*) to 1894. But during this his most creative period Bengali culture witnessed the literary activities and authorship of a large number of remarkable intellectuals in diverse fields. Akshay Datta, the prose writer on science and world-culture, Madhusudan Dutt, the epic poet, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, the Sanskritist and social reformer, Rajendra Lall Mitra, the archaeologist and historian, Girish Ghosh, the dramatist, Kanny Lal Dey, the medicinal and chemical researcher, Bhudev Mookerji, the sociologist and educator, Romesh Dutt, the indologist and economist, Hemchandra Banerji, the lyricist, Udoy Chand Dutt, the historian of Hindu medicine, Keshab Sen the all-round idealist in social and cultural messages, Nabin Sen (*Palasir Yuddha*), and many others were each having his age. All of them were epoch-makers along with Bankim Chatterji who cannot be credited with having had an exclusive or monopolistic influence during the last three or four decades of the nineteenth century. Then there were the political thinkers and writers too.

The age of Rabindra Nath Tagore (born 1861) lasted from c 1883 (*Nirjharer Swapna-bhanga*) to 1913 (the year of the Nobel Award) or perhaps to 1916 (*Phalguni* and *Ghare Baire*) and was therefore synchronous with the former for a certain period. I have ascertained from school masters in the rural areas as well as lawyers, journalists and political workers in the districts, and this is my impression also, that the post-Nobel poetry, stories, novels etc. of Tagore have exerted but slight influence on Bengali thought.

* See S. Tattvabsushan: *Philosophy of Brahmoism* (Calcutta).
P R Sen: *Western Influence in Bengali Literature* (Calcutta, 1932)
Bipin Pal: *My Life and Times* (Calcutta 1932)
H. M Das-Gupta: *Studies in Western Influence on Nineteenth Century Bengali Poetry 1857-87* (Calcutta 1935).

In regard to latter-day Tagore (1916-1940), opinion is not likely to be unanimous or definite. Sarkar, however, considers post-Nobel Tagore to be quite creative in many fields, both literary or artistic and also philosophical, as his paper entitled *Jauvan-murti Rabindranath* (Tagore as the Image of Youth) contributed to the seventieth birth-anniversary publication about the poet (Calcutta 1931) leads one to feel. In his judgment Tagore is continuing to be a great power in Bengali culture (1940). Sarkar's appreciation of recent Tagore[1] is thus in keeping with his enthusiasm for the poet on the morrow of the Nobel Award as embodied in his essay entitled *Rabindra-Sahitye Bharater Vani* or "India's Message in the Works of Tagore" (Calcutta 1913).

This work of Sarkar's was chronologically the first book on Tagore published in India. This, in passing, is another instance of Sarkar's pioneering. At the same time it is interesting to note that he has systematically maintained his loyalty to Tagore in spite of the well-known fact that Sarkarism is in many essential items fundamentally opposed to the ideas and ideals of the Tagore-cult. May be, this is but an aspect of his pluralism For, it is noteworthy that his calendar of heroes contains the most diverse great men of all professions, faiths and races, who, left to themselves, would hardly speak to one another.

In popular judgment Tagore has ceased to function as a creative author. According to Sarkar this judgment is unjustified. One reason why people fail to notice Tagore's creativeness in the latter-day writings is perhaps, as Sarkar has made it clear in some of his observations at the meetings of the Bengali Institute of Sociology, the perpetual harping by Tagore on the one central theme of his life and art. The *Leitmotif* of his poetry and prose-works since the earliest publications is declared to be the autarchy or *swaraj* of the spirit, the autonomy of the individual, the worship of naturalness and spontaneity, resistance to artificial formalities, subversion of conventions, and demolition of traditional norms. Throughout life Tagore has written only one poem, song, story or essay and drawn but one picture, says Sarkar. Each is, strictly speaking, untitled

1 See also B. K. Sarkar. "Rabindranath and World-Forces" in the *Golden Book of Tagore* (Calcutta 1932) published by the Tagore Seventieth Birth Centenary Committee, and "The Poetry and Paintings of Rabindranath" in *Creative India* (Lahore 1937).

because each may be named, according to Sarkar, as "Hymn to the Human Spirit," "Ode on the Individual," or "Song of Personal Liberty."

In Sarkar's estimate Tagore is the most obstinate and thorough-going exponent of self-expression or self-assertion and enfranchisement of the soul. Revolutionary individualism is said to be personified in Tagore's words and phrases as well as colours and shapes. In his songs, dramas, stories and novels as in his essays and lectures as well as in his drawings and paintings the spirit of liberty, says Sarkar, has found its most continuous and eternal embodiment in thousand and one forms. In Sarkar's eyes Tagore's latest essays on religion, politics, education or literature exhibit as much of this quest of spiritual freedom and emancipation for the environmental, historic, sectarian, party or other limitations and restraints as any of the poems or plays of his younger years. According to Sarkar every one of Tagore's contributions is, so to say, a *Nirjharer Swapna-bhanga* (The Break of the Water-fall's Dream) or *Duranta Asha* (Wild Hope) enriched with new imageries, illustrations, similes and metaphors adapted to the occasions or problems on which it is composed. This serves, as believes Sarkar, but to indicate the eternal freshness of Tagore's creative urge But to those who already know him it is none the less an index to the fact that he is repeating himself ceaselessly. Those, however, who can appreciate repetition in diverse forms, will find Tagore even in 1940, as Sarkar does, to be the unending fountain of individual *swaraj*, moral manhood, spiritual revolution, and creative personality.[2]

2 Speaking on Tagore's presidential address at one of the functions of the International Parliament of Religions (Ramakrishna Centenary) held at Calcutta on 3rd March, 1937 Sarkar as Secretary observed as follows "On behalf of Young India and on behalf of the Parliament of Religions I rise to say that Rabindranath, the beloved Rabindranath of Young Bengal, is still young, and continues still to be a profound creator of values. God bless Young India! Rabindranath's address to-night is an immortal document He has delivered to mankind through this audience a permanent charter of human liberty It is destined to rank in the world of thought as an eternal manifesto for the enfranchisement of the spirit of man." See *The Religions of the World*, Vol. II (Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture, Calcutta, 1938), pp. 1008-1009 Tagore's address, which was the fifth presidential address at the Parliament, may be seen in Vol. I. pp 124-133.

I have dwelt at some length on Tagore by indulging in this digression about Sarkarism *vs.* public opinion in regard to Tagore's works because he is a debatable topic in current social thought. Be this as it may, we are convinced that there are other age-makers in the age of Tagore. Nobody today as in the days of Bankim Chatterji can be credited with being the exclusive maker of an age.

Vivekananda had a short life (1863-1902) and his age may be placed between 1893 (Chicago) and 1902. Vivekananda and Tagore were therefore synchronous as creative forces for some time. The same may be said of Brajendra Nath Seal (1864-1938), the social thinker, indologist and philosophical interpreter of life and culture, whose age lasted from 1890 to 1915. The age of Ramendra Sundar Trivedi (1864-1922), the essayist on scientific topics and sociologist, may be said to have lasted from 1900 to 1922. Seal and Trivedi as well as Tagore were therefore synchronous to a certain extent.

Many scholars are likely to doubt if we can speak of the age of Seal or the age of Trivedi. The number and volume of their writings do not make an imposing show. Nor were they known to be constantly and steadily at work in intellectual researches. But their influence on the antiquarian, historical, linguistic, literary, philosophical, religious, educational, scientific, economic and sociological researchers and authors of Bengal is undoubted. They played the rôle of guide-philosopher-friends to numerous workers in scholarly fields. Future generations may forget this rôle. But writing as I do with the vivid recollections of Bengali culture from 1905 onwards it is not possible for me to overlook the significance of Seal and Trivedi as age-makers

The novelist, Sarat Chandra Chatterji (1876-1938), became a power in Bengali thought about 1914 (*Charitrahin*) and his age may be said to have lasted until death. It is at 1914 that I venture to place the commencement of the age of Sarkar (born 1887) with the publication of the *Positive Background of Hindu Sociology* and *Varttaman Jagat* (Modern World). Sarat Chatterji and Sarkar are then synchronous socio-philosophical forces in Bengali culture, although belonging to two different fields. And of course there are other forces too. Further, those authors, Hindu or Mussalman, whose writings in journals or books began to acquire a mentionable influence with the reading public about 1926 or 1930 may be described as belonging to the group of Sarkar's juniors, although they may not always be younger in age.

In addition to these junior and other synchronous social forces we have to consider, besides, that among Sarkar's elders Tagore, as discussed above, is still active. This Tagore is not only the creative poet, novelist or story-writer but also the essayist in art, education, social life and internationalism as well as the painter and the world-teacher. Secondly, Vivekananda's ideas are being strenuously carried forward, nay, immortalized and expanded by the Ramakrishna-Vivekananda institutions and their publications Moreover, Aurobindo, as the sage of Pondicherry, has by his works like *The Life Divine* been influencing new minds along fields unknown to the Aurobindo of 1905-1914. It is in the permanent background of this triumvirate that Sarkarism, like all other synchronous cultural forces, young and old, junior, contemporary and senior, from 1914 to 1940 has to be observed and interpreted.

It is only by authors whose writings in Bengali or English or both have been published continuously for a somewhat long period that ages may be said to have been made. Today in Bengal there are dozens of clubs, associations and other institutions in every district and hundreds in Calcutta. Conferences, re-unions and social functions are almost numberless, as every newspaper reader knows. The opportunities for short or lengthy lectures are therefore numerous and the call on lecturers (including Sarkar) is likewise plentiful. But, on the whole, very few of these lectures grow eventually into books or brochures. It is difficult as a rule to count them among the age-making social forces.

I should, likewise, add that writers of school and college text-books or note-books are known to thousands of readers but that they cannot be regarded as creating an epoch of thought. Similarly I have to exclude from the list of epoch-makers those authors who translate into Bengali or English some of the ancient Indian philosophical, scientific, political or other works in Sanskrit, Pali, Persian etc. or compile the ideas of old masters in historical volumes. Such publications are valuable in their own way. But a translator or historian of the *Artha-shastra, Smriti-shastras, Niti-shastras, Mahavagga, Ain-i-Akbari,* etc. is not to be regarded as the maker of an age in regard to culture, thought or social philosophy. For the same reason a translator or historian of the *Upanishads, Gita,* and the different systems of Indian philosophy, ancient and medieval, ought to be excluded from this list.

In this connection it may be observed that if Vivekananda

had been known as the author only of translations of the Sanskrit books on *Yoga* and *Vedanta* I would not have called him the maker of an age like Bankim Chatterji or Tagore. Vivekananda had an independent, original and creative message which was not necessarily confined to the old Sanskrit texts. This message is to be found in his lectures and essays, howsoever short in size or few in number. It is because of these views, independent of translation, compilation, or commentary and criticism, that he is to be credited with having made an age, indeed, a remarkable age.

Indian Reactions to Sarkar's Sociology of Races

The Futurism of Young Asia, first published at Berlin in 1922 was a voluminous document of Sarkar's pragmatism and pioneering in social philosophy. As such it was received by the Eur-American and Indian press as well as academic world in a sympathetic manner. Recently it has come out at Calcutta in a new form as *The Sociology of Races, Cultures and Human Progress* (1939). It would be of interest to watch how India is reacting to Sarkarism under the new conditions. I am making use of some press cuttings kindly placed at my disposal by the publishers.

The *Ceylon Observer* (Colombo, 23 October 1939) says as follows: "Those used to conservative ways of thought will consider Dr. Sarkar's views as those of an iconoclast But the unbiased reader cannot fail to be struck by the constructive aspect of the work. The author's trenchant pen, cutting valiantly through the thick jungle of race prejudice, serves in the end to establish a closer 'contact, on terms of mutual understanding and respect between the two cultural systems. The richness of allusions, the magnitude of the task and the attempt to construct a methodology does indeed recall the monumental work of Oswald Spengler. Dr. Sarkar's writings are a clarion call to the renaissance of a continent."

The *Rangoon Daily News* (13 September 1939) thinks that "at a time when the world's ideologies are in the melting-pot the author's observations on the numerous aspects of oriental and occidental cultures will be of great interest. The author tries to explain the effective reply of Asia to Eur-America in his own scholastic manner. The contents bear the stamp of eminent research."

Professor Dr. Beni Prasad writes in the *Leader* (Allahabad, 23

October 1939): "Dr. Sarkar joins issue with the exponents of Western culture on specific ideas and movements and carries the war into the enemy's strongholds. He writes with massive learning and ransacks the world for illustrations and citations. The pages on Bengali literature are full of new information, acute interpretation and searching analysis. From the style it appears that the book is addressed primarily to scholars and not to the general reader."

The *Mysore Economic Journal* (September 1939) thinks that "the encyclopaedic knowledge of Dr. Sarkar is seen here to great advantage. It has a value of its own in helping the final synthesis of matters Asian. The entire volume bears the impress of the man, its author. His experiences and investigations form its basis and his ideas are of the constructive ideologist, so characteristic of him."

Professor Khagendra Nath Sen writes in the *Hindusthan Standard* (Calcutta, 9 November 1939): "The publication of such a book at this juncture is particularly opportune because it calls us back to the fundamental questions that are likely to govern the future relations between the Orient and the Occident."

In the *Indian P.E.N.* (Bombay, January 1940) Dr. Nabagopal Das, I.C.S. writes: "The essays and monographs are vivid and stimulating. No impartial reader can fail to be impressed by the author's ruthless and sometimes sarcastic arguments. His position is quite logical and thought-provoking. The various forces at work in the new Asia have been analyzed and presented with commendable restraint. Throughout there is an eloquent plea for intellectual fairness —an appeal for comparing the mentality and the morality of the Orient and the Occident 'under the same conditions of temperature and pressure.'"

Writing in the *Oriental Literary Digest* (Poona, January 1940) Dr. Irawati Karve says: "To those sociologists who base their line of reasoning on geo-botanical considerations like climate and who point to India's backwardness or stagnation as following from these the author very fittingly replies by saying that all the geographical factors in Europe were insufficient to bring about an industrial revolution. The author goes on to show that the religious, political and aesthetic developments in the West and the East run an exactly parallel course and that there is absolutely nothing that can be called typically Oriental as against something that is typically Occidental."

At one point Dr. Karve remarks as follows: "The author expresses himself in semi-mystic and poetic words, the exact meaning of which is hard to understand. What exactly is the meaning of utilizing the world-forces (*vishwa-shakti*) and examining the results achieved'?" As has been pointed out very often, the doctrine of *vishwa-shakti* (world-forces) is one of the fundamental items in Sarkar's sociology, and it is entirely devoid of mysticism. The category does not imply anything more than the forces,—cultural, economic and political—that constitute and govern the life of mankind. It is by making use of them in one's own interest that a group, like the individual, can survive or flourish As for "examining the results achieved" it is tantamount to pragmatism. Nothing can be more pragmatic, realistic and prosaically creative than Sarkar's "utilization of world-forces."

I should like to point out to Dr. Karve that in France the *sociétés*, clubs, *reunions*, *maisons* and *académies* are not the same things and that no one word would have sufficed This "string of words" had therefore to be used by Sarkar and quite appropriately.

Dr. Karve does not understand why the letter from Paul Appel, the Chancellor of the University of Paris, to the intellectuals of India has been interpreted by Sarkar as "a call to comradeship and a message of welcome into a life of expansion." The explanation is obvious. An Indian scholar has but to place oneself in the *scientific milieu* of 1921 and one will find that a comradeship like that had hardly ever been offered to Young India by an academic institution of the rank of the University of Paris.*

"The book is an answer," says the reviewer further, "to some very scurrilous propaganda against Asiatics carried on in Europe and America by scholars and scientists. On the whole the main facts will be acceptable to most."

CHAPTER III

Economic Pioneering in Sarkar's Works

Sarkar's pioneering and "revolutionary departures from the old track" are eminently perceptible in aesthetic, religious, political and other scientific and cultural fields. I shall devote the rest of

* See, *Supra*, the section on "Sarkarism in Indian Thought."

my study to Sarkar's "non-conformist" tendencies and "heresies" in economic researches and investigations.

It has been indicated previously that there may be many age-makings, pioneerings and revolutionary departures at one and the same time in social and philosophical or cultural thought. Synchronism of several age-makers or pioneers in different lines is likewise to be implied also in my analysis of revolutionary departures in economics as effected in Sarkar's writings. My conception of pioneering is democratic and pluralistic. And in this item as in several others I am prepared to accept Sarkar's standpoint.

In Shib Chandra Dutt's *Conflicting Tendencies in Indian Economic Thought* (Calcutta 1934) we find a chronological bibliography of the more important articles and books on economic topics by Indian authors since the publication of the Maratha scholar, M.G. Ranade's *Essays on Indian Economics*, in 1898. I am utilising this work in order to examine the Indian output in economic thought and to try to place Sarkar's contributions in this evolution. As in the other sections of this study, several friends have helped me with suggestions and paragraphs in the preparation of this chapter also. I have, besides, derived substantial help from the papers by Mr. Shib Chandra Dutt, Advocate Pankaj Mukherjee, Mr. Satin Das-Gupta, Dr. Moni Moulik and Professor Sachin Dutt.

Economic Thought in India (1898-1925)

From 1898 to 1905 only two books by Indian economists made their appearance. The one was Ranade's *Essays on Indian Economics* (Poona, 1898) and the other the Bengali author, Romesh Dutt's *Economic History of India* in two volumes (London, 1901-3). The first work was more modern, comprehensive and practical although less systematic than the second. Both were fundamentally political, coloured as they were by reactions to British administration and its economic, financial and fiscal policies. They served in any case to help forward the Indian national movement. Young India is indebted to Ranade and Dutt as politicians no less than as economists.

From 1906 to 1913 three elementary text-books on "Indian" economics were published by two Bengali scholars (J. N. Sarkar, 1909, and P. N. Banerji, 1913) and one Maratha scholar (V. G. Kale, 1912). They were summaries of the administration and eco-

nomic reports published by the Government of India or of works like the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* with one or two criticisms mainly from the nationalist standpoint.[1]

It was during this period that Benoy Sarkar made his *début* in the economic fields with the publication of *Economics* (Calcutta 1910). It was a volume in his *Aids to General Culture Series*. The book had absolutely nothing to do with Indian government reports but was a summary of economic theories based on uptodate authorities, for example, Bagehot, Keynes, Marshall, Gide and Pierson. Sarkar's difference in mentality and outlook from the rest of academic India was quite apparent. This guide to economic theories was a pioneering summary. A work like this, a *resumé* of modern economic ideas, does not appear to have been attempted by any Indian author previously.[2]

In this work Sarkar had a chapter entitled: "Indian Economics —Different Senses." The *Hindustan Review* of Allahabad said as follows about this chapter: "He distinguishes between what passes for Indian economics in the University curriculum as a study of present-day facts and phenomena relating to the industrial, financial and commercial organizations of the society and the position the subject should have as a contribution to the universal science of economics which is yet in the making according to the principles of the inductive-philosophical method. According to this view Indian economics *as an applied science* should mean not an economic history as set forth by Romesh Dutt or a summary of what is available in the Economic and Administrative sections of the *Imperial Gazetteer* of India, but a study of the methods and means of the socio-econo-

1 Among recent works of this type of historical and descriptive summaries may be mentioned Jathar and Beri's *Indian Economics* in two volumes (Bombay 1928-29) designed to cover the University syllabus for college students.

2 A subsequent work of this nature is *A Guide to Economics* (Bombay 1918), by K. T. Shah and S. N. Haji. A few such summaries have come out in recent years because the Indian Universities have in one or two instances recommended the works in English by Indian authors for the use of Intermediate Classes Besides, since 1926 Sarkar's *Arthik Unnati* monthly has been publishing contributions on economic theory in Bengali. Such publications on contemporary economic theories by Indian authors,—although generally in the form of digests—will always remain desirable.

mic and economico-political advancement of India." Sarkar's idea was clear and definite. As conceived by him, Indian economics as an applied science or art would "embody a system calculated to develop national as opposed to cosmopolitical power on Frederick List's scheme."

Another economic work of Sarkar's during this period was the Bengali translation of the German economist, Frederick List's *National System of Political Economy*, published as articles in the magazines (1912-1916). It did not come out in book form before 1932. But the articles were assimilated by Bengali readers with great interest and Sarkar was once more in evidence as a pioneer, this time as a translator of one of the greatest economic classics of world-wide importance and of profound influence in Indian economic thought.

A pioneering scientific activity of this type is embodied also in his Bengali adaptation from the American author, Booker Washington's book on the Tuskegee Institute (Calcutta 1913). By this work Sarkar drew attention to the problem of vocational education as envisaged by him for the economic development of Bengal. It was quite well adapted to his educational experiments in the districts of Malda and Dacca.*

It is to be observed that during this period Indian, and especially Bengali scholars were interesting themselves in economic, constitutional and social studies about the ancient Hindus. There were pioneering studies on ancient Indian shipping, public administration, Kautalya's *Arthashastra*, etc. In this group of pioneers also Sarkar had a place because (1) of his English translation of the Sanskrit *Sukraniti* (a work of the *Arthashastra* class) and (2) of his *Positive Background of Hindu Sociology*, Vol. I., both published by the Panini Office at Allahabad (1913-14).

During the same period Sarkar as editor of the Bengali monthly, the *Grihastha* (Householder), was dealing with the pressing economic problems of contemporary India. His eyes were directed simultaneously to two fronts: (1) the promotion of modern industries, mechanization and technical education, and (2) the improvement of the rural arts and crafts as well as agriculture.

* See, *Supra*, the section on "The Cultural Pragmatist at Home and Abroad." The school in the district of Dacca was located at his ancestral village, Sanihati (Vikrampur). The other schools were all located in Malda, the district in which he was born.

It is interesting to observe that down to 1913 neither in Bengal nor in any other part of India economics *as a science* was cultivated by Indians except for examination purposes by college students. The little original or semi-original work done by Indian authors in economics was in the field of summaries from Reports and Gazetteers for modern India. Another field of studies,—and this of really original investigations,—was the economic and political condition of India previous to the seventh or thirteenth century. It is during this atmosphere that Sarkar's economic studies were bestowed as much on India as on Germany, England, America and the rest of the world. Besides, he invited the attention of scholars as much to the ancient as to the modern conditions. And finally, he wanted Indian authors to take interest in general economic *theories* also.

These characteristics of Sarkar as economist during the early and formative period of Indian economic science (1905-1913) have continued to be his general features up till now. No less nationalistic or patriotic, as is too well known, than any other Indian economist, he has never allowed himself to be obsessed by so-called Indian ideals, viewpoints or interests in economic science. It is as an integral part of the world-economy that he has always studied the Indian economy. He has, besides, never allowed the fundamental theoretical considerations to be eclipsed by political prejudice while studying economic India or economic developments in Japan and Eur-America.

During the last Great War (1914-18) Sarkar was carrying on investigations in Europe, America, China, and Japan. Bengali authors were in the main writing on ancient Hindu economics and politics. Modern economic problems constituted the subject matter of two books by as many Bengali economists, both published in 1916. One was a summary of the Government reports on the Indian co-operative movement by P. Mukherjee (Calcutta). Another dealt with the "foundations" of Indian economics by R. K. Mukherjee (London). It was rather an anthropological and sociological work dealing as it did with village life, local arts and crafts, religious and social backgrounds etc. In 1916 the *Indian Journal of Economics* was issued at Allahabad under the auspices of the Indian Economic Association established during the same year. Articles dealt chiefly with Indian conditions. A book on the population problem of India (by P. K. Wattal 1916) was almost a summary of the Census Report, and another was on Indian currency and banking problems (by

Tannan, Mohan Lal and Shah 1917). A noteworthy work of this period was *A Monograph on Indian Railway Rates* by the Bengali economist, S. C. Ghosh (Calcutta, 1918).

In this perspective of Indian output in economics we have to place Sarkar's Bengali contributions from abroad on the industrial, commercial and agricultural institutions and movements in England, Japan etc. published in the journals of Calcutta, later appearing as books (*Varttaman Jagat* Series).* His study on foreign financial investments in China was published in the *Journal of Race Development* (U.S.A., 1918). It is to be added that his lectures in American Universities (1916-18) dealt in part with ancient Hindu economics, public finance and politics.

Economic publications by Indian authors both as articles in the *Indian Journal of Economics* and as independent books grew in number and variety during the post-war period (1919-25). Bengali economists were continuing their studies on the affairs of the ancient and medieval periods of Indian history, or of the East Indian Company. In regard to modern conditions the sociology of village communities and the ideals of the East became the subject matter of R.K. Mukherjee's *Principles of Comparative Economics* (1923). Labour questions relating to India were studied by R. K. Das (1923). It is the non-Bengali authors (Kale, Iyer, Shah, Davar, Joshi, Bhatnagar, Rau, Vakil, Ambedkar, Wattal, Chablani, Coyajee, Gadgil, Ramaiya, Jagtiani, Madan, Panandikar, Brij Narain, Pillai, Wadia and others) who contributed books on the finance, currency, banking, railways, industrialization, foreign trade, exchange, tariff, railway, national wealth, population etc. of India. Some of these were good descriptive and historical compilations for college students

During this period Sarkar's economic and social studies about the countries visited by him came out in several volumes of *Varttaman Jagat* (Modern World, Calcutta, 1914-1925) subsequently completed in thirteen volumes (1935, 4700 pages). Topics of post-war European currency, exchange, banking, land legislation, vocational education, tariff and commercial policy, etc. formed likewise the subject matter of his articles in English in Indian journals. The topics of Indian economics, old and new, were discussed by him in his lectures in English, French and German at the Universities of America, France and Germany and were published in the *Journal of Inter-*

* See, *Supra,* the sections on *Varttaman Jagat.*

national Relations (U.S.A., 1919), the *Giornale degli Economisti e Rivista di Statistica* (Rome 1920), the *Journal of the Indian Economic Society* (Bombay, 1921), the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (Philadelphia 1921), *Séances et Travaux de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques* (Paris 1921), *Revue de Synthèse Historique* (Paris 1921), *Deutsche Rundschau* (Berlin 1922), *Commercial News* (Berlin, 1923) and *Verein Deutscher Ingenieure Nachrichten* (Berlin 1924).

It will be noticed that from 1914 to 1925 (war and post-war years), the entire period of investigations and lectures abroad, Sarkar was continuing his previous methodology and outlook in economics. His publications were at once Indian and international. His interest in old India was intact. But modern Indian economics became more prominent. World-economy also acquired a special importance in his studies. So far as the Indian academic and scientific circles were concerned, Sarkar's works served to open up a new world. Those who, like myself, were students or junior researchers in those days, can recall that they felt the researches into contemporary Eur-American economic data by an Indian scholar as well as Indian interpretations of those data both in Bengali and English as a "revolutionary departure from the old track." The impact of these studies and investigations on Indian businessmen and economists was a substantial introduction to new domains of thought and practice. It may be observed that during these twelve years Sarkar was virtually the only Indian academician abroad functioning as Visiting Professor in many Universities and reporting the results of his researches to his countrymen in Calcutta, Bombay, Mysore and Allahabad, through contributions in the only journals available at the time.

Altogether, the difference in data, methods of analysis as well conclusions between Sarkar and any other Indian economist was profound. One has only to open the books by Indian authors of this period (1919-25) at any chapter and glance through the contents of any of Sarkar's articles, short or lengthy, published in European and American or Indian journals to feel that the two series of publications represented two distinct worlds of thought.

"Economic Development" (1926) As a Landmark

Towards the end of 1925 Sarkar returned to India after an absence of nearly twelve years. His *Economic Development*, Vol. I. was published at Madras in 1926. It had a sub-title as follows:

" Snapshots of World-movements in Commerce, Economic Legislation, Industrialism and Technical Education." The "revolutionary departure from the old track" in economics was embodied in the very title. Indians were not used then and are hardly yet used even now to think of economic books or articles written by Indian authors without the name of India being attached to them. Sarkar's *Economic Development* does not carry on its title-page any reference to India. This fact alone indicated that it was an un-orthodox book on economics by an Indian author. It is doubtful if such a work had ever come out of the Indian pen. But it is worth while to call attention to the fact that Sarkar dedicated his book to two "pioneers", Ranade and Romesh Dutt. In the history of economic thought, then, so far as India is concerned, if Ranade (1898) represented one landmark another was represented by Sarkar (1926).

As Ranade is by all means one of the pioneers of our science let me say here, in passing, that the first essay in his *Essays on Indian Economics* was published in 1890. Ranade's mind was intensely practical and patriotic. His economics was profoundly but not much too political. The category, "Indian Economics," employed by him did not, however, imply merely a descriptive and historical study of Indian economic conditions. Ranade was supremely interested in the examples of economic progress achieved by the most diverse countries of the modern world. Almost a third of his book was therefore given over to the discussion of industrial and other economic advances in progressive countries. The land-laws of Russia and Prussia were described with great enthusiasm as well as the agricultural progress of the Dutch Indies and the land-mortgage banks of France, Italy, Switzerland, Belgium and Germany. Ranade attempted a study of the world-economy in his way and did not follow a one-track mind, to use an American expression. Be it observed that the pioneering book by Ranade was not a systematic treatise but a collection of disconnected essays or lectures. However, if the Ranade method had been carefully studied and assimilated by the economists of India, Indian economics might not have assumed the parochial, i.e., narrowly Indian character that it did down to the appearance of Sarkar on the scene with *Economic Development* Vol. I. (1926).

The "revolutionary departure," non-conformism or pioneering is manifest in several other items of this book.

In 1926 Bengali economists found that in this work the East

India Company was not mentioned, no references to ancient Sanskrit or medieval Persian texts were available, and finally, there was not a word about village communities, the spirit of the East, ideals of civilization etc. At that time, besides, Bengalis were not much known even in India as authors of economic books.

The non-Bengali Indian economists found that the contents of *Economic Development* did not furnish the history of economic India in the nineteenth century and looked too foreign or world-economic, much more so than Ranade's work. The contents did not in any case appear to be compilations intended for college students and to serve the directions of the University syllabus. Moreover, they did not look like the summaries of Census Reports or of publications like those by the Chamberlain Royal Commission on Indian Finance and Currency (1913), the Indian Fiscal Commission (1921) and so forth. Besides, every Indian book on economics was and is expected to devote lengthy criticisms to the Government's policies. Nothing of the kind was furnished in Sarkar's book. Last but not least, virtually every book or journal mentioned in the bibliography of eight pages was in French, German and Italian. All these features were extremely "revolutionary," contrary to tradition or "heretical."

None but careful readers could see that in Sarkar's "world-movements in commerce etc." India also had a place. Economic India was, indeed, represented by certain chapters. Besides, as usual in Sarkar's analysis, it was at times placed in the background of the world, and the world-conditions hinted at in the perspectives of India. But this posing of India *vis-à-vis* the world or the world *vis-à-vis* India was too revolutionary in Indian academic and scientific thinking. The pioneering by Sarkar was self-evident. Indian scholars were if at all used to making just a passing or conventional reference to England in their studies. But voluminous investigations into the industry, currency, banking, tariff, land-legislation, social insurance *etc.* of a large number of Western countries,—and this again on the evidence not of British experts but of original French, Italian and German documents, as well as intimate personal contacts,—were too much for the Indian tradition (down to 1926). Sarkar's non-conformism was marked on the surface.

No less revolutionary was the fundamental conclusion of these comparative studies on contemporary economics. Sarkar said as follows: "There is but one postulate running through the whole

collection. It may be worded thus: Whatever has happened in the economic sphere in Eur-America during the last half-century is bound also to happen more or less on similar and even identical lines in Asia and of course in India during the next generation or so. This, indeed, is the message to which the sociological studies in my previous works, for example, *The Futurism of Young Asia* (Berlin 1922), have inevitably led."

Here, of course, we come across Sarkar's patent in the world of science. The "revolutionary departure from the old track" would be appreciated in economics if we recall that about this time virtually the entire Indian intelligentsia was madly in love with anti-machinism. India is in advance of the world, her economic evolution is to be more "spiritual" than the Western world's, and the lines of economic progress for India are entirely different from those for the rest of mankind,—such was the Gandhi-Tagore tradition. But Sarkar established his thesis, very reasonable and simple as it is, that India was economically backward, that the Western world as well as India *were moving along the same lines*, material or spiritual, and that India's problem was *but to try to catch up with the Western pioneers* of machinism and modern economy. In this kind of economic thinking Sarkar's position as a pioneer, protestant or heretic was too palpable to be overlooked. The difference between Gandhism and Sarkarism in economics is the chief subject-matter of S. C. Dutt's *Conflicting Tendencies in Indian Economic Thought* (Calcutta 1934). Some of the other non-conformisms or heresies of Sarkar have been singled out by Dutt in this study.

There is another important item in Sarkar's comparative industrialism. India is behind Europe, he said, by a certain number of years, but not behind *all* Europe by the same number of years. The economic "lag" between Europe and India is to be examined, according to him, by placing India in the background of one European country after another. In other words, he did not believe in the unity or uniformity of entire Europe in the stages of economic progress. Certain regions in Europe were ahead of India, e.g., England, Germany etc. But the Balkan regions were behind England and Germany and were almost on the same level as India. Italy was perhaps somewhat ahead of the "Balkan complex" and to that extent ahead of India, but behind England and Germany. And so on. India's economic statesmen had therefore more to learn of the Balkans than of the great industrial powers like England

and Germany. He advised that India should cultivate intimacy with the economic "youngsters and backwards of Europe" and watch the adults and seniors of Eur-America from a distance.

This attitude of Sarkar's also was revolutionary because, as a rule, the economists like the philosophers, culture-leaders and politicians of India took delight in measuring her with the great powers rather than with the inferiors of Eur-America. Indeed, these latter were entirely ignored by Indians while making their estimates of the Western world in economics, politics or culture. But it is just these inferiors that Sarkar's *Economic Development* held up to India as her peers and colleagues in the march towards modernism in industry and technology, capitalism and socialism.

In order to get a correct idea of the scientific and cultural atmosphere of India about 1926 it must be observed that in spite of the "revolutionary departure from the old track" Sarkar's non-conformism was finding sympathetic response in many quarters. Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari of Madras was able to observe that the "book, though at first sight appearing to be a collection of scattered essays, is in reality a continuous thread on which the flowers and fruits of recent historical economics are strung with a view to benefit the historico-economic student of the India of the present generation." Sir M. Visvesvaraya of Mysore described the book as "a valuable contribution to Indian economic thought of the day." According to Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary (Calcutta) "comparative studies have heightened the value of the work."

The *Servant of India* (Poona) observed as follows: "Today our industrial backwardness is proverbial and our knowledge of scientific banking in its infancy. From this point of view we invite special attention to chapters, 11 and 15." The *Hindustan Review* (Allahabad) said: "As a handbook of applied economics, perhaps the first of its kind written by an Indian author, the book is quite opportune and India comes in for her share of discriminating discussion. It is marked by the rich and rare scholarship which readers have long since learnt to associate with the name of Professor Sarkar."

The *Bombay Chronicle's* observations were the following: "The author rightly maintains that the problem of Indian poverty is a question of unemployment on a large scale. We are in full agreement with the author's diagnosis of the disease and we approve of the prescriptions suggested. Sarkar divides the population of

India into eight groups and discusses with great ability the method to increase their respective incomes. He makes very valuable and useful suggestions." According to the *Hindu* (Madras) "the book is a mine of information in regard to the economic revolution, in some cases proclaimed, in others silent, that is going on in the world at large today both in economic ideas and economic practice" In the judgment of the *Bengalee* (Calcutta), "the book deals with almost every thing of importance in economic life from the latest economic policies in Russia down to the Swiss law of old age pension. Although dealing mainly with the places and events in the West, it will be found to be a guide to our patriots, economists and social reformers."

These opinions and reviews indicate that Sarkar's data, methodology and conclusions were keenly appreciated in certain circles of academicians and among publicists as well as businessmen. It is possible to say in 1940 that the pioneering by Sarkar has succeeded in creating a track,—although not yet extensive—among the academic economists of India. Indian economists, *as authors of books*, should appear to be in the main still following the conventional tradition. It may, however, be surmised that the Sarkar method will in no distant future be somewhat generally followed by certain classes of researchers, especially by those who do not care to write books for college students.

As the author of *Studies in Economic Dialectics* (Calcutta 1938) I must observe that there is nothing objectionable in the "old track" of Indian economic researches. The descriptive, historical as well as political study of Indian economic conditions represents by all means a useful method. Indeed, this will always remain a necessity for the purposes of information to be furnished to college students and the public as well as for political propaganda. But the Sarkar method,—first, enriches the informational sphere, because of the wealth of non-Indian facts and statistics; secondly, it fights shy of politics. "Applied economics is not all politics," as he says. His method, wherever fully developed, enables one to visualize the different forms and stages of economic progress in "our own times" as well as to ascertain the next form or stage in a country's economic ventures. This theoretical position possesses a significant practical value. It furnishes, indeed, the scientific foundation of genuine and effective "economic planning."

One of the latest specimens of economic research in the tradi-

tional line,—descriptive and historical with criticisms on government policy—is *Finance under Provincial Autonomy* by C. N. Vakil and M. H. Patel (Bombay 1940). The work reviews the finances of the different Indian provinces since 1937, the year of the introduction of the Government of India Act 1935. The contents describe the provinces as federal units, the state and economic life in India, expenditure, old sources of revenue, provincial debt and the financial arrangement for 1940-41. The contribution is useful and timely.

The Sarkar method has already been described in several connections. In the words of Professor Patrick Geddes in the *Sociological Review* (London, 1928) we get the following picture of this method: "The book is of interest to us Westerns," says he editorially, "on its own merit of extensive knowledge of us: as well as for its presentment of Indian outlooks beyond those commonly current. For, instead of abstract politics we have concrete economics, and seen as fundamental to politics largely of a new kind. To the general student of economics this treatment should be suggestive; indeed, at its best it is exemplary. Professor Sarkar has for many years been studying one European country after the other, and from many viewpoints: so his book is a result not only of reading but of wide personal intercourse, travel, and full of economic information and social reflection from all these sources. With all his descriptive concreteness there are large and bold generalizations and frequent passages of social criticism and interpretation: and these ranging over France and Germany, from America to Japan, and of course from India to Britain, and home again; leading up to a broad sketch of an economic policy, very comprehensive for Young India. Alike as widely informative and as actively stimulating, this book will be found well worth looking through and thinking over both in East and West."

The following account of the Sarkar method in economic investigation is derived from the German original of Professor Hashagen in the *Technik und Wirtschaft* (Berlin 1929): "The book lying before us, a most highly substantial work of the well-known Indian scholar, pursues the practical aim of studying the post-war economic phenomena of Europe in order to utilize them for a more or less similar future of India in economic fields, on account of which Indian data have been placed in the midst of European developments from time to time. The material for this industriously prepared survey consists partly of numerous printed sources of varied character, partly also of oral information which the author has untiringly

collected from businessmen and experts during his travels since 1920 in France, Germany, Austria, Northern Italy and Switzerland. A more intimate acquaintance with this carefully designed and painted picture would be of considerable use even to critical European theorists and practical men."

"ARTHIK UNNATI" AND THE BENGALI INSTITUTE OF ECONOMICS

In order to bring his methodology of economic research home to the intelligentsia Sarkar established in April 1926 the Bengali monthly journal entitled *Arthik Unnati* (Economic Progress). It is described as a journal of economics (theoretical and applied), as well as the applications of industrial research and technical invention for social welfare and material progress.

The object of the journal is to function as an organ of banking, foreign trade, money market, insurance, industrialization, agricultural enterprises, railway and shipping economics, public finance, economic legislation, national health, technical education, rural reorganization, municipal administration and other civic interests.

Section I. deals with the *Wealth of Bengal,* profession by profession. The data are furnished by the reports of correspondents specially employed for the purpose or the weeklies in the district centres. The standard of life prevailing among cultivators, artisans, fishermen, boatmen, leather-workers, weavers, shopkeepers, merchants, land-owners, exporters, importers, industrial workers, sailors, clerks, directors and founders of modern industries, banks and other business establishments—all classes of the Bengali population,—is the main theme of these statistical and objective investigations.

Section 2. deals with the agricultural, manufacturing and *commercial activities of India* (excluding Bengal, but including the Indian states).

Section 3. deals with the *economic developments of the world.* It seeks to interpret the movements in foreign finance, industries and commerce to the Indian businessmen and economists. India's opportunities for co-operation with foreigners in all spheres of international trade and investment constitute likewise a special subject of study. The facts of world-economy involving, as they do, the intimate interdependence of India and the other countries in regard to economic functions and material welfare are placed before the readers in the form of a regular news-service.

Section 4. deals with the movements and pronouncements of

the world's prominent bankers, captains of industry, engineers, chemists, experts in technical, commercial and agricultural education, statisticians, economists, finance-ministers and so forth. The programmes of learned societies, businessmen's associations, and bankers' institutes etc. fall within this section.

Section 5. is given over to interviews with specialists on problems of applied economics and economic thought.

In all these sections *Arthik Unnati,* although a monthly, intends to acquire the dynamic character of a weekly or even a daily newspaper.

The special features are described as follows:

1. A tabular statement of the contents (with occasional synopsis) of the economic, financial, export-import, statistical and allied journals in the Indian and foreign languages including French, German, Italian and whenever possible, Russian, Japanese and Turkish.
2. Reviews of books.
3. A serial announcement of Indian and foreign books on economics, banking, commerce, statistics, technical education and all other branches of material and social welfare.

About fifty per cent of the monthly devotes itself to essays and discussions of permanent value bearing on the methods and problems of the economic sciences. Bengali translations or summaries of the views and theories of foreign economists of the present or preceding generation form a marked characteristic of this journal

The plan of *Arthik Unnati* may be compared to that of the *Indian Journal of Economics* (Allahabad) conducted by the Indian Economic Association since 1916 in order to see how fundamentally the Sarkar method in economic research differs from the traditional Indian method. This is another instance of Sarkar's economic pioneering and non-conformism.

Along with *Arthik Unnati* or rather as its spiritual general staff Sarkar established at the same time the *Bangiya Dhana-Vijnan Parishat* (Bengali Institute of Economics). A number of Research Fellows came forward on an honorary basis in order to carry on investigations and write for *Arthik Unnati* according to the plan indicated above. Those who have not completed their highest University studies are not admitted as Research Fellows.

Altogether twenty-two Research Fellows have been associated with this Institute, for different periods of time during the last fourteen or fifteen years. The papers published by these Research

Fellows are generally marked by two characteristics. In the first place, they exhibit what Sarkar calls *vastu-nistha*, i.e., objective or positive sense, personal contact with men and things, and realistic and statistical grasp of the facts without reference to ideals, policies, duties, norms, pious wishes, and dreams. Secondly, they exhibit Sarkar's *duniya-nistha*, i.e., world-sense, international equipment, knowledge of countries in addition to one's own, contact with "new men, strange faces, other minds," command over the facts and statistics of world-economy.

The programme of the journal and the Institute is ambitious. But there is no financial backing such as may enable the Research Fellows, honorary as they are, to conduct tours of investigation or library studies in a secure, systematic and continuous manner. The professors associated with the Indian Economic Association and the *Indian Journal of Economics*, on the other hand, are financially well placed. Those intellectuals whose bread and butter as well as social position are derived from teaching and research are naturally expected to show greater results than honorary research workers who are employed in non-research fields for bare existence.

So I doubt very much if Sarkar has been able to accomplish through his journal and Institute even a small part of all that he wanted to do. May be, this partial failure is but an index to his scientific position as a pioneer. Nowhere on earth can the reactions of contemporaries to non-conformists or pioneers be expected to be gloriously encouraging. Very often it is enough if the pioneer can somehow carry on.

Be this as it may, some of the works by the Research Fellows and Directors of this Institute are enumerated below:

1. *Dhana-Vijnane Sakreti* (Apprenticeship in Economics), 1930, by Professor Shib Chandra Dutt.
2. *Desh-bidesher Bank* (Banking in India and Abroad), 1931, by Dr. Narendra Nath Law and Jitendra Nath Sen-Gupta.
3. *Markin Samaj O Samasya* (American Society and Problems) 1932, by Nagendra Nath Chaudhury.*
4. *Conflicting Tendencies in Indian Economic Thought* (1934), by Shib Chandra Dutt.

* The present author is connected with Sarkar's "*Antarjatik Banga*" *Parishat* ("International Bengal" Institute), but economics and sociology constitute the major part of the discussions and publications of this Institute.

5. *Labour Legislation in British India* (1934) by Advocate Pankaj Kumar Mukherjee.
6. *The Tragedies of Modernism* (1934) by Nagendra Nath Chaudhury.
7. *Taka-Kadi* (Money), 1935, by Rabindra Nath Ghose.
8. *Dhana-Vijnaner Paribhasha* (Economic Terminology), 1936, by Narendra Nath Roy.
9. *La Politica Finanziaria Britannica in India* (British Financial Policy in India, Florence, 1937) by Dr. Monindra Mohan Moulik.
10. *Studies in Economic Dialectics* (1938) by Nagendra Nath Chaudhury.
11. *The Economics and Law of Central Banking* (1939) by Professor Sachindra Nath Dutt.
12. *Arthik Chintar Itihas* (History of Economic Thought) by Rabi Ghose, in the press.
13. *Ricardor Dhana-Vijnan* (Translation of Ricardo's Principles of Political Economy and Taxation) by Sudha Kanta De, in the press.
14. *Banglay Dhana-Vijnan* (Economics in Bengali) by Benoy Sarkar and twenty other contributors.
    Vol. I. 1925-1931 (first edition, 1937, second edition ,1940).
    Vol II. 1931-1933 (first edition, 1939).
    Vol. III. 1933-1940 (in the press. The printing has been held up on account of the War, 1940).
15. *Italian Economy and Culture* (Calcutta, 1940) by Dr. Monindra Mohan Moulik.
16. *Principles of Civics*: Economics and Politics (1940) by Professor Sachindra Nath Dutt.

The publications in *Arthik Unnati* as well as the papers read at the *Bangiya Dhana-Vijnan Parishat* follow the Sarkar method of investigation. But the Research Fellows are not called upon to accept Sarkar's views and conclusions or even agree with one another. They are free to develop their ideas each in his own way. Economic Sarkarism is not necessarily the creed of his Institute or journal. Sarkar's views are published under his own signature. Indeed, they are published as a rule in journals other than his own. Neither the *Parishat* nor *Arthik Unnati* follows a cut-and-dried economic policy.

This scientific independence is assured chiefly because of the thoroughly honorary status of everybody associated with Sarkar.

It is too well known that in those institutions where money and social position are the direct or indirect considerations intellectual freedom has almost invariably to be sacrificed in accordance with the ideas or ideologies of the Boss or the financial patron. But, humanly speaking, Sarkar's *Parishat* cannot be popular to those who are interested in these extra-scientific considerations.

It would be quite relevant to cite the organization of the *Parishat* as well as the publication of Bengali treatises on economic subjects by its members as another instance of Sarkar's pioneering activity and "revolutionary departure from the old track." Be it observed at the same time that the Sarkar method has succeeded in winning support among economists and businessmen functioning outside his *Arthik Unnati* and Institute. For instance, the monthly journals like the *Insurance and Finance Review*, the *Insurance World*, the *Clive Street*, the *Financial Times*, the *Insurance Herald*, etc. of Calcutta as well as the weekly *Arthik Jagat* (Economic World) likewise of Calcutta, have made their appearance several years after the birth of *Arthik Unnati*. They may all be said to be following the twin principles of objectivity, i.e , realism, as well as world-sense or internationalism. The same is to be observed about the *Journal* issued by the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce during 1926-1932 under Sarkar's editorship.

A recent publication, entitled *Industrial Finance in India* (Calcutta 1939) by Saroj Kumar Basu, is a fine example of economic research according to the Sarkar method, although not associated with Sarkar. Nearly fifty per cent of this book of 450 pages is given over to the analysis of data bearing on the world-economy. The author was never abroad but he has made detailed use of documents published by the banking institutions and Governments etc. of Canada, Finland, Hungary, Ireland, Japan, Poland, Saxony, South Australia, the U.K., the U.S.A. and Victoria (Australia) as well as by the League of Nations. The absence of knowledge in non-English languages has been made up by the author seeking cooperation from scholars in the matter of translating the original documents. The comparison between the Indian conditions and those prevailing in foreign countries has been instituted in a realistic and objective manner. The conclusions drawn are thus based on a wide knowledge of facts. This publication is well-calculated to inspire researches by the younger generation of scholars along the Sarkar method. I should not fail to point out that I am not aware as to whether Sarkar's views about industrial finance

would agree with those of Basu's but am simply discussing the comparative and world-economic methodology.

The *Indian Journal of Economics* (Allahabad) is the organ of economic research for the University economists of India. It is according to the traditional method that it continues to be conducted by the Indian Economic Association. But Sarkar is a member of this Association and co-operates with the *Journal*. His contributions to this *Journal* are mentioned below:

1934. The Trend of Indian Birth Rates in the Perspective of Comparative Demography.
1936. The Theory of Wages in the Light of Social Insurance and Public Finance.
1937. The Problem of Correlation between Exchange Rates and Exports.
1938. Prosperity and Depression.
1939. Wright's Economic Adaptation to a Changing World-Market: A Review.
1940. The Population Trend in India with Reference to Food and Nutrition.
1940. Radice's Savings in Great Britain: A Review.

In the general atmosphere of the contributions published in this *Journal* Sarkar's papers might look somewhat exotic. But of late Indian economists have been attempting to try new tracks, for instance, by taking interest in the discussion of economic *theories*. The Sarkar method may, therefore, be regarded as one of the new tracks to which Indian economists have been getting used. The Indian economic atmosphere bids fair to be less and less one-sided.

The New Tracks in Indian Economic Thought (1926-1940)

From 1926 to 1940 the output of economic thought in Indian academic circles is quite mentionable. The volume has increased. The number of economists, i.e., scholars who *write* economic articles or books, has been slowly but steadily growing, although not adequately in Bengal. Most of the publications are still in the form of articles in journals, like the *Indian Journal of Economics* (Allahabad), the *Mysore Economic Journal*, etc. The publishing houses are still chary of undertaking works such as are not likely to be textbooks in colleges, as I know from personal experience. But all the same, authors of books have been making their appearance. It is not necessary to describe the books of all sorts that have come

out. Most of them can be classed as monographs on the traditional plan. During this period Sarkar's output also has been considerable.

His articles in the *Indian Journal of Economics* have already been indicated. During this period he contributed some 30 papers in French, Italian and German economic, demographic and sociological journals, as we know from Professor Banesvar Dass's bibliographical statement. These need not be enumerated here. Nor am I interested for the present in the enumeration of his numerous papers on economic topics in the *Calcutta Review* (the monthly journal of the Calcutta University) and other Indian journals from 1926 to 1940.

Excluding the articles published in India and Europe Sarkar's books from 1926 to 1940 are, then, as follows:

1. *Economic Development: Studies in Applied Economics and World-Economy*. Vol. I Post-War World-Movements in Commerce, Economic Legislation, Industrialism and Technical Education (Madras 1926). 464 pages.
2. *Parivar, Gosthi O Rastra* (Family, Property and State), Bengali rendering of Engels's *Entstehung der Familie des Eigentums und des Staates* (Calcutta, 1926), 344 pages
3. *Trusts and Rationalization*: Aspects of the New Industrial Revolution, A brochure (Calcutta, 1927).
4. *Dhana-daulater Rupantar* (The Transformations of Wealth), Bengali rendering of Lafargue's *L'Evolution de la Propriété* (Calcutta, 1928), 226 pages.
5. *Ekaler Dhana-daulat O Arthashastra* (The Wealth and Economics of our Own Times), Vol. I. The Forms of New Wealth (Calcutta 1930), 440 pages.
6. *Naya Banglar Goda-Pattan* (The Foundations of New Bengal, Economic and Social).
   Vol. I. Theoretical (1932) 530 pages.
   Vol II. Practical (1932), 450 pages.
7. *Swadeshi Andolana O Samrakshana-Niti* (The Swadeshi Industry Movement and the Policy of Protection), Bengali rendering of List's *Das Nationale System der politischen Oekonomie* (Calcutta, 1932), 230 pages.
8. *Comparative Birth, Death and Growth Rates* (Calcutta 1932), 36 pages, 9 charts.
9. *Economic Development*
   Vol. II. Comparative Industrialism and its Equations with

special reference to Economic India (Calcutta, 1932, 1938), 330 pages, 9 charts.

10. *Indian Currency and Reserve Bank Problems* (Calcutta, 1933, 1934), 96 pages, 14 charts.
11. *Badlir Pathe Bangali* (Bengalis in Progress), Calcutta 1934, 636 pages.
12. *Imperial Preference vis-à-vis World-Economy* in relation to the International Trade and National Economy of India (Calcutta 1934), 172 pages, 15 charts.
13. *Ekaler Dhana-daulat O Arthashastra*
    Vol II. The New Foundations of Economics (Calcutta 1935), 710 pages.
14. *Social Insurance Legislation and Statistics*: A Study in the Labour Economics and Business Organization of Neo-Capitalism (Calcutta 1936), 470 pages. 9 charts.
15. *The Sociology of Population* with special reference to optimum, standard of living and progress (Calcutta, 1936), 144 pages, 6 charts.
16. *India's Advances in Industrialism during the Period of the Depression* (Calcutta, 1936), A brochure.
17. *Banglay Dhana-Vijnan* (Economics in Bengali) by Sarkar in co-operation with others.
    Vol. I. 1925-1931 (Calcutta, 1937, 1940). 750 pages.
    Vol. II. 1931-1933 (Calcutta, 1939), 600 pages.
    Vol. III. 1933-1940 (Calcutta, in the press. The printing has been held up on account of the war, 1940).
18. *Economic Development.*
    Vol. III. Economic Remakings in East and West (ready for publication. The printing has been held up on account of the war, 1940).

Certain common characteristics of Sarkar's economic works between 1926 and 1940 may be singled out.

First, in regard to data, they are marked by an extensive use and detailed survey of facts and statistics from the non-Indian, i.e. world-economic, including Japanese spheres. French, German and Italian documents—especially journals,—are the main sources utilized.

Secondly, analysis of figures is the chief element in the technique by which Sarkar's equations of comparative industrialism are worked out. His analytical method is therefore essentially statistical. In

many chapters there is hardly a section which does not make use of figures in several digits or, at any rate, percentages. Statistics constitute an integral part of his economic thought-structure and hence of the style and treatment. The traditional method is mainly literary in so far as it is descriptive, historical and political. As a rule, statistics play hardly any rôle in this method. If at all, statistics are printed in appendices or footnotes and there they lie without any organic contract with the text. The traditional economist does not have to link those figures up with his arguments and the readers likewise are not compelled to refer to them except as curios. The Sarkar tracks in economic thought, on the contrary, are reared logically on statistics. I should not fail to observe that recently statistics has been becoming somewhat more popular in Indian thought.

In Sarkar's comparative statistics, be it stressed, the Indian data and the world-economic data are often thrown together so as to constitute one organic whole. Generally speaking, neither India nor the world is placed by him in splendid isolation.

Thirdly, in regard to conclusion or message a fudamental distinction is drawn between what Sarkar calls the countries of the second industrial revolution, the industrial adults (e.g. England, Germany, U.S.A. etc.) and the regions of the first industrial revolution, the industrial youngsters or backwards (the "Balkan complex", Eastern Europe including Russia in spite of the three Five-Year-Plans, Southern Europe, Latin America, India, China, Western Asia etc.). In Sarkar's economics Italy and Japan lie somewhat ahead of the youngsters but way behind the Anglo-German level. Italy and Japan are two bridges between the young and the adult. Economic policies, and schemes of "economic planning" for the different regions are bound to be different on account of purely economic, technocratic and financial grounds, even without political considerations, says he.

And finally, perhaps, one should point out that this entire economic output in English and Bengali is non-political in treatment. Sarkar's economics is profoundly non-political if it is at all possible for economics to eschew politics. On January 22, 1926, he told the interviewer of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (Calcutta) as follows: "I want to emancipate economic development from the thraldom of current politics and political parties."[1] This is what he has done

1 B. K. Sarkar: *Greetings to Young India* (Calcutta, 1927, 1938) p 40.

in all the articles and books enumerated above. He has very often declared his maxim as follows: "Applied economics is not all politics."

I must point out, however, that not all the chapters in each one of the books are marked by the characteristics described above. These characteristics, wherever they occur, are to be treated as the main specialities which differentiate the Sarkar method from the traditional.

These general features of Sarkarism in economics are unusual in the "social climate" of economic articles or books written, as a rule, by Indian authors. It is here that Sarkar's non-conformisms and heresies are to be encountered.

The orientations of the "academic climate" of Indian economists, in general, in regard to the Sarkar method or the Sarkar tracks in economics may be indicated as follows:

First, Sarkar's world-economic facts and statistics as well as French, German and Italian documents impart to his researches, in spite of the presence of relevant Indian data, an atmosphere of unfamiliarity to the ordinary Indian economists, even to those who have come back with European or American degrees, as far as I am in a position to judge the situation. The publications of the League of Nations and the International Labour Office or the International Institute of Agriculture are not yet studied in India as generally as they should be. One can note, however, an improvement in Indian research equipment from publications like K. T. Shah's *Consequences of Post-War Price-Changes* (Delhi, 1935).

Secondly, Sarkar's juxtaposition of Indian and world-economic data and comparative analysis of the two orders of facts and statistics also appear rather strange to Indian economists, in general, because they are used to thinking of India virtually as a closed world. Even those theses that have been published by Indian candidates for University degrees in Europe and America deal almost exclusively with Indian topics and most frequently with the historical aspects of Indian economic evolution, e.g., the history of Indian trade, paper currency, railways, tariff, indigenous banking, commercial policy, etc.

In such publications, as every reader is aware, the candidates for degrees do indeed have to exhibit some cursory knowledge of other countries, especially of England. But this does not enable them to assimilate the facts and principles of world-economy in an

adequate manner nor to grasp realistically and in a firm manner the differences between one part of Europe and another, not to speak of the American conditions. The result is that such scholars return to India without much world-economic equipment. The entire intelligentsia at home has hardly any chances for coming into real contact with the world-economy while carrying on investigations into economic India. The situation has of late been slightly changing for the better.

In the third place, the fundamental conclusion of economic Sarkarism offers a front attack on the sentiments of Indian economists and other intellectuals.[2] That India should, in the main, have to be treated scientifically as marching more or less on the same level as Albania, Bulgaria, Rumania, Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Brazil, Chile, China and such other "primitive", i.e., agricultural, partially industrialized and semi-capitalistic countries is much too repugnant in the estimation of Indian economists They cannot actually stand, in so many words, this kind of comparisons as it hurts the dignity of India and perhaps of themselves. Few indeed would not admit or feel sorry for the actual primitiveness of the Indian economy, as indicated, for instance, in my *Studies in Economic Dialectics* (1938). Those who believe that primitiveness itself is India's glory may be left out of the consideration in the present context. But it is impossible for any educated Indian, generally speaking, to tolerate the alleged humiliation of India being treated realistically as the economic "peer or cousin" (Sarkar's expression) to such "inferior races" as those indicated above. Perhaps one can notice a somewhat slow change in this attitude of Indian economists, philosophers and sociologists. It is possible to feel that in certain circles the conception of economic "lag" or distance between regions as embodied in Sarkar's "equations of comparative industrialism" is making headway.

In the fourth place, economic Sarkarism as non-political economics or emancipation of economics from politics, appears much too brutal in a politically subject country like India. Besides, in India under the Ranade-Romesh Dutt parentage economics has been born as just a handmaid to and an instrument of the nationality and freedom movements. As long as the entire social climate of India remains nationalistic and political, equipped with stereotyped orientations to

2 See, *supra*, the section on "*Economic Development* as a Landmark."

the British Empire, the scientific attitude of practising indifference to political sentiments, movements and parties while carrying on investigation in the economic laboratory is likely to remain confined to the few. The number of purely scientific, i.e., non-political economic researches has, however, been growing, as would be apparent from an acquaintance with the articles published in the *Indian Journal of Economics* and the papers read before the Indian Economic Association in recent years.

Sarkar's Indian Economics in Eighty-two Lectures (German)*

A course of eighty-two lectures in German was delivered during 1930-31 by Sarkar as Guest-Professor at the *Technische Hochschule* (Technological University) of Munich under the authority of the Bavarian Ministry of Education in collaboration with the *Deutsche Akademie* (German Academy). The course was known in German as *Wirtschaftliches und soziales Indien der Gegenwart im Rahmen der Weltwirtschaft.*

The object of these lectures consisted, as announced in the programme, in establishing a scientific liaison between the data bearing on the Indian economic regions and the different branches of German economics and sociology, and secondly, on the basis of international statistics, in surveying the socio-economic and technologico-economic developments in modern India from the standpoint of comparative industrialism.

A. The Socio-economic Conditions of the Indian People

(*Die sozialökonomischen Verhältnissen Indiens*)

Summer Semester 1930

39 Lectures

I. Methodology

7 May. Inaugural address on general methodology; Economic India as the theme of a scientific study,—Comparative Economic Curves.

12 May. Economico-statistical and technologico-economic literature on modern India: I. Government Commissions (Economic Enquiries).

* Known as "Economic and Social Developments in Modern India (in the perspective of World-Economy)" in the *Journal of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce,* March 1932.

13 May. II. Publications of the Statistical and Administrative Department of the Governments in India.

2. The Constitutional Position of India in the British Empire

14 May. The different members of the British Empire with special reference to the constitutions of the Dominions and the Colonies and the status of India.

19 May. The Indian people : Three Indias in economic practice and theory.

3. The Provinces of India as viewed from the standpoint of European States

20 May. The frontiers of nine provinces, as well as their language, density and public finance as compared with the conditions in Germany, France, Italy, and other European countries.

4. The Princedoms in Pan-Indian Economic Complex

21 May. The share of "States-India" in the All-Indian Economy : territory, population and constitutional as well as financial hierarchy.

22 May. The "states-complex" *vis-à-vis* the "provinces-complex" : the "international" (?) relations between States-India and British India.

23 May. The economic and financial relations between the princedom-complex and the British complex.

26 May. The princedoms analyzed and classified according to the grade of technologico-economic developments.

5. Overseas India and its value for the World-Economy

27 May. The world-economic significance of "Emigrant India" : the contributions of the Indian people as colonizers in overseas lands, a study in comparative colonialism. The "Greater India" old and new.

28 May. The Indian emigration movement in the perspective of European labour-protection policy since the industrial revolution.

2 June. Recent tendencies in the emigration policy of India : the legislation of 1922.

3 June. The economic and social conditions of the Indian people in British Guiana, Fiji, South Africa, and East Africa and their bearings on contemporary India as well as their influence on the colonial powers.

6. National Income per Capita

4 June. Indian national income per head in the scale of international income estimates.

5 June. The equations of the wealth and income of the great powers with special reference to Germany and Japan and their bearings on the Indian conditions.

16 June. The curve of Indian national income since 1875; rising tendencies?

7 The Wage Scale

17 June. Wages and Salaries in Indian coal, manganese and other mining works in the background of wages and salaries in the mining enterprises of Germany.

18 June. Statistics of mill wages in the cotton industry as well as of agricultural wages with special reference to the Bombay Presidency.

23 June. The wages in the jute works and tea plantations of Bengal with general remarks on the international wage-niveau, average income and price index.

8. Standard of Living and Price-Index

24 June. Types and expenses of diet among the different social classes of the people in the diverse regions of India, in their bearings on the monthly family budget.

26 June. The monthly expenses and savings of working class-families in Bombay; a comparison with the conditions in Osaka, New-York and Rome.

30 June. Prices in India previous to and since the introduction of the gold-exchange standard (1893-98) in the perspective of the world's output in precious metals as well as of international price variations.

9. Population Movement

2 July. The births and deaths in the nine Indian provinces as examined from the standpoint of population optimum.

3 July. Infant mortality in India in the light of international statistics.

7 July. Recent world-history of births, deaths and growths in their bearings on economic efficiency and over-population as well as their significance for the population policy in India.

10. Public Health

8 July. Health and Hygiene in contemporary India.

9 July. The organization and financial administration of sanitary measures in India; a comparison with the conditions in Japan and France.

11. The Occupational Structure of the People

10 July. The gainfully employed members of the Indian people in the background of international occupation statistics.

14 July. The share of the gainfully occupied women in the Indian economy as judged by the world's female economic activity standard.

15 July. The agricultural classes of India in international peasant statistics.

12. The Degree of Industrialization

16 July. Distinction between an "industrialized state" and an "Industry-state" with reference to India, Russia, the "Balkan Complex", etc. and the rest of the world.

17 July. India in comparison with Eastern and South-eastern Europe in regard to the industrially and commercially employed classes of the people.

18 July. Transformation of the Indian economic structure as measured by the standard of the industrial "great powers": chronological distances or "social lags" between the "first" and the "second" industrial revolutions.

13. Urbanization and Municipal Life

22 July. The economics and sociology of Indian "big cities."

23 July. The relations between the town and the country in India in the light of the situation in the rest of the world.

24 July. The Municipal Finances of India.

14. MARRIAGE AND EDUCATION AS ECONOMIC FACTORS

28 July. The caste system of the Hindus as an institution of meal and bed (*la table et le lit*) groups examined in the light of comparative societal morphology.

29 July. Education and national character from the standpoint of India's economic efficiency and international survey of general and professional schools.

B. THE TRANSFORMATIONS OF THE TECHNOLOGICO-ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE

(*Die technischwirtschaftlichen Strukturwandlungen des indischen Volkes*)

Winter Semester 1930-31

43 lectures

1. THE EQUATIONS OF COMPARATIVE INDUSTRIALISM WITH REFERENCE TO MODERN INDIA.

4 Nov. 1930. Methodology: Difference between the national-economic and world-economic aspects of economic life in contemporary India as a quantitative phenomenon, examined in its bearings on the distinction between the "first" and the "second" industrial revolutions.

5 Nov. General review of the achievements of modern technology in India today (1925-30).

2. THE ECONOMIC HISTORY OF EURASIA

6 Nov. The technologico-cultural history of the world in Asia and Europe until the introduction of the steam engine in the British cotton industry (1785).

3. THE INDUSTRIALIZATION OF INDIA IN THE PERSPECTIVE OF WORLD-INDUSTRIALIZATION

11 Nov. Indian cottage industry and shipping in conflict with the industrial and commercial policy of Great Britain during the epochs of the Napoleonic wars and the German *Zollverein* (1793-1853).

12 Nov. The weak beginnings of modern technology and economy in India in the epoch of the "first industrial revolution" in France and Germany (1854-1885).

13 Nov. Slow continuation of the industrialization of the Indian people until the declaration of the first boycott of British cotton goods (1886-1905).

4. Epochs of Swadeshism

18 Nov. The "ideas of 1905" in India; the first phase of the Swadeshi revolution (1905-14).

19 Nov. The war-industries and post-war economic developments in India (1914-30) as embodiments of the world's "first industrial revolution."

20 Nov. Diverse economic ideologies in the evolution of industrialism in India (1905-30): The rôle of British capital.

5. The New Industrial Geography of India

25 Nov. Statistical survey of modern industrial enterprises in States-India.

26 Nov. The geographical distribution of industries in Hyderabad, Baroda, Mysore, Kashmir and other Indian states.

27 Nov. New industrial centres in the British provinces with sidelights on the theory of the localization of industries.

6. Power-Economics

2 Dec. Power-Economy with reference to the coal trade and coal policy: pre-war and post-war.

3 Dec. Attempts at rationalization (concentration and mechanization) in Indian coal mining and their international significance.

4 Dec. The mineral oil industry and water-power installations in India in the perspective of world statistics.

7. Mining

9 Dec. The mining of manganese, lead, salt, mica, copper and other minerals in India as seen from the viewpoint of the world's metal industry.

8. Iron and Steel Industry

10 Dec. The history and present status of the manufacture of pig iron and steel in India (1830-1930).

11 Dec. Recent balance-sheets of the Tata Iron and Steel Co. Ltd. analyzed from the standpoint of business organization and *rationalization.*

9. The Textile Industries

16 Dec. Tendencies of the textile industries in India as well as in other parts of Asia, in Africa and in Latin America in their bearings on the competition with the regions of "adult industrialism."

17 Dec. The jute industry in the Bengali economy, and the silk and woollen mills of India.

18 Dec. The cotton industry of Bombay and other Indian regions as seen under challenge from Lancashire, Japan and China.

10. Indian Agriculture in International Agricultural Statistics

9 Jan. 1931. Productive land-areas of the world and India's position in agriculture.

13 Jan. The Indian provinces in comparison with other regions of the world with reference to productive hectarage *per capita*.

14 Jan. The farm-lands of India in world-economy.

15 Jan. The meadow-and-forest-economy of the Indian people.

11. Innovations in Plant-rearing

20 Jan. Preferential cultivation of "industrial" as contrasted with "food" plants in Indian agriculture (1917-27).

21 Jan. The Punjab and other provinces of India as wheat regions in their bearings on the world's wheat culture.

22 Jan The hectar-index and cutput-index of India and other wheat regions of the world from 1909 to 1928.

27 Jan. Improvement in the varieties of cotton, jute, sugarcane and other agricultural produce of India.

12. Modernization in Agriculture

28 Jan. Irrigation works and engineering as a factor in the agricultural progress of India.

29 Jan. The tentative introduction of machines and chemical fertilizers in Indian agriculture.

3 Feb. The co-operative system and the savings banks with reference to the purchasing power and business finance of the rural population.

13. INDUSTRIAL ORGANISATION

4 Feb. The employment statistics and mechanical installations of Indian industries as viewed from the platform of the "second industrial revolution."

5 Feb. The capital power of the joint-stock companies in British and States-India as well as the chambers of commerce and "managing agents system" in the perspective of contemporary world-capitalism.

14. BANKING AND INSURANCE

10 Feb The money market and the Indian and foreign banks of India in the statistics of world-finance.

11 Feb. Private insurance and the growth of capital as marks of progress in industrialization.

15. LABOUR MOVEMENT

12 Feb. Strikes, trade unions and labour economics in India, with sidelights on the relations between nationalism and socialism

16. CURRENCY

13 Feb. Indian currency vis-à-vis post-war European currencies.

17. INTERNATIONAL COMMERCIAL RELATIONS

18 Feb. India as the sixth great power in world-commerce.

19 Feb. Changes in the character of India's imports and exports (1875-1905-1930) and the international ties of India's national economy.

24 Feb. Current tendencies in the tariff policy and the activities of the Tariff Board in India, as illustrations of the "earlier" phases in the world's modern commerce.

18. TRANSPORTATION ECONOMICS

25 Feb. The road transport and the navigation systems in their bearings on the industrialization of India.

26 Feb. The Indian railways with reference to international railway technology and policy.

The following papers by Sarkar in German were based on the above lectures :

1. Indiens Entwicklung im Vergleich zu Eur-America (*Deutsche Rundschau*, Berlin, July, 1930).

2. Vergleichender Industrialismus und die moderne indische Volkswirtschaft (*Forschungen und Fortschritte*, Berlin, July, 1930).
3. Technisches Studium in Indien (*Bayerische Industrie und Handelszeitung*, Munich, Dec., 1930).
4. Die Wirtschafts-Bestrebungen des indischen Volkes der Gegenwart (*Weltwirtschaft*, Berlin, December 1930).
5. Die Industrialisierung Indiens und Oesterreichs Handel mit Indien (*Wirtshchaftliche Nachrichten der Industrie-und Handels-Kammer*, Vienna, December, 1930)
6 Modernisierung der indischen Landwirtschaft (*Berichte über Landwirtschaft*, Berlin, February, 1931).
7. Entwicklungstendenzen im Privatversicherungswesen des indischen Volkes (*Neumanns Zeitschrift für Versicherungswesen*, Berlin, Feb. 1931).
8. Die weltwirtschaftliche Bedeutung Indiens (*Karlsruher Akademische Mitteilungen*, Karlsruhe, February 1931).
9. Banken und Bankiers im heutigen Indien (*Bankwissenschaft*, Berlin, 1931).
10. Strukturelle Erneuerung in der indischen Industrie und Wirtschaft (*Zeitschrift für Geopolitik*, Berlin, April, 1931).
11. Umfang und Kapitalkraft der industriellen Unternehmungen in Indien (*Maschinenbau*, Berlin, April, 1931).
12. Die weltwirtschaftliche Bedeutung der indischen Eisenbahnen im Rahmen der internationalen Eisenbahstatistik (*Allgemeines Statistisches Archiv*, Jena, 1931).
13 Die internationalen Handelsbeziehungen und Handelspolitik Indiens (*Magazin der Wirtschaft*, Berlin, July, 1931).
14. Die Entwicklung und weltwirtschaftliche Bedeutung des modernen Indien (*Auslandkundliche Vorträge der Technischen Hochschule Stuttgart*, Band 2, *Indien*. Stuttgart, 1931).
15. Die Struktur des Volkes in der sozialwissenschaftlichen Lehre der Schukraniti (*Koelner Zeitschrift für Soziologie*, Cologne, 1931).
16. Internationaler Warenverkehr und Kulturaustausch in der indischen Wirtschaftsgeschichte (*Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, Leipzig, 1931).
17. Modernisierungen im indischen Wirtschaftsleben (*Essener Volkszeitung*, Essen, 1931).

Be it added that in the course of his second European tour (May

1929 to October 1931), when Sarkar was a Visiting Professor at Munich, he was also invited by the University of Geneva in Switzerland. There he delivered lectures in French on Indian economic and social developments (November 1929 and January 1930). The following three papers in French were based on these lectures :

1. Aspects économiques et politiques de la civilisation hindoue (*Revue de Synthèse Historique*, Paris, June 1930).
2. La sociographie hindoue aux débuts du capitalisme moderne (*Revue Internationale de Sociologie*, Paris, November-December 1936).
3. Le Métabolisme Social (*Revue de Synthèse*, Paris, February 1937).

During the same period Sarkar was likewise invited by the Universities of Italy. He lectured in Italian at the Università Bocconi of Padua (February 1930), the Royal University of Padua (February 1930) and the Royal University of Rome (March 1931). The following Italian papers came out of these lectures :

1. Istituzioni politiche e sociali dell' antico people indiano (*Annali di Economia*, Milan, 1930).
2. Aspetti e Problemi della moderna economia indiana (*Annali di Economia*, Milan, 1930).
3. Il Movimento industriale e commerciale dell' India ed i suoi rapporti internazionali (*Commercio*, Rome, June 1931).

The Data and Methods of Sarkar's Economics

I shall now make a few observations about Sarkar's books as enumerated above.[1] The notes furnished by some of my friends are being utilized in this account.

The Bengali rendering of three world-classics (Nos. 2, 4 and 7) by Sarkar is by itself a pioneering of no mean value. It is doubtful if any single Indian economist has served his mother-tongue by three such contributions.

The works of Engels and Lafargue are the Bibles of socialism.[2] In his prefaces to the translations Sarkar makes it clear that the

1 See, *Supra*, "The New Tracks in Indian Economic Thought (1926-1940)."

2 See, *Supra*, "The Social Philosophy of *Varttaman Jagat*," Footnote 2, and "The Journals as the Organ of *Varttaman Jagat*," Footnote.

Marxistic "economic interpretation of history"is unacceptable in so far as it is a monistic philosophy. Here as elsewhere he maintains his pluralism in the explanation of individual personality and social progress. But otherwise the economic interpretation, as modified by the impact of non-economic forces, e.g., war, sex, race, individual creativeness etc., is acceptable and should be very useful in the Indian socio-cultural world, says he.

In the preface to the translation from the *National System of Economy*, again, Sarkar does not accept List's protectionism *in toto* for any single stage. He believes, in modification of List's position, that there cannot be any stage in a country in which all the economic activities, nay, all the industries of the people ought to be placed under the protective system. A unified or uniformly homogeneous stage of economic evolution does not exist in any people. Every stage admits of diverse policies, protectionist and otherwise.

Sarkar as translator is not then to be identified with the authorities translated. His independence is ever in tact. On many subsequent occasions Sarkar has often discussed his attitudes to "Marx-Engels," Lafargue and other exponents of socialism, on the one hand, as well as to protection *vis-à-vis* free trade on the other, at the meetings of the *Bangiya Dhana-Vijnan Parishat* (Bengali Institute of Economics) estd. 1926.

The three volumes of "Economics in Bengali" (1925-1940) in No. 17 contain contributions by Sarkar and the Research Fellows and Directors of the *Bangiya Dhana-Vijnan Parishat*. Nearly twenty-five per cent is from Sarkar himself. The work is a landmark of the new economic tracks laid by Sarkar in theory and practice. Be it repeated that the collaborators in these volumes are not necessarily Sarkarist in economic views and conclusions although the Sarkar method is more or less observed by all.

The Bengali book of 1150 pages in two volumes (nos. 5 and 13) deals with the wealth and economics of our own times (1926-1935). This period of seven to ten years is described item by item on the basis of articles by foreign scholars in French, German, and Italian journals as well as in the journals of Japan, America and England. Indian material has been distributed over the chapters according to requirements. I have not come across such an uptodate book on contemporary economy and economic thought in the English language. The contents may be seen in English in S. K. Ghoshal's *Sarkarism* (1939).

No. 6 in two volumes and No. 11 have in every chapter served to furnish the Bengali people with "revolutionary departures from the old track" in economics and sociology. Those who follow the trend of ideologies in Bengal in the towns and villages at somewhat close range are aware that the pioneering done by Sarkar has already borne fruit and that the Sarkar track has been laid quite firmly in the people's mentality. In the estimation of the younger generation the three volumes on economic and social Bengal have served to solidly establish in Bengali thought the "age of Sarkar" which was created and initiated by *Varttaman Jagat* (1914).

No. 9, i.e., Vol. II of *Economic Development* exhibits all the characteristics of Vol. I. (No. 1) perhaps on a more magnified scale For instance, in the chapter on the "Bank Capitalism of Young Bengal" (85 pages in size) Sarkar examines the capital, reserve, deposits etc. of Bengali and other non-Bengali Indian banks and compares them with those of America, England, France, Germany, Italy and Japan. From the "Balkan Complex" he takes the banks of Greece, Jugoslavia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Poland and so forth. Altogether 51 banks are examined and the proportion of capital and reserve to deposits ascertained in each instance, along with other things.

In another chapter the life and industrial insurance legislation of Germany, France, Italy, Switzerland, Portugal, Poland, Bulgaria, Rumania, Latvia and Lithuania is described from original Acts with special reference to the clauses bearing on the control of foreign companies. The subject has bearings on Indian legislation. A chapter (56 pages) is given over to the industry and commerce of 14 Indian railway companies and the statistical comparison with those of 28 railway companies in Europe, America and Asia. While the Reserve Bank of India is in contemplation and the subject of public discussion Sarkar in a chapter of 47 pages analyses the principles of reserve or central banks and the law of currency-notes by describing and comparing the latest statutes of the *Banque de France*, the *Reichsbank* and the Bank of England.

The "second" and the "first" industrial revolutions of our own times are analyzed in a chapter given over to the study of the world-economic (including Indian) depression. Charts and statistics are furnished about trade union membership in England and Germany, the trend of exports in France, England, Germany and Belgium, wage

3 See, *Supra*, the section on "The Balkan Complex in Sarkarism."

and cost of living indices in England and Germany. Traces of rationalization in Indian agriculture, manufacture and commerce are discovered in a chapter given over to the modernization of the Indian economy.

Altogether, Sarkar seeks to establish his "three equations of comparative industrialism." Between any two regions, A and B, the equations as described in a chart are as follows

I B (1930) = x A (1930).
II. A (1930) = y A (1905).
B (1930) = z B (1905).
III. A (1930) = B (1885).

These equations were first formulated by Sarkar at the Technological Universities of Stuttgart and Karlsruhe in November and December 1930. The methodology and proofs are furnished in this book. They were hinted at and assumed in Vol. I. (1926).

One of the important economic tenets of Sarkarism as developed in Vol. II. has been well described by Professor Bogart while reviewing this book in the *American Economic Review* (September 1933). "Sarkar concludes", says Bogart, "that the standards of living in Western Europe and U.S.A. (countries of the second industrial revolution) can be raised only to the extent of a simultaneous development in the industrially less developed countries (the "Balkan complex," India, China, Latin America etc.)."

As in Vol. I. the topics in Vol. II also are diverse. Not all the chapters, again, are treated in a uniform manner. The sizes also are varied. In certain essays the author is content with the objective study of the data. In others he has drawn conclusions for India. Equations of comparative industrialism are not to be found in each study. The comparative method is at times rather lacking in prominence. In other words, the two volumes have to be read as collections of independent essays developed on heterogeneous methods. At one place the author's interest lies chiefly in the information, at the second place, he is concerned with the methodology, and in a third discussion it is the conclusion for which he cares. And so on.

The importance of the studies for India has not been brought out explicitly in many instances. The readers are expected to interpret the statistical and other data according to their personal equipments. The author's own interpretations have to be utilized by the readers either from cross-reference to some of the chapters which

deal with his equations or from the introductory preface. None but the careful readers are likely to find the connecting links between the different essays although, undoubtedly, each essay independently is well calculated to furnish everybody with new facts, or a new method of analysis, or new messages.

Each essay in these two volumes, like that in Ranade's *Essays on Indian Economics* (1898), has to be examined and appraised on its own merits. Neither Ranade nor Sarkar wrote to serve a college syllabus. The aim of both is to serve the economic theorists and economic statesmen of India. This is where the pioneering lies.

As soon as the text-book mentality is somewhat over among the University economists Sarkarism in economics as embodied in the different volumes of *Economic Development* will commence appearing in the Indian *milieu* as a solid system of finger-posts to further research in the field of applied economics. It may be pointed out that many of the equations of the Sarkar method remain to be worked out and some of them rendered somewhat more precise. Certain modifications have been merely hinted at by Sarkar. They require to be dealt with in detail. But in any case the facts and conclusions furnished in these volumes are eloquent in themselves, and each chapter or essay, whether long or short, can be treated as an independent brochure by the economic theorist or the economic statesman.

The foundations of Nos. 8. and 15. are to be seen in Sarkar's lengthy paper in Italian presented at the Rome Session of the International Congress of Population (1931) Sarkar's "Equations of Comparative Demography" were first demonstrated with charts at that session. Among other things Sarkarism in population establishes the thesis, generally ignored among Western demographists without argument, that India or the East has the same problems in population growth and policy as the West. Further, it calls the attention of the scientific world, against the conventional views of Western and Indian demographists, to the fact that overpopulation cannot yet be proven so far as India is concerned Among Indian demographists this second aspect of Sarkar's population studies has been slowly gaining ground; cf. Thomas (Madras), Karve (Bombay), Chand (Patna), whose views exhibit a certain amount of freedom from the conventional approach. In *Prabuddha Bharata* (Mayavati, U.P., June 1940) Professor K. S. Srikantan of Belgaum (Bombay) has contributed a paper on "The Myth of Overpopulation." It is chiefly a

verbatim reproduction of Sarkar's paper in the *Indian Journal of Economics* (Allahabad, January, 1940). The "old track" is represented by the Indian Population Conference (first session at Lucknow, 1936, second at Bombay 1938). It may be observed, however, that at the First Indian Population Conference Sarkar, as President of the Sociological Section, read his paper entitled *Open Questions and Reconstructions in the Sociology of Population.*

In the analysis of currency questions (No. 10) Sarkar's technique will be apparent from the kind of charts and statistics employed. One chart describes the exports of raw cotton in quantum and value as prices per ton exported. A second chart indicates the exports and prices of raw jute under higher exchange. The decline of agricultural prices, currency depreciation index, American and British investments abroad, and so forth are demonstrated in some other charts. The relation between price-indices, currency and economic structure is analyzed for thirteen centres including those at Calcutta and Bombay.

One of the charts in the work on Imperial preference (No. 12) describes the exports of Indian pig iron, another some of the foreign markets for raw jute, and a third the British and the non-British percentages in India's import of iron and steel. The international competition in the export of iron and steel goods is graphically illustrated as well as India's import of cotton piecegoods. The economics of retaliation has been analyzed with reference to the maximum consumers' surplus as well as the dumping complex. The French Empire-Economy, the British Empire Marketing Board, the tariff structure of India, the problem of Indian emigrants, India *vs.* Dominions and Colonies, state aid for industrial reconstruction in the United Kingdom are some of the topics that have been considered at length in this study bearing, as it does, essentially on the international trade and national economy of India. Sarkar is convinced that "in the tariff morphology of nations the Ottawa Agreement of 1932 is as great a landmark as the Cobden-Chevalier Treaty of 1860 and the *Deutscher Zollverein* of 1833."

The fundamental ideology of Nos. 10 and 12 is as follows:

(1) Indian currency ought to be linked to British sterling. This is the exact antithesis of the "old track" which harps on the alleged over-valuation of the Rupee and wants the separation of Indian currency from the British. The Maratha economist B. P. Adarkar's *Indian Monetary Policy* (Allahahad 1939) is one of the latest speci-

mens of the traditional standpoint, which of course is religiously espoused by the National Planning Committee (Bombay, May 1940).

(2) Indian tariff may be protectionist in certain spheres, but within the British Empire-Economy it ought to be preferential. This, also, is poison to the Indian traditional ideology which is totalitarian in protectionism and would have nothing of Imperial preference.

(3) Foreign finance is to be imported in large quantities in the interest of the modernization of Indian economy and the creation of employments. Purely Indian capital and banking institutions are to be promoted by all means. But they will remain a second fiddle to foreign finance for quite a long time. In this item, likewise, economic Sarkarism offers a rude shock to orthodox Indian economics.

It may be observed, however, that in all these directions Sarkar's economics, extraordinarily heretical as it is, has succeeded in imparting realism and objectivity to the investigations conducted by his contemporaries. In the Indian economic atmosphere of 1940 Sarkarism in currency, tariff and finance does not appear to be much too exotic or unassimilable. It has served to enrich India with a *milieu* of liberalism in economic thought. Labour economists, businessmen, publicists and even certain economic academicians have been gradually coming to realize that both science and patriotism can be held in combination even if one should maintain radically unorthodox and non-conformist views in these questions.

The Bengali economist, H L. Dey's *Indian Tariff Problem in Relation to Industry and Taxation* (London 1933) and the Maratha economist, B. N. Adarkar's* *Devaluation of the Rupee* (Bombay 1937) furnish evidences of the expansion of liberalism and realism that has been effected in economic thought since the Sarkar track made its appearance at the time of the controversy over the Hilton Young Currency Commission's Report in 1926. At that time it was a deadly sin to establish or even suggest any thesis on currency, exchange, tariff etc. in opposition to the Indian tradition. That tradition was assailed for the first time by Sarkar. On account of his steady and continuous non-conformisms along the most diverse fronts of economic science India today has got used to the idea of "conflicting tendencies" in economic thought. The Indian intelligentsia has thus been enfranchised to a certain extent. To the "liberal" school may be said to belong also J.C. Sinha, J. P. Niyogi

* Not to be confounded with B. P Adarkar.

and H. Sinha of Calcutta, as well as some of the economists of other centres associated even with the National Planning Committee of the Gandhi regime.

No. 14 is a "revolutionary departure from the old track" in more senses than one. While all the general features of economic Sarkarism are in evidence in this work of 470 pages it is specially noteworthy that the social insurance aspects of capitalism and labour economics have not yet attracted the attention of Indian economists. The subject matter happens even in 1940 to lie practically outside the sphere of the Indian academic world.

According to Sarkar "social insurance is the greatest single achievement of industrial civilization." This conclusion is so extraordinary that it is hardly possible for the Indian economists to comprehend its significance adequately. Sarkar's pioneering is too palpable here.

In Sarkar's writings the items of one or other branch of social insurance began to appear in 1914.* The subject has been demanding his systematic studies and publications since 1921. Numerous articles in English and Bengali were contributed by him down to 1936, the year of the publication of the book under consideration. The experiences of Germany, England and France in every branch of social insurance form the main contents of this book. Italy, Japan, Czechoslovakia, Russia and the U.S.A. also have been laid under contribution. The more or less relevant Indian data, few and far between as they are, have been placed in the perspective. For instance, there are chapters on the earnings of Indian workingmen, the short-comings of the Indian trade union movement, the politics of Indian trade unions, maternity benefit in India etc Social insurance as dealt with in this book comprises (1) sickness and maternity, (2) accident and occupational diseases, (3) invalidity, old age, widowhood and orphanhood, and (4) unemployment.

It is questionable if Sarkar's researches in this field have been able to influence substantially the academic economists of India But one can feel that the labour leaders, the members of legislative assemblies and councils, the economic and general journals have commenced taking interest in the new track laid by Sarkarism in

* See the volume on England in Sarkar's *Varttaman Jagat; Supra,* the sections on 'The Foreign Policy of Young India" and "The Social Philosophy of *Varttaman Jagat,*" Footnote 2.

labour and social economics. The pioneering by Sarkar may then be said to have already borne some fruit.

JOURNAL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF BOMBAY ON SARKAR'S EQUATIONS OF COMPARATIVE INDUSTRIALISM

Many of the reactions of European, American and Indian economists to Sarkar's works have been published in foreign and Indian journals. They have been utilized in the studies by Satin Das-Gupta, Pankaj Mukherjee, Moni Moulik, Subodh Ghoshal, and Banesvar Dass. A few extracts from the recent numbers of Indian journals have been forwarded to me by the publishers while I have been almost finishing this paper. These are reviews on *Economic Development* Vol. II. (1932, 1938). They are interesting as documents of the manner in which the "revolutionary departure from the old track," as consummated by Sarkar in economics, is being treated by the representatives of contemporary Indian economic thought.

Let me examine, first, the review published in the *Journal of the University of Bombay* (July 1940, Vol. IX. New Series, Part I.).

"It would be well to note here," says the reviewer in the *J.U.B.*, "that some of the essays reveal a deep study of the statistical material involved. As such they are valuable contributions." About the essays on the principles of control over foreign insurance companies (as embodied in the economic legislation of the continent) he remarks that "this is information valuable in itself." Another essay is described as "indeed a good comparative study of the central banks in Germany, France and England." He admits also that the "economic problems of India must be studied in the background of comparative developments elsewhere," as done by Sarkar All these observations indicate that in 1940 the Sarkar method in economics is winning recognition among Indian University men both as valuable and indispensable.

But it appears from some of the other observations in the *J.U.B.* that the Sarkar method is still very recent and therefore needs elaborate and lengthy illustrations and perhaps in each and every chapter. For instance, in connection with the essay on insurance the reviewer is surprised that "at the end of it all, we have not even a paragraph, no, not even a line, to indicate the general significance of the same." Evidently, the "general significance" may not be obvious to every reader. About the next essay the reviewer re-

marks as follows: "Here, again, one cannot see how this essay throws light on the main problem of the book, namely, the problem of evaluating industrial progress in different parts of the world." It is quite comprehensible that not everybody may easily see the light that is expected of this essay.

I find that the answer to these queries has been furnished ahead by Sarkar himself in the preface (p. vii), e.g., "References to India have indeed been sedulously eschewed from the first two papers. But they address themselves to two problems in which Indian businessmen and economists have of late been taking keen interest." Insurancemen, bank officials and commercial journalists have told me that when these papers were published in different forms in the journals they derived substantial help from them in regard to equipping themselves for the criticism of the Indian Insu rance Companies Bill and the Reserve Bank of India proposals. The differences between the proposed Indian legislation and the legislation in other countries were so profound that those who were acquainted with the Indian situation and were taking "keen interest" did not require any special commentaries or glosses when they read Sarkar's accounts about the foreign countries in order to make up their minds for what the Indian conditions required. An objective presentation of the world-legislation was just the need of the hour and this was met by Sarkar through his publications in the *Journal of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce* and the *Insurance and Finance Review*.

In any case, Sarkar has made it clear that "statistical and factual data will serve by themselves to tell their own tale in regard to the range and scope of each discussion" (p. vii). It has been pointed out by him, likewise, that the "methodology and conclusions of the equations of applied economics" are not to be found in these two chapters but in those on bank and railway statistics (p. v.).

All the same, Sarkar has explained his position in regard to the insurance chapter as follows: "In regard to the relations between Indian and foreign insurance companies the Indian Insurance Companies Act, 1928, hardly touches the most vital issues, and it is to these issues that attention has been called in the examination of the principles embodied in the continental legislation on the subject."

It is not quite correct to say, therefore, as the reviewer does, that there is "not even a line to indicate the general significance" of the discussion on insurance legislation. All the same, the

difficulty of which the reviewer complains and of which other scholars, unacquainted with Indian insurance might complain appears, however, to me to be somewhat real. Sarkar should not have assumed on the part of the general economists and businessmen a "keen interest" in the Indian insurance legislation while analyzing the "vital" principles of European legislation.

In regard to the essay on the central banks, Sarkar says, "The Reserve Bank of India, proposed in 1927, has not yet come into being but has been all the time in the air It is the purpose of the second chapter to attempt an analysis in as realistic a manner as possible of the fundamental considerations involved in note-legislation and central banking such as stand out prominently in the experience of three pioneers in this field, namely, England, France and Germany" (p. vii).*

I agree with the reviewer that the paper presents "a good comparative study." Indeed, I have not seen in any book published in England or America such an intensive elucidation of the principles of Reserve Banks on an elaborate scale, furnished with statistical comparison and with illustrations from the Bank of England, the *Banque de France* and the *Reichsbank* And yet I should say that Sarkar was not right in assuming that people had already read his *Indian Currency and Reserve Bank Problems* or that every general economist had "keen interest" in the history of the proposals relating to the Reserve Bank of India.

In any case, however, the fact that a Reserve Bank is only being talked of indicates that Indian economy is relatively primitive. To a student of general economics this, together with other factors, should be an index to the backwardness of Indian industrial progress With this kind of orientation the economists as well as statesmen should be in a position, in case they care to be practical-minded, to lower the tone of demands while proposing "economic planning" in India or launching criticisms on the existing Indian measures. Other circumstances remaining the same, the kind of economic primitiveness which prevails in a country ought to give some sort of hint as to the kind or rate of progress that may be possibly realized in the immediate or near future. It appears, therefore, to me, at any rate, that the "main problem of the book" has after all been met by Sarkar in this chapter as in the other.

* See, *Supra,* "The Data and Methods of Sarkar's Economics."

SARKAR'S EQUATIONS AS A CONTRIBUTION TO ECONOMIC THEORY

Some of Sarkar's "equations of comparative industrialism" are quoted by the reviewer as follows:

1. India (1932) = Germany (1860-70)
2. India (1932) = Italy (1900-05).
   = Japan (1900-05).
3. India (1932) = Balkan Complex (1925-32).

A few other equations quoted by the reviewer give conclusions like these:

1. "Commercially every Japanese is 1·8 times as powerful as every Indian."
2. "In 1870 France was 2·6 times as advanced in railway construction as India in 1925."
3. "The Indian conditions of 1925 will then have to be found in Italy somewhere between 1839-70, in Germany somewhere beween 1835-70, and in France somewhere between 1828-70."

The reviewer's general reactions to Sarkar's equations are as follows: "It is good to know at what stage we stand in comparison with various countries in respect of different branches of our economic life." Evidently the equations are acceptable to the reviewer. He considers them, besides, to be useful as indicating the existing condition of India by the world-standard. One can take it, then, that the "theory" of economic development as manifest in and through these equations is a reasonable and novel feature in economic science. It is just this theory that economic Sarkarism has been seeking to build up. Supposing Sarkar's economic studies do not serve any other purpose, their scientific value would still be quite positive.

But yet it is interesting that "the present reviewer must confess that he cannot see how this mode of statement gives any new insight into the nature of our problems." And further, says he: "But surely to suggest that such study can help us to 'doctor India up to the next stage of her economic possibilities' taxes one's credulity too much."

I should say that the reviewer or any other reader has already got a "new insight into the nature of our problems" as soon as he has admitted that the Sarkar equations help him to "know at what

stage we stand in comparison with other countries." Once the utility of these equations is acknowledged in this regard there should not be any difficulty in being convinced of the "new insight" derived from them.

About the question as to how to "doctor India up to the next stage" the reviewer finds some inconvenience. But, as far as I can see, the logical link between the equations and the "next stage" is obvious. The reviewer admits that the equations indicate the existing "stage." In that event the march to the "next stage" is a matter not of "credulity" but of simple economic dynamics. Sarkar does not speak of the ultimate, millennial or absolute stage He speaks of the "strategy of the next stage," to quote an expression from *Economic Development*, Vol. I. And in order to ascertain the next stage "with some amount of precision" he has tried to discover the existing stage of India by the world-standard. The economic indices of India today, as judged by comparative or international statistics, are well calculated to furnish hints as to the "duty that lies nearest thee", again, another expression from Sarkar.

These equations indicate that in each branch of industry, commerce or agriculture India is behind Germany by a certain number of years which does not go roughly beyond two generations. In regard to every "adult" country the "economic lag" of India can be more or less definitely determined according to these equations. India is behind Italy or Japan by, say, one generation or so. And in regard to the "Balkan Complex" India is virtually on a par. This is the theoretical position in comparative industrialism, technocracy and capitalism. This theory is by itself,—apart from other considerations of a practical, sociological or political nature,—to be taken as an important contribution of Sarkarism to analytical economics. That Sarkar's economics is a "revolutionary departure from the old track" is well verified by this theoretical analysis based on comparative statistics. This is a significant pioneering in economic science both for India and the world. These equations have bearings on other countries as well, and indeed are universal in application.

Even among economists, and not only among philosophers, scientists, technologists, sociologists etc, there is much loose thinking about India's backwardness. Some of the principal experts of the National Planning Committee in India have produced manifestoes in which India is postulated to be "hundreds of years" behind the civi-

lized world. This kind of unscientific thinking such as is prevalent among Indian and Eur-American scientists, both physical and social, is likely to be counteracted and subverted by Sarkar's equations of comparative industrialism.

Let me now turn to the practical side of applied economics which consists in the problem as to how to "doctor India up to the next stage." Evidently, if India is, say, one generation behind Japan or Italy it would be, humanly speaking, out of the question for her to employ the devices, measures, plans, methods, tactics etc. such as are being used by Japan or Italy at the very present moment. The "next stage" for India should be somewhere near the Japanese or Italian stage of nearly a generation ago. That is, economic statesmanship in India at 1940, should it care to be practical, try to follow, *generally speaking*, the Japanese or Italian methods of, say, 1905-1910. Similarly, in regard to Germany, the practical applied economists of India ought not to talk *ad nauseam* of the German economic policies of 1940 but try, if possible, to adopt approximately the German measures of, say, 1870-75. This is the practical significance of the Sarkar equations. Comparative economics could not be more effective.

If this standpoint is accepted the reviewer should not find it inconvenient to follow some of the "phrases and sentences," which, according to him, "make it difficult to follow the author's thought." The following passage has been cited by the reviewer as a specimen of difficult "phrases and sentences." "World-economy is itself being brought down from the heights of economic theory and history to the offices and godowns of actual export-import, factory equipment, agricultural transformation, rural uplift and municipal progress on an international scale." I feel that it is nothing but the theory of the "next stage" and the practice of "doctoring up to the next stage" that is realistically illustrated in this sentence. In my Americanized eyes, pragmatic as they are, these phrases are telling the peasant of India not to be too idealistic and carried off his feet simply because he is hearing so much about German or Japanese progress as achieved in 1940. These phrases are counselling *him also to remember* that he is factually somewhere about 1905 in comparison with Japan and should not therefore enthuse over catching up overnight with the Japanese of today but gird up *his* lions to practise what *the peasant of Japan did, say, about 1910. And so on Moral. Go to Japan and study her economic dynamics of the last generation, stage by stage.*

These words and phrases have thus substantially practical meaning, likewise, for the manufacturer, the banker, the exporter and importer, the insurance agent, the town-planner and others engaged in the work of uplifting India as an economic enterprise or in a patriotic manner. Last but not, these words and phrases may be listened to with profit by the National Planning Committee also. For, it is too well-known that without consummating the Sovietic revolution the experts of this committee of the Indian National Congress are fired by the ambition of achieving the economic progress of the Gosplans, and without the previous equipment of the British or the Germans of the last two generations have been cultivating the inspiration of the British and German economic ideologies of 1940. Otherwise they could not think of attempting to raise the earning or income of the people threefold in the course of the next ten years. Everybody,—expert, businessman, economist, statesman,—is being counselled by Sarkar's words and phrases to examine his own equation of the present stage and then decide upon the adventures of the "duty that lies nearest thee." Neither in theory nor in practice can the "next stage" be a condition of thrice the income of today. There is a limit to how far up or ahead a man, even a Hercules, can possibly jump. Sarkar's equations induce every economist,—theorist as well as statesman,—to study not the ideally best or the highest conceivable or the physiological minimum etc. except as intellectual luxuries but the position of agriculture, manufacture, banking, shipping, insurance, foreign trade, internal trade etc. of today and their possibilities for tomorrow and day after tomorrow. Here, as elsewhere, I am using the language used by Sarkar in the two volumes of *Economic Development* and in other writings.[1]

The "equations of industrialism" have been described by the reviewer as "a high-sounding phrase." And he says that "it raises great expectations. When one looks into these equations, however, one does not feel exactly gratified." A "high-sounding phrase" is *of course anything that is new, out of the way, or away from the beaten track, especially as long as it remains unexplained. The* phrase, "quantitative theory of money," is certainly a high-sounding phrase to the person who hears it for the first time. It excited our

1 See in this connection Sarkar's paper on 'Industrial Planning and Economic Autarchy" in the *Calcutta Review* for August 1939

romantic sensibilities and aroused our highest enthusiasm when we were being treated to the first lessons on money. But everybody knows as soon as the explanation is given that though it "raises great expectations," it does not exactly gratify anybody. Indeed, this "quantitative theory" conveys nothing but an economic tautology and a truism. Take another grandiloquent alliterative expression, "purchasing power parity." This also is a tautology and a truism once the three p's are robbed of their mystic concatenation and described in the realistic and pragmatic manner So one need not quarrel with a phrase simply because it is or appears to be high-sounding. If an American or a Swede can coin a number of high-sounding phrases there is not much harm done in science if an Indian economist also is responsible for a few.

But the reviewer has once admitted that the "equations of industrialism" help us "to know at what stage we stand, etc " He has therefore already considered them to be useful. Having once acknowledged their utility it is not reasonable for him in the next breath to declare them to be but a "high-sounding phrase." The "expectations" raised by the phrase have been fulfilled. Whether one feels "exactly gratified" by these equations would depend on how one feels about the gratifications offered by the "quantitative theory," etc.

We have seen, moreover, that Sarkar's equations are theoretical embodiments of economic analysis, regarding a country's level *vis-à-vis* that of other countries. These are the statements of comparative economic indices. We have, therefore, here more than a merely high-sounding phrase. It is a contribution to the categories of economic science. Then, again, it is clear that the equations furnish a hint as to the next higher level, i.e., the immediately following rung of economic life that may be attempted with certain amount of success by the businessman or the politician A key to economic policy or practical statesmanship is furnished by these equations. Altogether, the phrase, high-sounding although it appears to some ears, has succeeded in satisfying in more ways than one the expectations raised by it.

The reviewer has touched upon Sarkar's contribution on the world-crisis. He says as follows: "The author surveys the problem of unemployment in different countries but has hardly anything to say about monetary policy or the problem of capital and interest, or such other technical issues." It appears to me that there are

many other "technical issues" in the crisis-unemployment problems than those bearing on money, etc.[2] and some of them may not have been dealt with by other economists. This, indeed, has been referred to by Sarkar at the beginning of his essay. The reviewer must have noticed it like every other reader.

Sarkar has devoted some forty pages to this study. Every line of these pages is seen to be given over to "technical" questions, although not just the questions which it is customary to discuss in this connection. This proves once, again, that Sarkar has made a "revolutionary departure from the old track" in his "technical" analysis of the crisis problems. The new light,—pioneering light—thrown on this problem has sought to distinguish theoretically the regions of the "second industrial revolution" from those of the "first industrial revolution." Every economic theorist who cares to see new methods of analysis and come into contact with new conclusions would see that Sarkar's theory of the world-crisis has something substantial to offer in economic science

Professor Henninger's reaction to this aspect of economic Sarkarism as published in the *Allgemeines Statistisches Archiv* (Jena, January 1933) is interesting and has been utilized by Satin Das-Gupta in his paper on *Some Economic Teachings of Benoy Sarkar*. The two industrial revolutions have been analyzed by Sarkar as constituting "one economic complex" and both have been linked up with his equations of comparative industrialism. It is on this scientific foundation that the statement quoted in the *J.U.B.* from Sarkar's book acquires its theoretical justification. The passage runs thus: "We ought to look upon the present crisis as a sign of rejuvenation which has been going on in every limb of economic, financial and social organism among the industrial adults of the world."

The distinction between the "industrial adults" and the "industrial youngsters" or the second industrial revolution and the first industrial revolution is one of the fundamental theoretical premises of Sarkarism in economics. And this is integrally connected with the "equations of comparative industrialism." It is because of this theoretical structure that Sarkar is enabled to make another statement which has been given by Professor Bogart while reviewing

2 See B K. Sarkar. "Prosperity and Depression" (*Indian Journal of Economics*, Allahabad, July 1938).

Economic Development Vol. II. in the *American Economic Review* (September 1933), as follows: "The standards of living in Western Europe and the U.S.A. can be raised only to the extent of a simultaneous development in the industrially less developed countries.'

These two passages should convince us once more that the key afforded by Sarkar's equations to economic theory and economic statesmanship is reasonable and effective. It is when one is equipped with such equations that one would not fail to detect the "traces of rationalization" in Indian agriculture, industry, banking, transportation and commerce such as have been analyzed by Sarkar in another study of forty pages. We feel, again, that the links between the different essays in the book—although extremely diverse in topics and regions,—are palpable and meaningful although, of course, Sarkar has not perpetually harped on his methodology, equations and messages in every paragraph, as one is perhaps expected to do in a text-book for college students.[3]

In the *Servant of India* (Poona, May 4, 1939) the Maratha economist, S G. Pauranik does not notice the first two chapters because "these eschew any reference to Indian conditions" but says: "The next two are important, for the author tries to explain the methodology followed by him and the meaning of the quantitative equations that he has tried to establish." "The author's main concern," says he further, "is to find out 'the logical affiliations and the chronological links between India and other regions.' The study is thus essentially comparative and is supported by a large number of statistical details. Mr. Sarkar herein has tried to reduce even 'qualitative and chronological factors' to quantitative equations. Great value is attached by him to these quantitative parities as he thinks they possess a dynamic significance with reference to the problems of economic statesmanship for India."

Pauranik has evidently nothing against these equations but is, like the reviewer of the *Journal of the University of Bombay*, at a loss to see their significance. He observes: "We are nowhere able to discern it clearly and all that these equations can show is that India lags behind other countries in so many respects by so many years." The reactions of the two reviewers to Sarkar's equations are then virtually identical. The fact that Sarkar's economics is a "revolutionary departure from the old track" is thus confirmed.

3 See, *Supra*, "The Data and Methods of Sarkar's Economics"

It is not necessary to reproduce here what I have already said above in connection with the review of the *J.U.B.*

A Traditional View of Economic Research

According to Pauranik "the problems of applied economics do not end here. If the study were to have any value from a pragmatic point of view and are intended to be a helpful guide in the laying down of economic policies for India, we are inclined to think that a detailed investigation of the causes of India's backwardness and inefficiency together with direct suggestions of immediate practical use in the light of foreign experiences would have been better." Pauranik's standpoint is quite intelligible and his suggestion is valuable. In reply I should observe that Sarkar has an extensive chapter on "A Scheme of Economic Development for India" in *Economic Development* Vol. I.[4] meeting thereby the requirements suggested by Pauranik. Naturally, one cannot and should not expect an author to play the schoolmaster, the moralist or the party-leader in each and every chapter of all his writings equipped all the time with his manifesto of "do's" and "don'ts."

In Pauranik's observations there is a point which deserves special notice. He does not apparently consider economic studies worth while unless they, first, have reference to India, and secondly, go into details about every item of economic policy for India. It is nothing but "Indian economics" and Indian economic planning that he wants of an economist of India. From this angle of approach every British economist is expected to write treatises dealing exclusively or chiefly with the economic conditions of England or the United Kingdom and suggest reforms for this, that or other branch of economic life in every book on economics that comes out of his pen. Pauranik is here but representing the traditional Indian methodology in economics. As I have pointed out several times, studies in Indian economics, from the descriptive, historical or political standpoints, will always remain necessary. It is, however, not desirable that entire Indian scholarship should be obsessed by such studies, as Pauranik seems to emphasise. At any rate, it is as a revolutionary departure from this old track that the Sarkar

4 See, *Supra*, "Economic Development (1926) as Landmark", reviews of the *Servant of India* (Poona), *Hindustan Review* (Allahabad), *Bombay Chronicle, Hindu* (Madras), *Bengalee* (Calcutta), etc.

track in economics is to be envisaged. This is one of the items in Sarkar's non-conformism.

There is such a thing as the "principles of economics," the "theory of applied economics," the "theory of economic development," the "principles of insurance control," the "theory of bank-notes," the "theory of rationalization," the "theory of world crisis," and so on. To these principles and theories Indian intellect may and should be applied with profit; and in such studies the illustrations need not be drawn invariably and inevitably from India simply because the economic researcher happens to be an Indian. But the reactions from the "old track" to the Sarkar track indicate that while the comparative statistical and analytical studies undertaken by Sarkar are already being appreciated as scientific and valuable Indian researchers find them as yet rather too strange for assimilation.

The "Strange and Incurable Defects" of the Non-Conformist

The reactions of the reviewer in the *Behar Herald* (Patna, 4 June 1940) are as follows: "The second volume of *Economic Development* is a work of striking originality. Dr. Sarkar has his own peculiar modes of thinking and expression. His writings always show a wide range of reading in many different languages. The present volume is no exception to that."

About one of the chapters the Bihari scholar observes: "There is also a chapter with an unpretentious heading, *The Railway Industry and Commerce of India in International Railway Statistics*. Personally I like this chapter most. It amply repays reading. On the whole the book faithfully reflects the author with all his great qualities."

The reviewer couples the above encomium with Sarkar's "strange and incurable defects." He considers the book to be "brilliant" but "a massive pile of bricks devoid of structure." The appreciation closes as follows: "Many lesser men with a fraction of Dr. Sarkar's learning have made much more useful contributions to economic science. This to me is something of a tragedy."

The review is by all means the work of an admirer. Sarkar's previous writings appear to be known to the Bihari reviewer. Nay, the reviewer may be credited with having for Sarkar some sort of a soft corner in his heart. All the same, in this "brilliant"

work of "striking originality," at least one chapter of which "amply repays reading" he encounters the "strange and incurable defects."

I am only wondering what these defects are. One defect appears to be that Sarkar's work is not a text-book of Indian economics. Another perhaps is that the book does not begin with definitions and cover the ground delimited by the University syllabuses. A third probably is that its chapters or essays are independent of one another. The links between the different chapters are not obvious to the ordinary reader. This is perhaps why it is described as "a pile of bricks devoid of structure," although at least one chapter, which happens to cover no less than fiftyfour pages, has appeared to the reviewer quite readable. Several other chapters have appeared "valuable," it may be recalled, to the reviewer of the *Journal of the University of Bombay*. The defect lies perhaps in bringing together into one book the different essays individually valuable although. A fourth defect may be discovered, it seems, in the fact that Sarkar does not write five pages where five lines are enough. Another defect is to be found in the absence of lengthy extracts and summaries from Indian Government or other publications, and nineteenth century or still older documents. Finally, in Sarkar's studies there is no criticism of the Government's economic policies on any pages. And so on.

From the standpoint of the traditional method these are by all means "strange" defects. They happen also to be "incurable defects" because Sarkarism has since its very birth been nothing but a "revolutionary departure from the old track." In this Bihari review we encounter a good specimen of the reaction that the old method offers to the new, the pioneering, and the non-conformist.

The reviewer regrets in a genuinely appreciative manner that Sarkar should have failed to make the kind of "contributions to economic science" such as "many lesser men" have done. This certainly is a touching thought indicating that Sarkar undoubtedly possesses well-wishers to whom he owes thankfulness The scientific world is happy to learn that "much more useful contributions to economic science" have been made by the Indian writers of Indian economics. It is difficult, however, to guess the standard by which the reviewer appraises the worth of contributions, as to whether and how far they are useful. In connection with the review of the *J.U.B.* I have already referred to some of the contributions to economic theory made by Sarkar in the book under discussion without taking

into consideration his other books. But whether Sarkar's contributions are useful, more useful or less useful than those by others will depend on the kind of standard employed. I am not sure if the comparative study of economic indices, statistical analysis of topics or regions, analytical investigation into the methods and stages of business enterprises and so forth or even informational studies about world-movements in commerce, economic legislation, industrialism, and technical education are less useful than descriptive and historical summaries for text-books or criticisms on Government's measures. Opinions are likely to differ. It is clear, however, that from the conventional standpoint of Indian economics as marching on the old track it is quite conceivable, nay, it is a postulate, that the contributions of the Sarkar method are not as useful as those to which India is accustomed. It is undoubtedly "a tragedy" that Sarkar's pioneering and non-conformism should prevent the "old track" from exhibiting any understanding of his methods, materials and messages in spite of an evidently sympathetic attitude. There is some sort of tragedy associated with every "revolutionary departure" and non-conformism.

One should, however, understand, if one happens to be appreciative and friendly, that if Sarkar is the possessor of all the qualifications with which he is being generously credited it is but meet and proper that he should take upon himself the responsibility of striking out new paths for economics at the sacrifice of conventional school-world popularity, worldly or material success, and social or official position. It is none but a person proficient in "many different languages," endowed with "all the great qualities," and master of international statistics of diverse epochs that could interest himself in things in which the ordinary Indian economist is not interested. To venture on discovering the equations of comparative industrialism, furnished with all their theoretical and practical implications, is not a common-place undertaking in economic science. Perhaps it was left for an Indian who is so painfully and patriotically conscious of the economic and social backwardness of his fatherland to think of the equations of "lags" or "distances" in comparative industrialism as an absorbing theme of scientific research. In case Sarkar the economist succeeds in discovering the *exact nature* and *exact amount* of India's backwardness one should credit him with having utilized his "great qualities" in the interest of a valuable patriotic service

The task, however, is not an easy one. There is hardly a library in India where one could successfully attempt a comparative analysis of capitalism and technocracy as involved in the Sarkar equations. I have pointed out in another connection that many of the equations of the Sarkar method remain yet to be worked out.[1] Sarkar has succeeded only in opening the ground. The field is very vast. Besides, some of the equations established by him require checking, and all of them detailed interpretation and elucidation. Up till now his work has been mainly of an exploratory or a suggestive character. I doubt very much if it is at all practicable for Sarkar while in India to do all these things suggested by me. I am, at any rate, convinced that not all the paragraphs of the book in question could be written in an Indian workshop. The equations, likewise, could not be established had Sarkar not possessed the personal experience of the economic developments in many countries of Europe and America as well as Japan. The Sarkar method requires an intimate acquaintance with the semi-industrialized countries of the "Balkan complex" etc. and not simply a specialized knowledge of the "industrial adults." Besides, the library facilities of foreign countries were indispensable for a work like Sarkar's *Economic Development*.

There are many other scientific undertakings[2] like this in economics which Sarkar, as a person indifferent to material success or public applause, has ventured on attempting. If Sarkar be really endowed with "all the great qualities" the world expects that he should utilize them in trying to create new fields for Indian scholarship and awaken new ambitions among Indian economists rather than satisfy the wants or demands of the beaten track. Work in the lines to which India is already habituated should be the last thing expected of him. It is as a creator of new wants that Sarkar the economist has been functioning in the scientific world. Patriotism is Sarkar's life-long and "incurable defect." Each one of his economic essays, whatever be the size, is calculated to create a new want for Young India, either in factual material or in the method of study or in the conclusion and message. In case

1 See, *Supra*, "The Data and Methods of Sarkar's Economics," observations on *Economic Development*, Vol. II.

2 See, *Supra*, "The New Tracks in Indian Economic Thought (1926-40)," and "The Data and Methods of Sarkar's Economics."

the Bihari reviewer tries to understand the problem before Sarkar in this light he may perhaps begin to feel that the tragedy is after all not very deep.

The three reviews discussed above appear to me to be appreciative and friendly, and last but not least, honest. It is only as specimens of the reactions of the conventional and traditional school to the work of a pioneer and non-conformist that I have analyzed them in such details. Sarkar is lucky enough to get for his "revolutionary departure from the old track" within fourteen to fifteen years (1926-40) such appreciation from his colleagues in different parts of India although he has no personal or official intercourse with any of them. It shows that his pioneering is already being recognized as somewhat fruitful, although not quite assimilable in certain circles.

Sarkarism Useful to National Planning

Several other reviews about *Economic Development* Vol. II. are being noticed as marks of another mentality or attitude.

According to the *Mysore Economic Journal* (May, 1940) Sarkar "is a fruitful thinker and writer with a pronouncedly objective bent of mind. The range of his studies is vast and the sweep of his generalization is strikingly within limits and never shows a tendency to become invalid at any time. To publicists in particular this volume ought to prove most useful."

Commerce (Bombay, 24 June 1939) says that "being the outcome at once of a genuine search for determining the exact economic status of India and of an ardent desire to suggest a correct economic policy for India, the book is of the utmost topical importance today when vigorous arrangements are going on for a nation-wide economic planning for India."

In this estimate, then, Sarkar's comparative economics or equations of industrialism can be valuable to the National Planning Committee of the Indian National Congress also.

In the opinion of this Bombay weekly of businessmen "the viewpoints may help those interested to visualize in a concrete manner the basic foundation of genuine world-economy, namely, the export of capital and instruments of production from the regions of the second industrial revolution to those of the first in order that the purchasing power of the men and women of the latter might rise helping thereby to heighten the standard of living of the

former. It is unnecessary to remark that, such being the sole aim of the National Planning Committee, the suggestions contained herein will be found helpful to those connected with that Committee. But to others also, especially students of advanced economics, these have similar if not greater value."

There is a number of journals in Bengal and outside which have similarly called attention to the Indian data of Sarkar's *Econon ic Development* Vol. II and its usefulness in Indian conditions To use another American expression, all Indian intellectuals and publicists are not following the "one-track mind" in regard to Sarkar's pioneering. They are pragmatic enough to give the Sarkar method its due and do not appear to be obsessed by the view that the text-book method,—the descriptive, historical and political method,—the exclusively "indological method,"—is the only scientific method.

According to the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (Calcutta, 20 November 1938) "the statistical and factual data enhance the academic as well as practical value of all these discourses. The book will be consulted with benefit on questions relating to the railway industry and commerce of India."

In the estimation of *United Karnataka* (Dharwar, Bombay, 10 March 1940) "this volume is very useful to the students of economics in the Universities and to those who want to understand the complicated problems of economics in India."

The *Insurance Herald* (Calcutta, April 20, 1940) says that "these studies have an immense value at the present stage of the beginnings of our industrial growth. The author draws attention to the present-day conditions of the 'Balkan Complex,' Eastern Europe and Russia or to the old conditions of the industrial pioneers and adults such as obtained, say, some two generations ago so that proper 'doctoring' might be attempted."

In the words of the *Insurance World* (Calcutta, April 1940) "the volume has a special significance" because of the opening chapter on insurance. It hopes that "Dr. Sarkar will be induced to include a chapter in a later volume giving his views on the Insurance Act of 1938."

The *Leader* (Allahabad, 19 March 1940) believes that the "comparative study" should be of interest to 'specialized students' of insurance and banking and that India's industrial backwardness "has been well illustrated in the chapter on Indian railways." It says further, that the author "has given illustrations of all the three

types of rationalization from the Indian cotton, iron and steel, and chemical industries, railway and banking. Dr. Sarkar has made certain suggestions about the chemical and oil industries in India which deserve reflection."

It is obvious that in India today there are many circles and many organs of opinion which are prepared to examine Sarkar's essays in *Economic Development,* large, middling or small, each on its own merits and to declare that they are valuable to the Indian business world as well as to the academic. Evidently, not every Indian student of economic questions is interested exclusively in the extensive summaries of Government and other publications or old historical documents about India or in the criticisms of the Government policies as the only economics worth while. The utility of comparative industrialism, statistical analysis, and world-economy as developed in Sarkar's "revolutionary departure from the old track" is thus getting established in Indian economic and other scientific consciousness.

Wanted New Pioneers

Incidentally I should like to observe that neither the Indian Economic Association (*Indian Journal of Economics*) of Allahabad nor the *Bangiya Dhana-Vijnan Parishat* (*Arthik Unnati*) has as yet contributed much to the field of pure or general economic theories. I am excluding from my consideration the summaries of Eur-American theorists published by Indian scholars from 1910 (Sarkar) until today (Intermediate text-books). It is only during the last four or five years that a few papers of theoretical importance have been coming out from Sarkar, B. P. Adarkar and other Indian economists. The output is as yet almost negligible (1940) The younger generation will have to concentrate, therefore, on two new fronts: (1) the development of theory and (2) the world-economic, comparative-statistical and analytical tracks of Sarkarism. I should repeat that these new fronts are not to replace but to be added to the old front. It is doubtful if the proper equipment for the investigations in economic theory and along the Sarkar method developed up till now is available in India. Indian scholars after adequate training at home would have to spend some time abroad in order to seek the desired equipment for researches along the two fronts.

One of Sarkar's conclusions in *Banglay Dhana-Vijnan* (Economics in Bengali) Vol. II (1939 pp. 19-20) runs to the effect that

Indian economic thought in the fourth decade of the twentieth century is more or less in the same stage as British economic thought between Adam Smith and Ricardo, i.e , as it was nearly a century ago. This shows that although Sarkar speaks very often of the "progress" achieved in India during a certain number of years in this line and that, his conception of the indices of progress is not romantic or idealistic enough to enable him to forget the realities of the actual position in the light of other countries. For a verification of Sarkar's realism in this regard reference may be made to Brij Narain's *Tendencies in Recent Economic Thought* (Delhi 1935).

During the first quarter of the twentieth century Indian economic research was on the whole rather poor. Only the last five or six years of that quarter witnessed the publication of a few books The second quarter commenced with the work of a pioneer who contributed fresh and vigorous blood and furnished new data, new methodology, as well as new standpoints and conclusions. The total Indian output in books has up till now been somewhat more satisfactory than in the previous quarter. It is expected that before the present quarter comes to an end, i e., by 1950 Indian economic research will have been enriched with the work of new pioneers as well as new research techniques.

CONCLUSION

Sarkarism Analyzed in the Ceylon Observer and the Aryan Path

This study on some of the sociological and economic aspects of Sarkarism as developed in Bengali and English writings may be brought to a close with two press reviews about the first edition of Professor Banesvar Dass's *Social and Economic Ideas of Benoy Sarkar*. One is a cutting from the *Ceylon Observer* (21 July, 1940). the widely read British daily of Colombo. The other is a reaction of the Madrasi scholar, S. V. Ramaswamy, published in the *Aryan Path*, a monthly of international cultural importance, published from Bombay. I am indebted to the publishers for placing these extracts at my disposal. They indicate the manner in which Sarkarism in sociology and economics is being received in large circles of publicists, businessmen, scholars, and men of letters.

The *Ceylon Observer* says as follows:

"This volume in nearly 500 pages gives an objective summary of the ideas of Prof. Benoy Sarkar, and a descriptive statement of his literary output and the institutions founded by him. The editor has had the collaboration of a number of distinguished Indians who have themselves made a study of Sarkarism. They have not merely reproduced extracts from Prof. Sarkar's writings, but have added such comments as must certainly help considerably to a proper understanding of the extracts.

"Prof. Sarkar is now an international figure. His works are widely read both in Europe and America They have found favour in the Universities and Academies of foreign countries, and through them India has won many friends among the savants and educationists of the world. The present publication will undoubtedly serve to add to their number.

"It is possible to trace in all Prof. Sarkar's writings and lectures a continuity of thought and a systematic approach to truth. There is a fundamental unity underlying his contributions on various subjects, ranging as they do from art and education to economic planning and demo-despotocracy.

"It is the growth and development of that unity which this book seeks to bring out. And especially now, at a time when some of the finest brains in the world are trying to evolve order out of the present chaos, Prof. Sarkar's views, backed up by his wide experience and clear thinking, should prove to be most valuable."

The observations in the *Aryan Path* run to the following effect:

"The symposium, edited by Prof Baneswar Dass with the co-operation of many Professors, scientists and others, is an interesting book, containing as it does an objective summary of the ideas of Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar and a descriptive statement about his literary output and the institutions he has founded. There is no Indian intellectual who has not read one or another of the countless writings of this savant whose knowledge is indeed colossal. His versatility is as amazing as his grasp of facts is intimate; it is no exaggeration to say that there are very few subjects which he does not know and has not discussed and still fewer statistical data which he has not studied and analyzed. He began writing even while at college and he is still writing articles, brochures, books; during thirty-six years or so of study, travel, lecturing and writing he has given to the world a literary output of such out-

standing merit as few intellectuals, Indian or foreign, can lay claim to. His fundamental ideas and basic principles are given so clearly and definitely in his writings that we can collectively and conveniently call them "Sarkarism". This book succeeds in its attempt to describe "Sarkarism", though there is some inevitable repetition and overlapping.

"Deeply imbued with the thought and the literature of the Hindu Renaissance of the Ramakrishna-Vivekananda era, he was carried, after he left college, on the crest of the wave of the great Bengali *Swadeshi Movement* and soon turned his attention to National Education. His educational ideas were clear-cut but revolutionary and have had far-reaching effects on the educational system of Bengal To him the object of all education is to develop originality; the pupil must grow up to be intellectually, a discoverer of truths and a pioneer of learning, and morally, an organiser of institutions and a leader of men. He believes in the inductive method of teaching and that in the mother tongue. He does not favour the text-book system and rightly insists that what one should learn is not books but subjects. His emphasis on moral and spiritual education is noteworthy and his *Steps to a University* well worth the study of all who want an overhaul of the present system of education.

"Some of Professor Sarkar's economic ideas are unorthodox. His support of the 18 d. ratio, for instance, is contrary to the popular view His main point is that the high ratio facilitates the import of foreign machinery and he firmly believes in the imperative necessity of industrialising the country. Again, take his attitude to the *Zamindars*. He has high regard for them as a class, for the part they have played in banking, in developing agriculture, industry and commerce, and generally in the political, economic and cultural development of Bengal As usual, he backs up his views with facts and figures but it is impossible to agree with him that the permanent settlement has contributed to the well-being of the masses or that the *Zamindars* have been the friends of the *ryots*. Likewise he finds nothing wrong in welcoming foreign capital and has high hopes of the Ottawa Agreement. But these controversial subjects certainly have another side.

"Professor Sarkar's equations of comparative industrialism and culture-history are instructive and help to show that it is the industrial revolution, which has cut a vast gulf between the East and the

West and has given rise to all the conflicts of culture, race and colour, that is so disturbing to international peace and understanding. He stoutly denies the superiority of any race, caste or class. The conclusions of his original sociological researches command respect, though here also his views—as, for instance, on the population problem—are unorthodox.

"Professor Sarkar is equally facile in Italian, French, German, English and Sanskrit and this invests him with a key to knowledge which few can hope to have. It is his profound knowledge of European languages, no less than his grasp of the eternal fundamentals of the philosophy of our immortal ancients, that gives him the breadth of vision and the catholicity which transcend provincial barriers and political frontiers and make him look down upon the pettiness of distinctions based on race and colour."

"Professor Sarkar is an institution in himself. And the numerous institutions which he has founded are as eloquent witnesses to his indefatigable energy and unshaken faith in the future of Young India, as his prodigious writings are to his encyclopaedic knowledge. The book is a fitting tribute to one of the foremost living thinkers of India and builders of Bengal. The publishers deserve to be congratulated on the excellence of its get-up."

Lines of Further Progress

From the publication of "National Education and the Bengali Nation" in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (Calcutta, July-August 1906) to that of "Poverty and Creativity" in *Forward Bloc* (Calcutta, July-August 1940) Sarkarism has been in evidence in many branches of sociology and in many branches of economics and through the medium of many languages, Indian and foreign It is interesting that in virtually every single contribution, large or small, brochure, article or book, Sarkar has counteracted some traditional idea and initiated something new.

This aspect of Sarkarism was well-known to American intellectuals. Savants like Dewey (philosopher), Seligman (economist), Tufts (philosopher), Cattell (psychologist), Carus (religion), Boas (anthropologist), Stanley Hall (psychologist), Giddings (sociologist), Goldenweiser (anthropologist), Starbuck (psychologist), Lanman (Sanskritist), Seager (economist), Adler (race-questions), Shepherd (historian), Hirth (sinologist), Fairlie (political scientist), Mussey (economist), Hankins (sociologist), Dunning (political scientist), Hart

(historian), Jackson (Iranologist), Robinson (historian), Lowie (anthropologist), Taussig (economist), Laufer (orientalist), Max Weber (painter), Ryder (indologist), Shambaugh (history), Blakeslee (international relations), Mitchell (statistician), Barnes (sociologist), Beard (economic history) and others[1] were convinced from Sarkar's lectures and publications in the U.S.A. (1915-20) that his data, methods and messages were materially, if not often radically, different from those furnished by virtually everybody from Vivekananda to Tagore, Lajpat Rai and other Indian exponents of life and thought, of culture, economics and politics. The impressions of those years have been confirmed by the recent notices about Sarkar's works in American scientific journals.

In the British reviews on Sarkar's works (1912-39) as well as from the English translations of the opinions published by French, Italian and German scientists in the journals[2] of their countries I notice that the non-conformist feature of Sarkar's ideas has been generally brought into prominence throughout the academic world. My study has but sought to throw some light on Sarkar's "revolutionary departures from the old track" as first noticed by Professor Adityaram Bhattacharya of Allahabad in 1912. In the interest of progress in science and philosophy it should be worth while for the younger generation of sociologists and economists both in East and West to examine those departures, non-conformisms and heresies more intensively. Lines of further advance in sociology and economics are likely to be detected in an examination of these instances of "creative disequilibrium," which not only sums up Sarkar's general theory of progress but has perhaps unconsciously taken concrete shape in every one of his writings.

1 These scholars and authors were interested in getting Sarkar's articles published in the leading scientific journals of the U.S.A. Indeed, they were either chief editors or on the editorial boards of the journals in which Sarkar's papers were published. Sarkar was elected a contributing editor of the *Journal of International Relations* (chief editor: Stanley Hall of Clark University; managing editor: Blakeslee).

2 Some of these British and Continental opinions have been utilized by Satin Das-Gupta, Subodh Ghoshal, Hemendra Bijoy Sen and Banesvar Dass in their papers on Sarkar's Economics and Sociology.

APPENDIX X

The Poor and the Pariah as World-Conquerors*

By Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar

Poverty and Creativity

I have only one message and that is the message of hope, and my hope is grounded in the realities of the past and the present.

If you ask me what I know of the world in East and West and what I have seen of mankind as it is and has been I should reply in one word that the world belongs to the poor man. It is the poor man who rules the world. It is the poor man that has always conquered the world. This appears to be a most absurd statement. Nothing should seem to be more silly than a remark like this. And yet nothing is to me truer, more positive, more pragmatic, and more objective as an account of the affairs of men and women.

The absurdity of my position is indeed patent on the surface. Everybody in the two hemispheres is too painfully aware that it is the man with means that lords it over in the market place. The moneyed man commands the press and the platform in Asia as in Eur-America. The financial magnate passes for an authority in everything from the paddy-fields on the Earth to the canals in the Mars. The high-salaried government official cannot be challenged by anybody in regard to questions of any kind, moral, social or religious. He is supposed to be *sabjanta*, knowing every thing. And in political life leadership can be commanded only by the man who possesses several automobiles as well as the sinews of war to maintain a bunch of sycophants. Apparently the world, mankind's morals, manners and sentiments—the arts and sciences—all should appear to be controlled and commandeered by wealth.

In spite of this much too palpable dictatorship of money and the easily visible domination of the world by the rich I maintain that the men and women who are guiding the world, directing the

* First published as "The Sociology of the Poor and the Pariah" in *Man in India* (Ranchi) for September 1940. It is based on an extempore lecture on "Applied Ramakrishna" delivered at the Ramakrishna-Vivekananda Society, Dhanbad (Bihar) on April 20, 1940.

masses and the classes along fresh untrodden paths, dragging mankind willy-nilly to the next higher stages of its potentialities, and establishing new socio-cultural and spiritual patterns for today and tomorrow are those who are poor. My view of human progress and social advance is entirely opposed to the apparent, the obvious and the visible.

Does the poor man require to be described? I don't believe he does. Every body present here knows the poor man. Neither in Bihar nor in Bengal, nor in the rest of India do we need to define poverty. But still let me be precise. The poor man is a man who does not have two meals a day. In my expressive Bengali the poor men and women are persons who *adh-peta khay*, i.e., eat half-stomachs. Or they are the persons who do not *du bela anchay*, i.e., cannot rinse their mouths twice a day. They are half-fed, semi-naked, unhoused people. If this picture of poverty should appear to be too realistic, too unparliamentary, nay, too tragic to certain temperaments let me satisfy them by declaring that the poor man is a person whose earnings are too modest to be *pakraoed* (caught) by the income tax commissioner. Such persons are to be found in thousands, in millions not only in Bihar, in Bengal, in India, but in every country of the world, including the richest regions, e.g., Great Britain, the U.S.A., France and Germany. My observation is that the world has ever been factually governed by persons who come from such classes. It is the ill-fed, ill-clad and ill-housed classes, communities or families, it is the non-incometax paying groups of citizens in a country that have ever been the sources of men and women who have re-made the world and reconstructed the society. The rôle of poor men as the re-makers of mankind and creators of epochs in culture is to me the most palpable truth, the first postulate of history, economics, philosophy and sociology. This is in my appraisal the solidest foundation of the science of progress and the art of human betterment or the *système de politique positive* (to use Comte's phrase).

CREATIVITIES IN BIHAR AND BENGAL

I am talking tonight in a town of Bihar. So by way of illustration I should ask you to verify my postulate or examine its validity and worth pragmatically by an enumeration of the leading men and women of Bihar today, i.e., by an inventory of the contemporary Bihari creativities. There are quite a few prominent persons in con-

temporary Bihar. How many of them do you recognize as somewhat creative persons, as the makers of Bihari ideals, and the founders of a new age for Bihari men and women? Naturally, you will, first, have to make out a list of the well-known persons in politics, in law courts, in business, and in culture. You will have to list the highly placed officials in the administrative system including the legislature. Then you are sure to count the authors and journalists, poets, novelists, painters, sculptors, musicians, playwrights. Some of them are perhaps known as scientists, philosophers or antiquarians. You are not likely to ignore the researchers in industry, technology, the exact sciences and the humanities. The religious missionaries and social reformers are not to be excluded by any means. Last but not least, your list will care to include the politicians, young and old, of all parties, communities and denominations, the labour leaders, the *kisan* (farmer) leaders, the trade-unionists, and all groups of martyrs for political freedom and social justice.

In the next place, I should ask you to go into the biographical details about these leading men and women of Bihar in the most diverse professions and occupations. This biography is to be confined for the present purpose to the economic and financial items of their lives. The most important question about all of them is about the level of their present incomes. How much do they earn today? You would not be disclosing any tremendous secrets of socio-economic life if you were to come out with the proposition that as "gainfully employed" persons these leading men and women of Bihar fall mainly into two classes. The first and the most preponderant class comprises those who, if not actually *adhpeta khawa*, half-meal-takers, are at any rate non-incometax-payers. The other class, a very small group indeed, belong to the somewhat substantial sections in so far as they can be reached by the income-tax commissioner. From the standpoint of earnings these are the two fundamental groups in the social stratification of the Bihari people.

These "somewhat substantial" persons may be further analyzed in an intensive manner. You know quite well from personal experience—those of you who have watched the economic developments in Bihar since the beginning of the present century,—that many of the persons who are "somewhat substantial" in earnings today were outside of, i.e., below that class even ten, fifteen or

twenty years ago. Many of the richest businessmen, industrialists, lawyers, medical practitioners and members of the different government services were not members of the "somewhat substantial" groups at the commencement of their careers. A very large number among them was actually poor and in straitened circumstances. Very many of these influential and substantial Biharis of today are self-made men in the strictest sense of the term. These facts about the antecedents and previous careers of the leaders and prominent personalities are open secrets, if secrets at all they be. You should not misunderstand me. I do not vouch that not a single person among the substantial lawyers, doctors, bankers, intellectuals, government servants etc. of today was financially substantial in his childhood or youth. You are simply to take it that the number of rich families that have contributed to the prosperous persons of today is very very small, so small that it may be virtually ignored This is a purely statistical question and deserves to be carefully gone into with a somewhat long-period view-point by economic and sociological, nay, political researchers.

I should now ask you to go a little bit further back in time. Make inquiries about the parents of these substantial persons of today. How many fathers of such men were substantial? Then, again, what about their grandfathers and great-grandfathers? You will be convinced that, say, about 1857 the ancestors of most of the prominent and prosperous citizens of today were persons of very modest means and humble in every economic sense.

The majority of the worth-while men of Bihar at the present moment is poor. Of the minority, again, a preponderantly large proportion was poor half a generation ago and of course two generations ago. It is very difficult to point to many leaders of Bihari public life, business and culture who have been continuously prosperous for two generations. The rôle of the poor men as the factual rulers of mankind in ideas, ideals, movements and activities, is then demonstrated by the history of our own times, so far as Bihar is concerned. Whatever is being accomplished in Bihar today in politics, industry, science, culture, social reform, religious reconstruction,—is being accomplished in the main by the sons of clerks, peasants, schoolmasters etc., the poorer sections of the Bihari people. It is the poor that have made Bihar and are re-making Bihar with a view to further progress. A statistical study in this field is a desideratum.

I have spoken so much about Bihar because I am talking in a town of Bihar. But I am not unconscious of the presence of Bengali men and women in this meeting. What about Bengal? I should advise you to institute the same statistical inquiries about the leading personalities of contemporary Bengal. Most of the profoundly creative men and women of Bengal today do not know how to make both ends meet. Many of the poets, painters, sculptors, musicians, journalists, school and college teachers, political preachers, labour organizers, social workers, research scholars in the natural and social sciences and so forth are certainly the makers of new epochs in Bengali culture and world-progress. Is it not notorious that most of the members of these creative classes are indigent, miserable, pauperized?

Among the somewhat prosperous Bengalis in law, medical pratice, service or business you will find nothing but a repetition of the story of the Biharis. The earnings of the fathers of these prosperous Bengalis of today, whether in Calcutta or *Mofussil*, were, generally speaking, humble. Very many of them have come from poor families, sometimes so poor that hardly anybody knows anything of their parents. The fathers of some of them were cooks and mothers maid-servants How many of the financially substantial Bengalis of 1940 were substantial at the time of our glorious *swadeshi* revolution in 1905? An exceedingly large number was actually poor. Their fathers were poorer and their grandfathers poorer still. Most of such Bengalis as are earning thousands at the Bar, in medical profession and in the services, or have become millionaires and owners of properties on account of business career were not born with silver spoons in their mouths. In Bengal as in Bihar the poor man of today is the rich man of tomorrow, although not invariably.

You do not have to go out of your own geographical horizon into far-off Eur-America to discover instances of rich men emerging out of distress, misery and poverty,—from thatched cots and mud floors. The politics, industry, science, art, literature, religion, morals, and philosophy,—in one word, the entire culture of young Bengal is in the main the creation of its poorer representatives. It is the poor that have conquered Bengal and are conquering Bengal in order to push it forward to the enterprises of world-wide expansion. Bengali clerks, peasants, artisans and shopkeepers of low pecuniary status have contributed a large number of the epoch-making stalwarts of politics, commerce and culture in modern and contemporary India.

The Valuation of Creativities

While asking you to make an inventory of the leading men of Bihar and Bengal and their creativities I have made no distinction between profession and profession or occupation and occupation, in regard to the creative values. I have proceeded on the assumption that distinguished leaders are to be found in every walk of life and that all are to be treated as creative. One may easily challenge my orientations and question the validity of this stand-point. Is it possible, it may be asked, to treat the administrator, the lawyer or the medical practitioner as creative in the same sense as the novelist, the painter, the scientific researcher, the technical or industrial inventor, the philosopher and so forth? Is it proper to maintain that the creative values of the scientist, the discoverer, or the industrial expert are of the same rank as those of the capitalist or employer who exploits the technical or other intelligentsia with a dole or a pittance? It may be questioned, likewise, if the ordinary school or college teacher is as creative as the man who is making investigations in the arts or sciences, conducing researches in philosophy, history, etc., or the story-writer, the painter, the poet and the dramatist?

Who can assert that the political agitator who consecrates his life to the enfranchisement of the people, the labour organizer who is bent upon raising the standard of living of the working classes, the social reformer who is fighting for the establishment of equality between the races, the classes and the castes, the religious missionary, who is carrying from home to home the message of the dignity of man and of brotherhood in interhuman relations,—these embodiments of creative disequilibrium, and apostles of liberty, progress and revolution,—are but of the same worth and significance as the administrator, the judge, the lawyer, the banker, the factory magnate, the professor and the medical practitioner, all well-fed and well-groomed persons absorbed in the vested interests and addicted to the *status quo*?

And finally, who is prepared to vouch that the plans, projects or movements initiated or developed by the official heads of industrial, commercial or banking establishments, government services, educational institutions etc. are their own creations, i.e., have come out of their own brains and that their subordinates, lieutenants, private secretaries, literary assistants, clerks, *mistris*, research committees or technical laboratories have not had the lion's share—although

without recognition and adequate financial remuneration,—in the planning and execution of the ideas for which the bosses get the credit in public life?

These fine distinctions in valuation have been consciously ignored by me in connection with my present discussion. I have tried simply to emphasize, in the first place, that no matter what be the profession or occupation Bengal like Bihar possesses a number of distinguished personalities who are usually known as leaders of the country, political, industrial, cultural and social. In the second place, it has been brought home that among such persons the majority are, from the viewpoint of Rupees-annas-pies, very modest and humble, i.e., poor. And if some of them do not happen to be poor at the moment of consideration they were poor while they were in their teens and even thirties. Many of them were charity-boys at school and college. They worked their way up with stipends or contributions in meals or fees. And further, the ancestors of the rich and distinguished men of today during the previous two generations were in very many instances much poorer They were clerks, peasants and petty shopkeepers or artisans.

Poverty can therefore be no excuse for pessimism, despondency and inactivity. It is the poor that have conquered in the past and it is the poor that bid fair to conquer in the present. My futurism declares the prospects of world-conquests by the poor. This is the positive conclusion to which factual, pragmatic and statistical scientists are invited to apply their investigations.

The Zones of Poverty

Let me be perfectly clear and definite in my pronouncement. Bengali ideals and culture today are not being governed by the millionaire of the modern capitalistic bourgeois type, by the feudalistic *zamindari* aristocracy, or by the higher rungs of the administrative bureaucracy, although certain members of these groups are often in evidence through newspapers and public functions. The men and women who have conquered the hearts and heads of the Bengali people, who have been rendering Bengal and Bengali culture a world-force, and by whom the Bengali people is slowly but steadily being lifted to the level of a power among the powers of mankind are mainly the *adhpeta khawa* (half mealer), non-incometax paying, poverty-stricken people, the children of clerks, peasants and artisans, born and bred in mud hovels and under leaking thatched roofs.

Perhaps you are suspecting that I am a believer in the "blessings" of poverty, and hold a brief for the present social order of inequalities, economic and political. Nothing is farther from my attitude. I am not waxing eloquent on poverty's sweet uses. It does not belong to my science or art to sing of poverty. I do not consider poverty to be a blessing. Poverty is by all means a curse and the poor man is not a blessed creature. There is nothing to be proud of or glorify in poverty. The despotism of the richer classes will have to be combated in every way What I have been stressing all this time is that poverty is a tremendous social fact and a fact that cannot be overlooked. Perhaps it is an eternal fact. At any rate, it is a universal fact of the human world. But at the same time it so happens that creativeness or creativity is very widely distributed in the zones of poverty. The majority of the creative personalities of mankind, of men and women who generate the streams of evolutive disequilibrium in arts and sciences, industry and politics, social order and economic structure is to be found among the economically poorer specimens of humanity. It is this statistical fact to which I have been inviting your attention all this time. And this is an historical fact as well.

Statistical and historical data about this social fact have been indicated or rather hinted at about Bihar and Bengal. The subject is extensive enough for voluminous scientific researches. You will find similar statistical and historical data in every part of India as well as in the world-famous zones of wealth and prosperity like England, France, Germany, America and other regions. It is a universal phenomenon. Perhaps one should call it a tragedy or paradox of civilization or "cost of progress" that creativity or the spirituality of creativeness should be intimately associated with poverty or relative doses of poverty. Not every poor man indeed is creative. Nor, again, is every creative man poor. But a very significant proportion of the creatively spiritual or spiritually creative personalities of mankind here and there and everywhere has been found to be flourishing among the poorer classes, in the poverty-zones. The children of unknown persons, of men and women without means have turned out to be world-conquerors in more than one sense. The immediate future of Bengal, India, the world, entire mankind, belongs therefore to the poor man. It is the poor that are expected to conquer and govern the world.

Pariah Creativities

About the so-called "inferior classes" I have similarly a rather peculiar pronouncement to make. This is to the effect that the world has always been considerably conquered by the pariah and that mankind today also is being conquered by the pariah on an appreciable scale. Coming nearer home, our Bihar and Bengal, nay, All-India has likewise been ever ruled by the pariah. It is the pariah that has been governing to a great extent the culture and civilization as well as the physique and the hands and feet of the Indian people through the ages. The creative achievements or creativities, both social and somatic, of the pariahs in India are continuing their career still.

The category, pariah, requires to be defined like the category, "poor", nay, perhaps more than the latter category. The pariahs are of course the men and the women who belong to the caste known as pariah in South India. More or less similar castes are to be found throughout India, north, south, east, west. They are not called pariah everywhere. There are other terms for these classes. But my category, pariah, comprises all such classes without distinction. In contemporary Indian terminology they are described sometimes as depressed, often as untouchable, nowadays as Harijan and so forth. Whatever be the nomenclature,—I need not go into details,—we know that they all have to submit to social repression of some sort or other. There is a stigma—no matter of what degree—attaching to their very name. In interhuman relations they have to bear an indignity which, although not always precisely definable, is none the less ever perceptible both to themselves as well as to the alleged superior orders. In one word, we may describe them as the social inferiors. The inferiority is of all doses and degrees and varies in quality, quantity and variety. Unless one belongs to the socially inferior group one cannot experience or fully explain exactly the kind of indignity or the dose of inferiority under which one has to live. Perhaps it is the Brahman caste that alone can claim superiority in the Hindu social system, and every non-Brahman is more or less tinged with some hue of inferiority or pariahdom. In my conception of the pariah, i.e., the depressed, the untouchable, and the repressed I take in every Hindu who does not belong to the Brahman caste. The Brahmans are just a few millions in the entire Hindu population of India. You will understand, then, that virtually every Hindu is a pariah in my estimation.

And here I should ask you to recall my definition of the poor man. There are poor men and poor men. Poverty is not absolute. It can be measured by doses and degrees. But for the purposes of the present talk I characterized the poor man in one or two graphic features. The poor man is a person that does not eat more than half a meal or is not in a position to rinse his mouth twice a day, or a person that is not in the class of income-tax paying citizens. The poor, then, constitute the majority of the inhabitants of every country. I am taking the pariah also in the same extensive manner when I say that every non-Brahman is a pariah. There are certainly non-Brahmans and non-Brahmans. Not every non-Brahman suffers the same amount or variety of indignity in social life. Even among the non-Brahmans themselves, there are dozens, nay, hundreds, of higher and lower groups. There are the superior non-Brahmans and the inferior non-Brahmans. Among the inferior non-Brahmans, again, there are the higher and the lower, i.e., the superior and the inferior sub-orders. My pariah is an omnibus category describing all the most diverse degrees and doses of social inferiority known to the Hindus just as my category, poor, comprises the most diverse grades and forms of economic inadequacy known to mankind. If I were to include the Mussalmans of India in my survey I should perhaps bring in at least all the Momins among them in my pariahdom. The non-Brahmans and the Momins are then the pariahs for my present talk.

You may at once challenge my classification so far, at any rate, as the Brahmans are concerned. It is questionable, for instance, if I have the right to describe the entire Brahman caste even in a single province or district as a homogeneous social group. Are not there many persons of the Brahman caste who are treated as inferiors by certain members of the same caste? It is too notorious that not all Brahmans enjoy the same social privilege, dignity or rank as between themselves. Even among the Brahmans we must, then, be prepared to demarcate a group or groups of pariahs, i.e., depressed, oppressed or repressed classes. Thus considered, the number of pariahs in India rises to still higher proportions.

My message, tonight, then, is as follows. It is the non-Brahman and the inferior among the Brahmans as well as the Momin that have been substantially creating, first, the physique and secondly, the culture of Hindus and Mussalmans since Mohenjodarian times. India today is being ruled in considerable proportions by just these

inferiors, the social outcastes. The valuable rôle of these social inferiors and outcastes in India tomorrow as some of the re-makers of our politics, industry, society, and *mores* in addition to our physique and hands and feet is the pivotal conclusion of my studies in the relations between the races, castes, and classes of Indian population, or in "acculturation" i.e. culture-contact and social mobility, generally considered.

Take any University Calendar in India and read the list of passes at the lower and higher examinations. The non-Brahmans are sure everywhere to make a decent show. The totalitarian dictatorship of the Brahman caste is not a fact of academic life. In proportion to the total population the non-Brahman's academic importance is quite decent. The numerical importance of the non-Brahmans in the school and college atmosphere has been steadily on the increase. And this increase is being experienced by all grades of pariahs or Harijans down to the lowest, the actually depressed, and the physically untouchable classes. Here, again, the question is purely statistical. I am not going into figures at the present moment. The subject deserves special investigations on the part of researchers. The agricultural, industrial and commercial life of Bihar and Bengal will tell the same story of the gradually expanding position of the pariah. In the services the pariahs of all denominations are encountered in increasing numbers. The arts and sciences, cultural activities, journalism, political and labour movements are likewise not the fields in which the non-pariah can venture to dictate. The growing ascendancy of the non-Brahman in Indian scientific and philosophical researches, literary and artistic creations, patriotic and self-sacrificing enterprises is an outstanding fact of the present generation, say, since 1905. As for the millennium-old traditional manners and customs, rites and ceremonies, gods and goddesses it is too well known that the pariah has been creative in acculturation or culture-modification all through the ages in Indian history. The pariah is functioning still in the same fields, linguistic, religious, economic, etc.*

The Bones and Muscles of the Pariahs and the Non-Pariahs

But these social and cultural impacts of the pariah on the non-pariah do not interest me to any special extent in my discussion

* B. K. Sarkar: *Folk-Element in Hindu Culture* (London, 1917).

tonight. I want to divert your attention from the strictly social creativities, conquests and influences of the pariah to the somewhat ignored but none the less over-whelming creativeness of the pariah in the physique, physiognomy, *had-mash*, bones and muscles, hands and feet etc. of the entire Indian people, high or low.

You will have to open your eyes somewhat more widely and watch a bit more minutely the men, women and children in the diverse geographical regions or zones of India in order to realize how profoundly and extensively non-Brahmanized, parianized or Harijanized the entire Hindu-Moslem masses and classes of India are and have been. I should ask you to examine, for instance, the antecedents of the so-called higher castes, nay, of the so-called Brahmans. My qustion will be as follows : How many of the members of these alleged higher castes or superior social orders are really higher or superior in blood, muscles, nerves? I want to fight shy of naming the so-called higher castes individually because you know quite well that everybody who believes that he or she belongs to an alleged higher caste lives in a peculiar "social climate." Each one has some sentiments of esteem, privilege and self-satisfaction attached to his or her caste. People may not like to be told that they are "somatically," i.e. in *had-mash*, bones and muscles not superior to certain classes or that they are factually on the same level with them, or even that they are not so elevated or dignified as they have by tradition been taught to appraise themselves. I do not want to disturb this sentimental climate of our countrymen by realistic enumerations. Let me, therefore, ask you to make investigations,—rough, detailed, superficial, extensive or deep, as the case may be,—about any castes that are known to be endowed with certain doses of superiority or social elevation. The problem is to ascertain if the alleged inferior castes, the pariahs are entirely devoid of any drops of the blood or any particles of the flesh which the "social" superiors can show, i.e., if they are totally different from the alleged non-pariahs. You notice that in this investigation we are called upon to bid adieu to the social climate of sentiments, traditions, vested interests. You and I have to examine as objectively as possible the following questions: (1) whether the alleged Brahmans or social superiors,—no matter of what grade,—are hermetically sealed groups, (2) whether the alleged non-Brahmans or pariahs,—again, no matter of what grade,—are likewise hermetically sealed groups,—and (3) whether the Brahmans and the non-Brahmans, i.e., whether

the non-pariahs and the pariahs have had no somatic infiltrations, i.e., reciprocal absorptions (of physical order) between them in the past or in our own generation. These questions are purely somatological and have nothing to do with acculturation, i.e., social contacts.

Not everybody present here is an anthropologist or ethnographist. Nor am I willing to inflict upon you the jargons of the race-sciences at this moment. Indeed, well documented data are not available in as good and varied details about the diverse castes, sub-castes, or districts and sub-districts of India as one should like to possess in order to understand the anatomy of the so-called Brahmans and the so-called pariahs of our Hindu-Moslem social system. Indian somatology is still in its non-age.

VARNA-SAMKARA (MISCEGENATION) A REALITY IN EACH CASTE-GROUP

I ask you, then, to apply your own simple, unaided naked eyes. Watch your head-form, nose-form, skin-colour, chin, jaws, eyes, hair etc. and compare them with those of your neighbour, especially of those who belong to your own caste, high or low. Do you find, and are you quite sure, that all the members of your caste exhibit the same physical features? Everybody is aware that even the brothers of the same family do not always possess identical heads, noses, eyes, etc. The caste is a much wider group than the family. The variations between its members in regard to anatomy are therefore wider still The existence of physical and physiognomic diversities in the same caste-group shows that diverse sources have contributed to the emergence of these diversities in somatic features. The flesh and blood of human beings are not dropped from the air. They are derived from flesh and blood. Even if you take a small subdivision or *pargana* of a district in Bihar you will find that all the Brahmans inhabiting the particular locality do not look alike. All the Chamars of the same region similarly do not look alike. If then you survey a whole province like Bihar you will find that differences between the Brahmans of a subdivision in a Western district and those of a subdivision in an Eastern or Southern district are immense. In other words, from the standpoint of the cephalic, nasal and other physiognomic or biometric indices it is difficult if not impossible to speak of the Brahmans of Bihar as constituting a homogeneous caste. The Chamars

also are not a homogeneous "biotype" in Bihar Well, right here at Dhanbad, in the district of Manbhum, there are the Bauris. You may look at them carefully and you will see that all the members of the Bauri caste in a single village do not possess the identical somatic features of a biotype.

Apply your investigation to any caste and to any region. The Kayasthas of Bengal, say, in the Easternmost districts of Chittagong and Comilla exhibit very many diversities in features which would be almost unintelligible to the Kayasthas, say, of a Central Bengal or West Bengal district. In other words, the Bengali Kayastha is not a homogeneous group or definite biotype. Physiognomically he differs from district to district in a palpable manner, and even in the same locality the Bengali Kayastha's features exhibit a heterogeneity that is unmistakable Let us take the Santals. They are in evidence not only in these border districts of Bihar, Bengal and Chhotanagpur but in West Bengal and North Bengal as well. Bengalis are quite familiar with the Santal features. And yet who would venture to assert that all the Santals are identical in head forms, nose forms, skin-colour and so on? There are Santals and Santals. Some of the Santals are so un-Santal in appearance,—I am not talking of clothing, manners, language, festivals etc.—that you would take them for ordinary Bengalis. A group of such physiognomically i.e., biotypically un-Santal or de-Santalized or Bengalicized Santals has been living in the district of Nadia within a few miles of Krishnagar.

It is wrong to believe that the aboriginals and depressed castes are exclusively *dolichoids* (long-heads). There are *brachy-cephals* (short-heads) among them too. Their range of variation in cephalic index is very extensive. This heterogeneity of the aboriginal and depressed biotypes is also manifest in the variabilities of the nasal index, eye-colour, skin-colour, stature and other indices.*

The more we go into the question with eyes open the more do we feel convinced that each and every one of the castes, superior or inferior, higher or lower, Brahman or pariah, is the result of amalgamation of diverse physical, physiognomical, anatomical, racial or ethnic strains. Neither the Brahman nor the Chamar, neither the Bauri nor the Santal is a pure or homogeneous caste. To the flesh

* Bhupen Datta: "Anthropological Notes on Some West-Bengal Castes" (*Man in India*, Ranchi, July-December, 1934).

and blood of each caste-group, to its bones and muscles contributions have been furnished by diverse ethnic groups such as from time to time happened to live in its neighbourhood. Every caste is a mixed group. The survey of castes with the naked eye even without the support of anthropometrical data is well calculated to tell a serious inquirer that *varna-samkara* (fusion of colours), mixture of castes, i e., of physical and physiognomic features, or miscegenation is the most positive reality about our Indian social polity. Numerous instrumental measurements are indeed necessary to demonstrate scientifically and in a precise manner the nature and extent of these blood-mixtures and miscegenations. But already one is justified in declaring that blood-purity is as much a myth with the Brahmans as with the non-Brahmans.

Pariah Parentage in Brahman Groups

This is one side of the story in regard to the caste surveys. There is another side and equally interesting In the course of our investigations with the naked eyes we shall find that perhaps the Santal and the Bauri have certain features of colour, head, nose, etc. common although they consider themselves to be belonging to two different and watertight racial, religious or caste compartments. Between the Chamar and the Brahman we are likely very often to notice a remarkable community or identity of physiognomy. The Kayastha and the Kurmi, the Vaidya and the Namasudra, the Mahisya and the Brahman, the Kayastha and the Chamar, each of these pairs can also be seen to be exhibiting similar or identical muscles and bones. I am naming these castes at random solely as descriptive categories and without any emotional reactions. The so-called higher castes and the so-called lower castes are seen sometimes to possess a remarkable sameness of anatomy. The pariah's somatic features agree at times with those of the Brahmans.

One must not misunderstand the situation. It is not my intention to say that every Santal or Bauri or Chamar or Mahisya or Kayastha has all the features similar to or identical with those of the Brahman. I want only to make it clear that it is possible to come across many instances of identical head-nose-hair forms being possessed as much by the Brahman as by the pariah or non-Brahman. The possession of identical physiognomical features by certain members of the so-called superior castes and by certain

members of the so-called inferior castes is not an exceptional or rare phenomenon. It is to be taken as a positive fact and a rather frequent fact of the Indian social structure. The question of "frequencies" has to be studied, of course, statistically and over extensive areas. The attention of the scholars in physical anthropology is invited to this problem.

What does this physiognomic community or somatic identity between the Brahman and the Chamar, the Kayastha and the Brahman, the Namasudra and the Kayastha, the Santal and the Vaisya, the Santal and the Brahman, the Vaidya and the Rajbansi, the Vaidya and the Garo, the Garo and the Kayastha, the Momin and the Sheikh, the Brahman and the Momin, the Mongol and the Brahman, etc. etc. point to, in so far and to the extent that this identity is a fact? This points but to one thing,—the common physical and physiognomical origin, i.e., the identical biological parentage of the groups possessing the common features. In other words, the flesh and blood of the Chamar, the Santal, the Munda, the Mongol, the Kayastha, the Mahisya, the Garo, the Khasi, and so forth is to be taken for granted in the flesh and blood of the Brahman who happens to possess certain features of one or other of these castes. When the Hindu and the Moslem look alike in head, jaws, nose, hair, chin and so forth the common parentage of these two has likewise to be treated very often as a biological postulate. The Mongolian, Mongoloid or Mongolized eyes, jawbones and chins of the Bengali Vaidyas, Kayasthas, or Brahmans of the Assam and Burma border-districts of East Bengal is but an index to the contribution of flesh and blood from the Assamese and Burman hill stocks. Altogether, it is clear that the pariah is not so far socially below or "distant" from the Brahman as to render it impossible for the former to influence the flesh and blood and bones and muscles of the latter. Among the biological parents of the Brahmans we have therefore to count the pariah fathers and the pariah mothers as well. The pariah-Brahman miscegenation is a demonstrable fact of some importance.

Society and law, the *Smriti-sastras*, the *Dharma-sastras*, Manu, Yajnavalkya, Raghunandana may rest content with establishing the rigid demarcation between the higher and the lower, the Brahman and the pariah. They may care even to ignore the possibilities of sex-contact as well as remain blind to the facts of actual intercourse. But the horoscope of flesh and blood is too merciless, precise and

severe to be bamboozled by the lawyer and the social pedant. There is such a thing as the biological, anatomico-physiological parents. They may be very remote in time and perhaps geographically far removed from the Brahmans of today. But no matter who be the immediate parents according to society and law—according to the latest Civil Marriage Act of British India—the far-off biological parents inexorably declare their might in the very head, chin, beard, eye, nose, skin and what not. And some of these biological parents of contemporary Brahmans in certain instances happen to be the Chamars, the Santals, the Kayasthas, the Garos, the Mahisyas, or other pariahs including the Momins. The *Varnasrama* (the caste-and-stage) system of social polity is proven by the facts of biological parentage to be, as a rule, nothing better than a "legal fiction." The effective horoscope of flesh and blood compels the social horoscope constructed by match-markers to retire into the background as an interesting curio of world-culture. As suggested above, the "frequencies" of *varna-samkara* or miscegenation deserve to be studied in detail for each and every caste.

The rôle of the pariah as one of the biological parents of certain groups of the superior social orders, the Brahmans, is now self-evident. We have to understand that the so-called inferior caste has in very many instances succeeded in injecting its flesh and blood into the flesh and blood of the so-called superior groups. Taking the fifty-one million Bengalis,—Hindus, Mussalmans and tribals,—we should then be prepared to believe that no matter what be the degree or dose of superiority of a certain social group the biological parentage of some of its members has very often been furnished by the members of one or other of the innumerable biotypical groups. The Bhutias, Lepchas, Tibetans, Nepalis etc. of the Himalayan valleys or forests have thus to be counted among the biological parents, however remote, of some of the Brahmans, Kayasthas, Vaidyas, Navasakhs, etc. of Bengal. Among the biological fathers of the high-caste or low-caste Bengalis of today we have likewise to enumerate the Chakmas, Mishmis, Khasis, Garos, Mags and so forth of Assamese and Burman mountains. Then the Mundas, Oraons, Santals and other tribes of Chhotanagpur, Bihar and Orissa hills and forests have also to be included in the horoscopes of many Bengalis of all castes and creeds as some of their biologically effective fathers and mothers.

In order to bring home to you the furthest logical implications

of this caste-fusion or blood-intermixture let me deliver to you one of my favourite equations, which, although not scientifically precise, represents in a popular manner the extensive miscegenation that has been going on in our country for ages. It runs thus: *Munda ghoshe-meje Banerji-Chatterji-Mukherji*. I mean that the Munda chiselled, rubbed-off and polished becomes our Banerji, Chatterji, and Mukherji. By the word, Munda, I mean not exclusively the Munda race but virtually any and every race that is autochthonous in the Bengal regions,—hills, forests, river-valleys and what not. Whatever be the radical element in the ethnic make-up of the Bengali pariah, this approximate equation establishes for me once for all my basic thesis, namely, that however high be the caste to which a modern Bengali may happen to belong socio-legally, i e., according to Manu and Raghunandana, it is impossible for him in many instances to deny his humbler biological parentage or affiliations. The blood of the lower caste, the pariah, is coursing through his alleged blue-blood. The pariah has thus conquered the Bengali people more vitally than we generally imagine. The arts, sciences, morals and manners of Bengali civilization have been made and re-made very often and very substantially,—although not exclusively, of course,—by persons in whom pariah flesh and blood, pariah muscles and bones are too patent to be overlooked or explained away. The Dubeys, Tiwaris, Chaubeys etc. of the Bihari and U.P. Brahmans are similarly to be regarded as specimens of men and women in the making of which the flesh and blood of the *adibasis* (aboriginal races) of the hill-forests and river-valleys has had an influential share.

The "socially" high group is found very often to be "racially" low. In other words, the same racial stock is visible in both high and low social orders. And this in Bihar as in Bengal.

I have said that this biological parentage may be remote in time from the present generation and in space from the localities of the day. But this need not be always remote in time or locality. Those who go about the world with eyes open know the actualities of domestic life among their neighbours high or low. It is easy for them to get convinced that biological contact between the Brahman and the Chamar, the non-pariah and the pariah, is hardly if at all prevented by socio-legal taboos. The biological urge is more imperious than the *sasans* or commands of Manu, Raghunandana, and the modern Penal Code. Be this as it may, I am

in a position to declare finally,—although as yet without the support of adequate anthropometrical surveys,—that some of the greatest men and women belonging to certain superior castes of Bihar, Bengal and All-India have had in part at least, biologically considered, a pariah parentage. The inferior, unknown and lower castes or races are therefore to be described as some of the world-conquerors and rulers of mankind not only in the socio-cultural or economico-political sense but in the more fundamental, somatic, physico-physiognomic and biologico-morphological, aspects as well.*

Aryan Not a Racial Category

You will have noticed that I have never used the word, Aryan. This is neither an oversight nor a mere accidental slip. I want to invite your attention as much as possible to the purely physical, anatomical and biological facts, the biotypes. It is these facts that are implied by the category, race. Now the word, Aryan, implies language and along with it literature, religion, arts, social organization etc. It is a linguistic-cultural category and is entirely independent of physique, head-noise-hair forms, skin-colour and the somatic or bio-physiognomic complex. It is not possible to use the category, Aryan, in an ethnic or racial sense. For instance, we may not know anything about the race, i.e. physico-biological affiliations of the Santals or the Bauris of Dhanbad. But as soon as they speak Bengali they are Aryan or Aryanized like the Bengali Brahman, because Bengali is a language which belongs to the Aryan family of languages. The Bengalicization, as a form of "acculturation," implies automatically Aryanization. It does not affect and is not affected by the race of the Santals or biotype of the Bauris. A Hindi-speaking Santal is as good an Aryan as the Hindi-speaking Chaubey Brahman or the Hindi-speaking Chamar, because Hindi also is like Bengali an Aryan language.

My pariah and non-pariah, inferior and superior, non-Brahman and Brahman are ethnic categories. I am using them as descriptive terms for certain physical or racial features. They may happen to be entirely Aryan or Aryanized or semi-Aryanized in language, literature, clothing, festivities, morals, manners and sentiments. If somebody says that Bengali culture is partially or wholly Aryan he

* For the rôle of the races in Indian history see B. K. Sarkar: *Introduction to Hindu Positivism* (Allahabad 1937), pp. 101-114.

does not say anything about the flesh and blood, skin, head, eyes, lips etc. of the fifty one million Bengali men and women. He says nothing more than that a language which is known to be Aryan and a culture-pattern which can also be described as Aryan are to be found among the predominant majority of the inhabitants of Bengal. Aryanization is nothing but an item in acculturation, i.e. social modification brought on by culture-contact and demographic mobility or migrations. Aryan blood does not exist anywhere on earth and has never been known to exist.

Ethnocentric Fallacies in Eur-America

I have cited instances only from India and especially from the Hindus of Bihar and Bengal. You may extend your investigations to other regions, to Asia or to Eur-America if you care to. In the West the word caste is not used, and naturally the pariah as known in India is unknown. But among the Eur-Americans also there is the superiority-complex. Certain groups are believed to be superior and others inferior. I am talking of blood groups or ethnic, i.e., flesh and blood classes. All Eur-America is not inhabited today and was never inhabited in the past by any one race. There are races and races in the Western world. The Jews are generally known to be a distinct race. They are as a rule taken to be distinct from the Christians. We should understand, however, that the category, Jew, describes a religion (and a culture-pattern) but not a race, i.e., physiognomical category or biotype. Similarly Christianity like Aryan does not indicate an ethnic group or groups. However, the Jews and Christians of Eur-America can be divided into many physiognomic groups or somatic classes. And as in India the doctrine of superior races (physico-biological groups) is quite extensive and powerful among the Western peoples. You have heard of the Nordics, the Alpines and the Mediterraneans. These are somewhat new ethnographic groups or biotypes. The older ethnic or rather linguistic categories like the Celts, Latins, Teutons etc. are well-known. Some of them are supposed to be inferior to others.

For instance, the Celts and Latins of France, the Latins of Spain, Portugal and Italy, as well as the Slavs of Russia, Greece, the Balkan complex, Poland etc. are regarded as inferior races by the Teutons (or Nordics) of England, U.S.A. and Germany. This conception is widely distributed not only among the masses but among certain groups of ethnologists, politicians and culture-leaders

in these latter countries.* Then, according to the eugenicists of every counry who as a rule believe in the majesty of blood as well as according to their political allies who as a rule are opposed to socialism and the demands of the poor there are superior and inferior stocks and strains in very region or race. Thus it is the objective of British political eugenics to forbid the fusion or miscegenation of the alleged superior and inferior strains as well as to prevent the multiplication of the so-called inferior stocks. Such *varna-samkaras* are feared by them as dysgenic or cacogenic.

But those who go into details about the ethnic features of the creative men and women of Eur-America today or yesterday will be convinced that the non-superior cannot be marked off from the superior. The non-superior of today has grown into the superior of tomorrow. There are, in the first place, no pure Nordics, pure Alpines, pure Celts, or pure Latins. And in the second place, the flesh and blood of the superior or higher race, whatever it be, has been derived to no small extent from the flesh and blood of the inferior or lower race. For the present I need not go further.

Progress through Pariah Creativities

Let me, then, conclude my discussion with the almost universally valid proposition that the superior or Brahman of today has very often grown out of or is blended with the inferior or pariah biological stocks of yesterday. And this enables me to conclude also that the unknown, the lower, the inferior, the depressed, and the pariah of today is tending to grow into the renowned, the higher, the superior, the Brahman of tomorrow. In other words, the world is being considerably created and conquered all the time by the pariah. It is to the pariah, therefore, that the future of mankind belongs in substantial measure and this not only from the standpoint of culture i.e., social values but also from that of flesh and blood.

As I am talking so emphatically of the creative rôle of the pariah in the societies of the world there is every danger of my being misunderstood. People might suspect that perhaps I wish that pariahdom should be nursed by the society. Let me, therefore, declare in so many words that the social condition of the pariah, the

* For ethnocentric interpretations of politics and culture see B. K. Sarkar: *Political Philosophies since 1905*, Vol. I. (Madras 1928) and F. Hankins: *The Racial Basis of Civilisation* (New York 1924).

inferior race, caste, community or class is not an enviable one whether in East or West. We may recall the status of the Roman Catholics in Great Britain down to 1829 and that of the Jews in Russia, Central Europe and the U.S.A. down to our own times. The Indian pariah is of course a by-word,—and a world-notorious by-word. The war against pariahdom of all varieties and degrees both in East and West, in other words, the war against ethnocentrism or Brahmanocracy in science and politics as well as culture is one of the first desiderata of a new world-planning in my sentiments as well as scientific researches. The abolition of all sorts of race-prejudices, social privileges and inequalities based on ethnic considerations, and distinctions between Occidental and Oriental peoples on the one hand, and the establishment of race-equality, class-equality and caste-equality in interhuman or social relations, on the other, are two of the fundamental planks in my scheme for national and international reconstruction.*

But in the mean time it is impossible to overlook or ignore race-inequalities, race-prejudices, ethnic chauvinism, the doctrine of race-superiority, inferiority complex, ethnocentrism, Brahmanocracy etc. as positive facts of the world-order in all regions and in all ages. We have seen before that poverty is likewise a social fact of universal and eternal dimensions. It is, therefore, simply as a fact of world-history and as a solid reality of cultural progress that I maintain that the pariah, the inferior, the non-Brahman, like the economically poor, has in many instances in every country furnished the flesh and blood of the alleged superiors or Brahmans. It is proven that the alleged *varna*-superiority, physico-physiognomic superiority of the Brahman is a myth. The so-called higher castes are not very often higher than the alleged inferior castes in flesh and blood. The pariah's biological contributions to the make-up of the non-pariah and his flesh and blood contacts with the Brahman are incontestable realities. Both biologically as well as sociologically and not merely sociologically, the pariah creativities are some of the greatest facts of universal culture or world-progress. The racial "distances" between the "socially" lower and the "socially" higher are not as wide and deep as imagined by both. All the same, the social pariahdom is like poverty to be combated and annihilated by every possible means and in every region.

* B. K. Sarkar: *The Sociology of Races, Cultures and Human Progress* (Berlin 1922, Calcutta, 1939).

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OPINIONS ON

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(First Edition)

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